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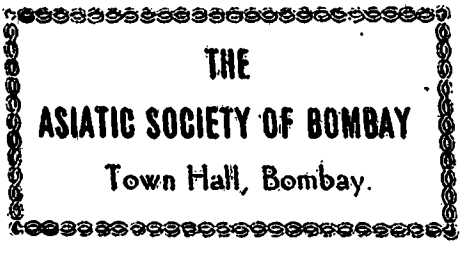

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THE

LIFE, TIMES, AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

THE RIGHT REV. DR. DOYLE,

BISHOP OF KILDARE AND LEIGHLIN.

a 649

BY

WILLIAM JOHN FITZPATRICK, J.P.,

AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE, TIMES, AND CONTEMPORARIES OF LORD CLONCURRY," "LADY MORGAN; HER CAREER, LITERARY AND PERSONAL," &c.

XX a 33

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PREFACE.

It has often been regretted that no life of the illustrious "J.K.L.," written with full advantage of access to his private papers, and illustrated by his correspondence, should exist. Ireland has been reproached for permitting this debt to his memory to remain for a quarter of a century unpaid. But the apathy in Dr. Doyle's case is by no means exceptional. Other great and good men who toiled for national regeneration, have met with similar ingratitude. In most countries the apotheosis of genius and worth does not fully take place until after death; but impulsive Ireland too often deifies its great men in their lifetime, and, when they can no longer work, consigns them simultaneously to the grave and to oblivion. Exceptions could of course be cited, but the rule unfortunately remains on record to reproach us. Lord Monteagle, in adverting to the unembalmed state of Dr. Doyle's memory, thus eloquently alludes to the growth of this ungenerous apathy: "Your observation is quite true respecting the rapid growth of forgetfulness in Ireland, which, like the ivy that covers our ancient monuments, concealing their architectural beauty, hides also the virtuous actions of many of our best men. The noble and distinguished men who laboured with Grattan in forming our constitution are all forgotten; Grattan himself but slightly remembered; Plunket is almost unknown; and, in passing through Waterford the other day, I was unable to find even a tablet bearing the honoured name of Newport. This is very sad; for the want of a feeling of active and enduring gratitude deprives us of those moral examples which would raise and dignify our country, and would exalt and improve the present generation."

Mr. O'Regan of the Irish bar, writing in 1817, bemoans that "of a country so renowned for a continued succession of illustrious men, fewer monuments are preserved in Ireland than in any other nation. The patriotism of literature, which elevates the character of a people, has devoted little of its labours to this

department. . . . . What records have we of those who flourished for the last fifty years, the most memorable period of our history? Where then—in what archives are deposited the monuments of our illustrious dead? Where are to be found any traces of Anthony Malone, of Lord Perry, or of our late Demosthenes—Lord Avonmore? Where are their works, their words, and actions preserved? They are nearly gone! A Flood with all his Pindaric fire, a Burgh whose tongue was persuasion; and the long roll of great names, are nearly now no more—*Omnes hi ignotis periere mortibus.*"

During the interval—approaching to half-a-century—which has since elapsed, something has been done—but unhappily too little—to correct the evil. Thirteen years ago the late Thomas Davis in regretting reproachfully that the Catholic Bishop Doyle and the Protestant Bishop Berkley should have no memoirs, remarked that "until lately—with the exception of Ware's and Harris's notices of our eminent churchmen and authors, and Ryan's dull and dispiriting 'Worthies,' and some fugitive sketches in old periodicals—we had nothing of biography to turn to in the absence of a history." "Besides its right to precedence as a study," he continues, "biography may claim, above history, a more concentrative interest, and almost an equal influence in teaching philosophy by example. Of all the prose writings of the ancients the most popular have been Plutarch's Lives and the autobiography of the Jew, Flavius Josephus. And the great modern masters of fiction have rightly regarded this deep human interest in a single life as the prime source of attraction in the drama and in romance."

Davis bemoaned that of the early Fathers and Missionaries of the Irish Church—a numerous and glorious host—we have no popular histories, and that our accounts of the great Irishmen of the middle and subsequent ages were few and most unsatisfactory. "The influence on the young mind of Ireland of such books," he adds, "would be incalculably great. Boys who read of their own will, as most Irish boys do, read intently. They build and plant with Robinson Crusoe; they plot and re-plot with Baron Trenck; they are edified and instructed with Sandford and Merton; they are loyalists with Falkland, and patriots with Lord

Edward. The writer of books popular among boys may calculate on revolutionizing a country at the outside in thirty years." Davis also indicated the tendency which such books would possess to teach Ireland self-respect and self-reliance: "But it would have another effect. It would save our men—our speakers and writers—from the constantly recurring disgrace of quoting foreign names as illustrative of patriotism, acquirement, or virtue. It would furnish them with accounts of Irish worthies as honest as Aristides, as pure as Scipio, as wise as Fabius, as brave as Cæsar, as eloquent as Tully. It would save them the labour and the seeming pedantry of flying for ever to Greece and Rome for their examples and instances. This second advantage would be hardly inferior to the first. It would create Irish synonymes for every virtue and every endowment."

"From generation to generation," he indignantly concluded, "the weeds and briars of negligence, fed on the damps and darkness of night, have been suffered to rankle about the graves of our great predecessors. Let a general clearance be proclaimed, and let all the earnest and honest among the living join in justification of all the brave and good among the dead."

The thinkers of all creeds and parties hold the same views. Monsignor Meagher writes: "Alas! how unjust has not Catholic Ireland shown herself to the memory of her great men. How peculiarly ungrateful to the noble ecclesiastics that have shed their lights of genius and piety over her sufferings. . . . . Since the revival of learning in the West, it does not appear that contemporaneous biography has enriched its stores by the addition of more than one or two solitary volumes worth remembering, compiled to record the acts and elucidate the character of Irish ecclesiastics. We know but little that is satisfactory of our churchmen who preceded the invention of the press, and less, if possible, of those who have flourished subsequently. The ravages of time and the fury of persecution may furnish something like apology for the little that we know of the former; but for forgetfulness of the latter we have nothing to plead save ingratitude or sloth."

The man has not yet lived who toiled with more activity, disinterestedness, and success to promote civil and religious liberty,

and national amelioration generally than DR. DOYLE; and after the instances of apathy of which the reader has just been reminded, it is hardly surprising that the Prelate's many gifted friends should have allowed a quarter of a century to pass away without making any effort to perpetuate his fame, and place upon record, in a fitting manner, the valuable services conferred by him on their country and religion. Every year that has elapsed since the Bishop's demise has tended to diminish the materials for constructing his life-history. He left behind him men who, from their high intellectual attainments and intimate knowledge of his character, could have done justice to such a work; but from the survivors of this favoured few I was able to receive no more satisfactory reason, as to why there had been no effort made to embalm the memory of the illustrious dead, than that they had neither courage nor leisure to undertake the laborious task of doing full justice to a subject so important and exalted.

Finding that no one more competent was likely to become the biographer of DR. DOYLE, observing that the available materials, both oral and documental, were every year becoming less, I at length determined, though not without diffidence, to apply at once the utmost of my ability and the entire of my leisure to the task of chronicling his important career, of eliciting from his surviving friends such personal recollections as were calculated to throw light upon it, and of collecting, for the first time, his voluminous private correspondence. This duty necessitated so heavy an amount of labour, study, and research, that were it not for the frequently expressed encouragement to "go on and prosper" from some of the most gifted and exalted among the admirers of DR. DOYLE, I should probably, in a moment of exhaustion, have relinquished the task.

Many years ago I communicated the design I had formed to the late Right Rev. Dr. Haly, and received from him great help and encouragement. I then put myself in communication with the surviving correspondents of DR. DOYLE, and also with the executors of his deceased friends. But death having been busy among the former, delays and difficulties frequently intervened. To trace the executors or representatives of such persons has often cost me, in each case, half-a-dozen letters, to say nothing of

oral inquiry; and when at last discovered, a long correspondence has not unfrequently preceded the actual attainment of the desired papers.

My next step was to elicit the personal recollections of those who knew DR. DOYLE intimately, or who had long been attentive observers of his life. I unlocked the various depositories of the Bishop's confidence—an object which required personal interviews, often not attainable under a journey of one hundred miles. Those interviews I made it my business to obtain abundantly for at least two years before I commenced weaving my materials into shape. Of all such oral communications I made careful notes at the time; and during the six years which have elapsed since this record was begun I am sadly reminded, on referring to it, that many of my informants have passed into eternity. A selection from this information, communicated with honest unreserve by exclusive sources, I have found of use in lending an additional zest, authenticity, and freshness to my narrative. It has served to impart a life-like vividness and attitude to the principal figure, which I trust cannot fail to render it recognized and welcomed by old, admiring friends. This mode of biography gives not only a history of DR. DOYLE'S visible progress through the world and of his publications, but a view of his mind in his letters and conversations.

DR. DOYLE'S public life will be found, I trust, honestly and accurately followed. I have not felt justified in using any portion of the multifarious data in my reach without duly digesting it, and verifying the facts by careful collation. The time necessarily consumed in examining every column of the newspaper files in which DR. DOYLE'S letters, pastorals, sermons, and speeches appeared throughout a lengthened period, and the transcriptions which perpetually retarded my progress, will serve, I trust, as an apology for the non-appearance of my work at a period closer to the date of its original announcement.

I have endeavoured with earnestness, if not ability, to paint DR. DOYLE'S character in all its grand proportions, and to set it in a frame-work of circumjacent history, without which the picture could not be properly appreciated. The reader will thus be able to see the difficulties he overcame, and the triumphs which he so powerfully contributed to achieve.

My wish to arrange in perfect chronological sequence the voluminous and sometimes confused mass of materials, and to form, from the various sources at my command, a literary mosaic calculated to please the public eye, demanded a constant steadiness of attention which, I hope, may not have caused me to make any oversights regarding matters of greater importance. I am fond of quotation; and, whenever possible, I have made the Bishop and his friends tell the tale. Some critics have already decried this style of composition as "the paste-and-scissors system." But I need hardly remind them that it is far easier to build a wall of lime and stone than to form a mosaic on the same scale. In the former case you can hew the stone to your own liking, but in the latter you must make the pieces, which have been cut according to the caprice of others, fit artistically.

From strict chronological order in the arrangement of materials I have sometimes, though rarely, deviated. Small scraps of retrospective autobiographical matter, suggested by the thought of the moment, are occasionally found scattered digressively through his voluminous writings. These I have extracted, and, whenever their presence has seemed well-timed, I have welded them into the narrative.

The Life of Dr. Doyle is probably one of the last memoirs illustrated by correspondence, after the manner of Boswell and Lockhart, which the public will have the pleasure of reading. For the last twenty years there have been few letters interchanged such as one used to receive. The penny postage has multiplied the number of notes five thousand fold, but quite put an end to letter-writing. "When an epistle cost a shilling," observes a writer, "people used to make it worth a guinea; now that it costs a penny, it is seldom worth a cent."

In saying so much of my own labours I probably expose myself to the charge of egotism; but my object in doing so has been to exonerate myself from the still more humiliating accusation of presumption, in having undertaken to discharge a task which, according to the opinion of some persons, should only be attempted by a churchman. That the most intricate questions of ecclesiastical polity are interwoven with the Life of Bishop Doyle I am aware. But I have yet to learn that they are beyond the power

of a layman to grasp and unravel. Few will deny that in one point of view, at least, such a work as the present would be discharged with more efficiency by a laic than a Priest. No Catholic Clergyman could by possibility find leisure to devote a tithe of the time to that laborious research and painstaking inquiry which I have felt it my duty to bestow upon this book. Besides, it must be remembered that DR. DOYLE'S life being intensely political, it is the province of a layman rather than of a Priest to trace and describe it.

But there is another circumstance which tends to show that a layman has some advantages over a Priest, in seeking the public favour in a work of this character. "The Priest who defends religion," says the Count le Maistre, "does his duty, no doubt; but, in frivolous eyes, he appears to defend his own cause; and, although his good faith be equal to our own, every observer may have often perceived that the unbelieving mistrust less the man of the world, and allow themselves to be approached by him, not unfrequently, without the least repugnance."

I may further add, that, no doubt, in many estimations it will be considered desirable that the historian should not be committed to the jealousies, or to the circumscribed and technical views which are apt to grow up in all professions.

Theological opinions catch very much the hue of the time; for twenty or thirty years after the French Revolution Gallican views shone prominently in the writings of Irish ecclesiastics, and J. K. L. did not escape the tone of the day.

It, however, should not be inferred that Dr. Doyle, if now living, would hold some of the views to which thirty or forty years ago he gave expression. The Bishop in presenting to the present Earl of Derby, on the 17th of January, 1831, a copy of his letter on the formation of a National Literary Institute (published only eighteen months previously), tells him to refer the work to the period of its composition, "since when the situation of this country, and the opinions, circumstances, and almost the characters of many individuals have undergone a considerable change." Again, in 1832, when asked, before Mr. Stanley's Tithe Committee, by the present Lord Chief Justice Lefroy, had he not expressed different opinions respecting the effect of Emancipation

in 1825, he replied: "It might be so, but *tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.*"

I cannot conclude without publicly offering my acknowledgments to those who have aided this work. From the present respected Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin I have received many valuable letters addressed by statesmen and politicians to his illustrious kinsman, DR. DOYLE. The Most Rev. Dr. Cullen has kindly given me several letters addressed by DR. DOYLE to the late Archbishop Murray. Dr. Howlett, grand-nephew of the Bishop, has placed at my disposal a mass of interesting family papers. From the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, the Right Hon. the Earl of Ellesmere, the Right Hon. the Earl of Darnley, the Hon. Henry Parnell, executor of the late Lord Congleton; the Lord Bishop of Saldes, the Very Rev. Dr. Donovan, Domestic Prelate to the late Pope; the Very Rev. and Ven. John Sinclair, Archdeacon of Middlesex (executor of the late Right Hon. Sir J. Sinclair); the Very Rev. Monsignor Yore, V.G., the Very Rev. Dr. Taylor, Peter Blake, Esq., J.P., executor of the late Right Hon. A. R. Blake; John D'Alton, Esq., the Rev. James Maher (executor of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle); Henry Lambert, Esq., D.L., William Stanley, Esq., and the late Eneas MacDonnell, Esq., I have received numerous important documents. I may also mention in the same category the Right Rev. Bishop Ullathorne, the Very Rev. Monsignor Meagher, V.G., the Rev. Dr. Esmonde, the Rev. Dr. Cahill, Rev. Dr. Furlong, James O'Grady, Esq., LL.D., Michael Staunton, Esq., Rev. R. J. M'Ghee, Rev. Dr. Wills, the nieces of Dr. Doyle, W. N. Hancock, Esq., LL.D., Rev. J. Delany, P.P., the Monks at Tullow, and several Nuns whose names I am not at liberty to mention.

General Sir T. Larcom had the kindness to make a search, from 1819 to 1834, among the letters preserved in the Chief Secretary's Office, Dublin Castle. The Earl of Besborough, the Earl of Donoughmore, and the Right Hon. E. Cardwell, have been equally courteous and painstaking. Mr. Sergeant Bellasis examined the papers of the late John, Earl of Shrewsbury; and I am also indebted in a similar way to the Most Rev. Archbishop Leahy, his Eminence Cardinal Wiseman, the Right Rev. Dr. Delany, The Knight of Kerry, Lady Holland, W. Smith O'Brien,

Esq., Sir Richard Musgrave, the Right Hon. Sir T. Wyse, G. Poulett Scrope, Esq., M.P.; the executors of the late Lord Clifden, of the late N. A. Vigors, Esq., M.P., of the late Right Hon. R. L. Sheil, of the late Peter Purcell, Esq., and of the late Pierce Mahony, Esq. Acknowledgment is also due to the late Most Rev. Dr. Slattery, the Right Rev. Dr. Browne, Right Rev. Dr. Whelan, Very Rev. Dean Meyler, Very Rev. P. Fogarty, V.G., the Very Rev. Dr. O'Brien, V.G., the Ven. Archdeacon Hamilton, the Very Rev. T. O'Connell, P.P., Rev. Dr. Magee, Rev. P. Brennan, P.P., &c.

The political correspondence embraced in the second volume will be found of a more important character than that which illustrates the first. Although many revelations are made, I trust no private feelings have been unnecessarily wounded and no honorable confidence betrayed.

And now a word in reference to the illustrations. The portrait has been executed by the first lithographers in the kingdom, from a painting for which Dr. Doyle sat during several successive days in 1830. The frontispiece of the second volume has been suggested by Hogan's splendid piece of statuary in the Cathedral at Carlow. The female figure plunged in patient melancholy personifies Ireland; the Bishop, in a posture expressive of tenderness and emotion, stands by the drooping figure of his country, and pleads her cause before Heaven and the empire. Of the adjuncts which have been introduced by the artist, it will probably suffice to say that the ruins in the distance are those of St. Bridget's Chapel and the Round Tower of Kildare; while the more modern edifice is designed to convey an idea of the Cathedral at Carlow, wherein the relics of J. K. L. repose.

WILLIAM JOHN FITZPATRICK.

Kilmacud Manor, Stillorgan, Co. Dublin,
10th April, 1861.

POSTSCRIPT.

To this, a later edition of the work, I have nothing more to add, than that it contains some important emendations and additions, including the modification of a statement, which had been advanced on the authority of a

clergyman of some theological reputation, to the effect that during the seventeenth century the Irish Church was strongly and generally tinged with the Jansenistic views then so prevalent on the Continent. It will be seen from authentic documents preserved at Rome, and which are noticed at p. 419 of the second volume, that although Jansenistic opinions assumed in Ireland, on two occasions, a complexion so marked as to arouse the vigilance of the Holy See, they failed to obtain any permanent footing in that country.

No labor has been spared to produce a full and accurate Alphabetical Index to the multifarious details embraced in these volumes. "Will an author," asks Mr. Allibone, "let the toil of years be lost to a large part of the world—for lost it surely is—rather than add a few weeks of labor to make the whole available?" "So essential," remarks the late Lord Campbell, "did I consider an index to be to every book, that I proposed to bring a bill into Parliament to deprive an author who publishes a book without an index, of the privilege of copyright, and moreover to submit him, for his offence, to a pecuniary penalty."

Owing to the almost unprecedented haste with which these volumes were hurried through the press, several typographical errors, chiefly in Latin orthography, occurred, which the author has endeavoured to rectify below.

Kilmacud Manor, 15th August, 1861.

ERRATA.

Vol. i., page 12,	for	*ostentim,*	read *ostiatim.*
— — 21,	—	*quis studat orat,*	— *qui studet oret.*
— — 114,	—	*consuntus,*	— *consecutus.*
— — 127,	—	*in tomo,*	— *externo.*
— — 205,	—	Vegelantius,	— Vigilantius.
— — 206,	—	*mages,*	— *magis.*
— — 237,	—	unlike (12 lines from top),	— like.
— — 272,	—	"*erisrunt,*" and "*animam,*"	— "*currunt,*" and "*animum.*"
— — 296,	—	Wellesley (17 lines from bottom),	— Farnham.
— — 364,	—	*veu,*	— *vu.*
— — 430,	—	"*aliene pericula cantum,*"	— "*aliena pericula cautum.*"
— — 451,	—	*Quid de illis, sacerdotibus, decendum a quibus sunt omnium anima requivendæ.*	— *Quid de illis, sacerdotibus, dicendum a quibus sunt omnium animæ requirendæ.*
— — 456,	—	*impectore,*	— *imo pectore.*
Vol. ii., — 136,	—	"*quam libera,*" &c.,	— "*perquem liberati sumus.*"
— — 144,	—	*equam mi annimum,*	— *equum mihi animum.*
— — 186,	—	*rem ante provisam,* &c.,	— "*verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur.*"
— — 204,	—	*auxilis,*	— *auxiliis.*
— — 290,	—	partly (17 lines from top),	— party.
— — 331,	—	rite (16 lines from bottom),	— right.
— — 339,	—	moontide (9 lines from bottom),	— noontide.
— — —	—	moon of freedom (last line),	— noon of freedom.
— — 372,	—	*nelat,*	— *velat.*
— — 418,	—	denounced (12 lines from bottom),	— renounced.
— — 514,	—	*actionis,*	— *actiones.*
— — 543,	—	*noetuque* (5 lines from bottom),	— *noctuque.*
— — — —	—	*equibusdam* (2 lines from bottom),	— *e quibusdam.*
— — — —	—	*suotum* (last line),	— *suorum.*

*** The passage quoted from Juvenal at p. 2, vol. ii., is verbatim with Dr. Doyle's MS., but in the original classic we find it expressed as follows:

"*Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se,*
Quam quod ridiculos homines facit."

THE

LIFE, TIMES, AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

RIGHT REV. DR. DOYLE.

CHAPTER I.

Early history and genealogy of the Doyles—Plantations and confiscations—The Confederation of Kilkenny—The Penal Code—Treaty of Limerick—Parentage and birth of Dr. Doyle—His future fame foretold—The Rebellion of '98—A narrow escape—The school at Ross—Regulars and Seculars—The old Convent at Grantstown—Doyle's noviciate and profession—His visit to Cork—The University of Coimbra—Another narrow escape—How to arrest the spread of infidelity.

OLD genealogists trace to Dubhghaill, king of Ulster in the tenth century, the origin of the name of Doyle.* This sept was distinguished for a vigorous and consistent hostility to the Danes; and two of its scions are recorded to have fallen at Dublin and Clontarf, in struggling to expel the invaders. That the sept of Dubhghaill had, from an early period, claims upon the gratitude of the native Irish may be inferred from the fact, that the first bridge erected in Dublin received the title of Droich Dubhghaill, or the Bridge of Doyle.† After the Anglo-Norman invasion the name of Dubhghaill ceased to be heard, and successively became modernized to that of Doile, O'Doyle, and Doyle. Amalgamating with the hardy race of O'Byrne and O'Toole, we find the descendants of Dubhghaill establishing themselves in the barony of Arklow and county of Wicklow.‡ Beneath the black banner of the warlike chieftains of Imaile and their stanch kinsmen and allies the O'Byrnes, the Doyles, with battle-axe and spear, continued for a considerable period to make sorties from their stronghold by the Ovoca, and to harass most grievously the English settlers in Dublin. Sometimes the garrison of the English Pale would mus-

* See Appendix I.

† M'Firbis' Genealogical MSS.; O'Clerigh's Pedigrees; Gilbert's Dublin; Annals of the Four Masters.

‡ Letter from John O'Donovan, Esq., LL.D., 18th June, 1857.

ter all their resources, and with hot haste and vengeance carry desolation, by fire and sword, into the fastnesses of the indomitable Irishry of Wicklow.

As the sept of O'Doyle multiplied, its members spread themselves through the neighbouring counties, and from an early date we find them intermarrying with some of the old families of the county of Wexford.* At the Reformation, the Doyles made a strong stand against the temptations and encroachments of Protestantism; and they may be said to have been an opulent and influential stock until the hoof of the Penal Code scattered and crushed them. The Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, in the defence of his "Vindication of the Civil and Religious Principles of Catholicism" alludes to this circumstance while replying to a silly taunt from the Rev. Dr. Phelan: "J. K. L. is taunted as if he desired the tithes for himself, or is jeered on account of his poverty. He assures his opponent, that if, with the apostle, he might not know how to abound, he knows at least how to suffer want, to which his habits of life (thanks to God) have inured him; and if he has not inherited from his ancestors more property than most of the clergy of the Establishment, it was owing to the operation of the penal laws, so late as in the life-time of his father; for even then these laws were sending some of the best blood of Ireland to join—as Swift well expressed it—the ranks of the coal-porters. Many of us can say with Francis I., after the defeat at Pavia, 'We have lost all but our honour,' or feel with Juvenal, '*Nil fœdius habet paupertas quam quod homines ridiculos facet!*'"

The branch of the family from which the late Right Rev. Dr. Doyle descends has been for several centuries resident in the county Wexford. The "Inquisitions in Lagenia"† (A.D. 1627) find that Richard O'Doyle was seised of the lands of Kildaise, Knockliduffe, and Garrysinnot, in the county of Wexford, containing 373. acres, which he held in free soccage, by royal letters patent. From the Records of the Rolls,‡ preserved by the Ulster King-at-Arms, we learn that on 16th February, 1621, "John Doyle, Gentleman," held "the towns and lands of Ballyteige, Shanballymore, Laragh, Shanvallynlaragh, and Keelogs," in the county of Wexford; and other evidence might be adduced to show that the family were respectable and wealthy until a despotic law wrested their possessions from them. Some traces of their ancient local influence and fame may still be found preserved in Doyle's-Cross, near Lady's Island, in the county of Wexford.

* In the Annals of the Four Masters, p. 225, the O'Doyles are mentioned among "the numerous and powerful clans who had large possessions in Wexford."

† Taken in the reign of Charles I.

‡ Vols. for Wexford, pp. 271, 474.

When the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of Kilkenny was formed, to resist the encroachments of the Long Parliament and to pass a wise and vigorous code of laws for the government of Ireland, we find James Doyle of Carrig* zealously working at the national council board. Peers, Bishops, and Commoners sat in the same Chamber.

From the reign of Elizabeth, the system of "plantation" in Ireland, for the avowed purpose of excluding the old inhabitants, and introducing the new religion, had been a favourite scheme with English monarchs.† James the First's passion for plantations is proverbial. In 1616, he appointed a pliant commission to scrutinize the titles of land in Ireland. "Advantage was taken," observes Mr. Plowden, "of the most trivial flaws and minute informalities. In Connaught immense estates were declared forfeited to the crown. Perjury, fraud, and the most infamous acts of deceit were successfully practised by the most rapacious adventurers and informers: and Leland, who gives an accurate detail of these enormities, refers to authentic proofs of the most iniquitous practices, of hardened cruelty, of vile persecution, and scandalous subornation, employed to despoil the fair and unoffending proprietor of his inheritance."‡

To this ingenious expedient for extirpating the Catholic aboriginal inhabitants, and substituting in their stead an English Protestant proprietary, various members of the Doyle sept fell victims. The Book of Survey and Distribution, a valuable MS. record, now preserved in the Custom House, Dublin, tells the tale of their downfall. To make citations from the many volumes which constitute that work would be tedious; a few references, however, to the volume for Wexford may not be uninteresting. In the barony of Gorey, for example, the patrimonial estates of Forchest and Gurtins,§ belonging to "William Doyle, I.P." (*i. e.* Irish Papist), were handed over to an English adventurer named Robert Thornhill. Doyle's Park, in the same barony, held by a junior member of the family, was confiscated in favour of Mr. Thornhill also; while the valuable estate of Daniel Doyle in the same county, numbering 602 acres, was graciously bestowed on one Peter Courthroy and his friend John Quinn.

When the ban of the state lay upon mass-houses, and the

* King James's Irish Army List, p. 745.

† Plowden's History of Ireland, vol. i. pp, 322, 348.

‡ The reader is referred to Appendix IV., where some interesting additional details respecting this unscrupulous system, and the men who organized it, will be found.

§ Forchest contained 225A. 1R.; and Gurtins 351A. 2R. A letter from Wexford (30th July, 1857) says: "There are none of the Thornhills now in the county. The Marquis of Ely has for some time possessed the property they held."

gibbet forbade the existence of a Priest, the Doyles with singular devotion gave several of its members to the Irish Church.*

The searching severity of the Penal Laws drove hundreds of Irish families to conform to Protestantism; but the Doyles stood their ground firmly. The list of attainders in 1642, as preserved in the Queen's Bench office, enumerates three members of the sept of O'Doyle who lost their valuable landed possessions in Wicklow. James Doyle of Grange in the county Meath, and Elizabeth Doyle of Dublin, incurred at the same time a similar penalty.

But this and other persecutions, so far from cooling their patriot spirit and devotion to Catholicism, would seem to have had rather the contrary effect; for, among another batch attainted in 1691, owing to having espoused the cause of James II., we find Captain Doyle, of Lord Westmeath's infantry, as well as three other members of the sept—all natives of and seated in the county of Wicklow.

That branch of the family which emigrated at an early period to Wexford, and from which the subject of these pages claims descent, was not less distinguished for its patriotism. Among the Catholic gentry of Wexford who were outlawed in 1691, for opposing the usurpation of William III., we find James Doyle of Ollarden, and Nicholas Doyle of Ballinastragh. Three others of this name, seated in Meath, Kildare and Dublin, were likewise attainted in 1691.

The patriotism of the Doyles was not marked by attainders exclusively. When Sarsfield, in 1691, was engaged in recruiting the Irish army, he despatched from Limerick a famous Rapparee or guerilla Captain, commonly known as "Brigadier Doyle," with commissions to raise men and horses for King James. Doyle, though attended by a few followers only, succeeded in penetrating the enemy's lines as far as Borris, county Carlow, where he seized in the night twenty-two horses of the Williamite dragoons. The decision of an Orange court-martial brought Doyle's career to a close, and his head, long after, might be seen bleaching, with others, on the walls of Kilkenny.†

As soon as the Treaty of Limerick was ratified, Dr. Dopping, Protestant Bishop of Meath, preached the doctrine from the pulpit of Christ Church, Dublin, that faith ought not to be kept with Papists or Jacobites. In 1692, the Treaty was accordingly violated by Act of Parliament, and chains fell thick and fast upon the Catholics of Ireland. Acts to prevent the further growth of Popery

* See D'Alton's History of the County Dublin, pp. 640, 718, &c.; Gilbert's Hist. Dub., i. 288, &c.

† Information supplied by J. C. O'Callaghan, Esq.

were rife during Anne's reign. The oppressions of the Penal Code were unprecedentedly severe and telling; but an indomitable spirit of Jacobitism continued to animate the sept of Doyle. Thus, in 1707, a privateer manned by Irish and Scotch Jacobites sailed from France, and landed on the Wexford coast, full of fire and vengeance. Thady Doyle a Wexford Jacobite led the van, and pointed out the houses of the Protestants and the Catholics—in order that the former might be plundered and the latter spared.*

Throughout the long, dark night of persecution which ensued, the immediate ancestors of Dr. Doyle humbly and inoffensively pursued the uneven tenor of their way. Solely intent on their daily toil, rarely raising their heads to look in the face of those who rode rough-shod over them; sternly submitting to indignities they durst not resent, and thanking Providence when allowed to toil unmolested—the poor, proscribed Catholics, with chains clanking at their heels, dragged on an unenviable existence. At length, in 1778, the heavier shackles which oppressed them were unlocked, and they, to whom the blessings of civil and religious liberty had been unknown, now, for the first time, breathed with joy and freedom.

But the remembrance of their persecutions was far from being soon effaced. "How often," wrote Dr. Doyle, in his Letters on the State of Ireland, "how often have I perceived in a congregation of some thousand persons how the very mention of the Penal Code caused every eye to glisten and every ear to stand erect; the very trumpet of the last judgment, if sounded, would not produce a more perfect stillness in any assemblage of Irish peasantry, than a strong allusion to the wrongs we suffer."

But to the more immediate object of our narrative.

One fine autumn day in the year 1786, a young and interesting-looking woman, in dense but homely weeds, and with eyes red from weeping, was observed to wend her way along the banks of the Barrow, and proceed towards New Ross, which so picturesquely overhangs it. She had evidently approached that trying period of domestic life when the terrors and joys of approaching maternity blend; and it was whispered by the old crones of the town that she had just been deprived of a husband's protection. Passing beneath the old groined archway of Bishopsgate, the young widow disappeared from the pursuing scrutiny of some idlers—but they quickened their pace, and arrived in time to see her enter an obscure lodging-house in that portion of Ross known as "the Irish town." It was subsequently noticed, with some significant nods, that a messenger had been despatched to Priory-street in quest of Dr. James Doyle, a well-known and clever phy-

* Broadside communicated by J. C. O'Callaghan, Esq.

sician of Ross. The Doctor was promptly in attendance, and, with kindly solicitude, remained beside his patient's bed until morning. At length a child was born—and christened James Warren Doyle.

Old James Doyle, the little stranger's father, who died some weeks previously, had been a respectable farmer, residing at Donard, or as it was sometimes styled, Ballinvegga, within six miles of Ross, in the Enniscorthy direction. He is described by his descendants as having been a man of eccentric and impulsive tendencies, scrupulously upright, but generally wrongheaded. Contrary to the advice of many friends, he speculated largely in land, and his means, after a few years, became seriously crippled in consequence. When fortune favoured his agricultural pursuits, he proposed for, and was accepted by Miss Mary Downes,* a member of a most respectable Catholic family, still resident at Adamstown in the county Wexford. By her he had five children—James, the physician referred to above; Peter, pastor of St. Martin's, Tintern, and rural dean of Ferns; Alicia, who married a farmer named Pierce; Catherine, wife of the late Mr. Howlett of Ross; and Thomas, who became a ship captain. Mrs. Doyle sank with her husband's fortunes. She died ere time had silvered her hair; and her husband, notwithstanding his rapid descent to poverty, promptly paid that compliment to the happiness of first marriage usually implied by entering on a second. No mercenary motive led to this alliance. Anne Warren of Loughnageera had scanty means and little beauty; but as a young woman of vigorous and almost masculine strength of judgment, she had long been famous in her family. Mr. Doyle's friends, unappreciating these mental qualities, censured him without stint for contracting a marriage which seemed so very unlikely to better his condition pecuniarily; and to the day of Anne Doyle's death, they manifested but little cordiality towards her. Mrs. Doyle was a Catholic, but had sprung from a family of Quaker extraction. She brought her husband four children—namely, Patrick, who became a barrister, and died soon after his first and eminently successful *debût* at the bar; Mary, married to a farmer named Dillon; George, who died in 1815; and James Warren Doyle, the future Bishop, who, as already shown, was born subsequent to his father's death.

Mrs. Doyle was poor, yet too proud to ask Dr. James Doyle to abandon his daily professional practice and emolument in Ross to attend her gratuitously several miles away. She accordingly

* The Downeses were an influential Catholic stock in the county Wexford, prior to the civil war of 1641. The Book of the Forfeited Estates records that Garrywithard, belonging to "James Downes, Irish Papist," was divided between Charles Collins, Robert Leigh, and John Olinor. The Leighs are still in possession of the property.

proceeded on foot to Ross, and had not long arrived at her destination when Surgeon Doyle's professional assistance became urgently necessary. The services clinically rendered on this occasion were made, in after life, the subject of some pardonable boasting on the part of the worthy Doctor.

The days of James Doyle's infancy passed away in a mist, and of his childhood there are few traits related characteristic or remarkable. He was no infant prodigy, but one of nature's children. Nor do any witnesses survive to describe the various forewarnings of grace which marked him, like the youthful Timothy, for the hierarchy of Christ. Beyond a general tradition that his young days were illumed by the rays of purity and piety, and that they gave promise of the fuller virtues which adorned his more mature life, we have little illustrative evidence to adduce. That he possessed, however, from a very tender age, a most observant disposition, with a singularly retentive memory, we know on his own authority. In his evidence before parliament on the state of the Irish poor, we find him (pp. 396-416) describing some local, agricultural, and domestic customs of which he took personal cognizance between the ages of four and six years.

A somewhat remarkable prediction regarding Dr. Doyle's future greatness was expressed, by an old deaf and dumb woman, before he had attained his ninth year. The anecdote descriptive of it has been recorded by the late Mrs. Howlett, the step-sister and by many years the senior of Dr. Doyle. She owned a farm and a mill, both situated adjacent to Ross. James Doyle passed a good deal of his time at her house, and used to accompany her sons to a neighbouring school. One day in harvest-time, while every one was from home but Mrs. Howlett and her infant daughter Mary (to whom, as Mrs. Coney, many letters in this memoir will be found addressed by Dr. Doyle), a knock came to the door of the kitchen, in which Mrs. Howlett was engaged baking some wheaten bread. She hurried to the door, and found a poor travelling woman silently imploring shelter from a heavy shower which was then falling, amidst deafening peals of thunder. The good lady led the poor dumb creature to the kitchen fire, made her take off and dry her saturated cloak, and placed a comfortable meal of potatoes and milk before her. After a while the boys came in from school, including the late Martin Howlett, whom his mother had at this time intended for the priesthood. The deaf and dumb woman looked sharply at the group and made some signs, which no one seeming to comprehend, she took up a large bellows and with a piece of chalk, which she had in her pocket, wrote in Irish "You intend that boy for a priest: he never will be one; but that youth yonder," pointing to the future Bishop, "will become a

splendid ornament to the Church."* The old woman raised her skinny hands above her head to signify that he would wear a mitre; and bestowing a look of intense interest upon him, she slowly left the house.

Nothing could equal the humiliation and chagrin of little Martin Howlett when informed, in a manner so deliberate and impressive, that never would he reach the goal of his ambition. He vowed vengeance upon the old woman as soon as she had left the house, and, accompanied by his brothers, he pursued and overtook her. Giving full rein to the wanton wildness in which boys of that age and time were wont to indulge, he ducked her in his mother's mill-pond. The woman's cap fell off, and the boys to their astonishment discovered that she had no ears. The verification of her prophecy, not only by Dr. Doyle's subsequent distinction but in Martin Howlett's abandonment of his sacerdotal designs, was to say the least a very remarkable coincidence. He became first a physician and finally a ship-owner, and died much lamented upwards of half a century afterwards at Ross. Mrs. Howlett's mysterious visitor was, probably, one of those wandering Ulster women so celebrated at that period in Ireland for their prophecies and medical skill.

Doyle was eleven years old when the insurrection of 1798 burst forth. He found himself standing in the very citadel of its strength, and with a child's dismay he watched its furious progress. He saw New Ross the theatre of one of the bloodiest and most obstinately contested battles of that epoch. For ten hours, in the heat of midsummer, the rebels fought like tigers. Twice during the day they captured the town, and drove the royal army in confusion before them. The streets and lanes ran with blood. Flowing to a confluence, as some accounts almost incredibly assert, it poured in a scarlet stream down the steep acclivity on which the old town stands, and mingled with awful contrast in the crystal Barrow beneath! Night closed upon the conflict, but it only served for a short time to hide the wholesale bloodshed. Incendiarism was at work, and fifty houses sent forth their sheet of flame. Numbers of persons perished within them. The deafening thunder of artillery, the clangor of arms, the roaring conflagration, the groans of the dying, and the shrieks of terrified women and children, completed the horror of a scene which left

* The woman can hardly have been much inferior to the Sybil, if, as has been alleged, she employed the following Irish characters in her prophecy:

Is mian leat ꝛaꝫaꝛt do ḋéanaṁ de
An n-ꝫaꝛꝛun ꝛo; ní bialḋ ꝛé na ꝛaꝫaꝛt
Ċoiḋċe: aċt an t-oꝫánac ud ṫaḷḷn-bialḋ
Sé 'na oꝛnáid do'n Eaꝫlaiꝛ.

more than one brain crazed for life. A relative of Doyle's fell at the Battle of Oulart about the same time.

Young Doyle had a narrow escape of his life. Accompanied by his friend and neighbour, Martin Doyle, now the respected Pastor of Graignamana, they incautiously sauntered along the banks of the Barrow while the district continued to be still disturbed. A sudden but irregular discharge of musketry aroused the boys to a sense of their danger; and in less time than we take to write it, a hot conflict between the royal troops and the insurgent peasantry was raging. Martin Doyle dragged the future Bishop, who was by some years his junior, into a clump of furze, and there anxiously awaited the cessation of hostilities. Dr. Doyle, many long years after, in a conversation with his staunch friend, Father Martin, referred to this incident of their young days. "The only beating I ever got," he said, "was from you, while both of us lay concealed in the furze bush." "You deserved it, my Lord," was the reply. "Nothing would do you but to be popping up your little black head after every volley, to see if the battle was over. I at last lost all patience, and belaboured you unmercifully with a hazel switch. You lay pretty quiet after—*Deo gratias!*—for had our hiding-place been observed, we should, in all human probability, have been piked or bayoneted."

Mr. Doyle's vocation for the priesthood may be said to have been discernible from the day he received confirmation from the hands of good Bishop Caulfield. Previous to the age of seven his temperament was frolicsome and exuberant; but he now exhibited daily evidence of a thoughtful disposition, mixed but rarely in the society of other boys, and bore the impress of that divine hand which had set him apart for the sanctuary. Unostentatiously pious, filially reverent, and gifted with a flow of uncultured talent, he arrested the attention and commanded the respect of all who knew him. Though poor and humble, an air of unconsciously borne dignity guided his gait, and favourably distinguished him from those among whom he moved. He cultivated few friendships—but an intimacy once formed by his heart and hand, it remained ever after invulnerably bound.

To his mother he was indebted for his earlier instruction. He subsequently attended Mr. Grace's seminary, near Rathnarogue, where both Catholic and Protestant sat and studied side by side. Dr. Doyle, in his Sixth Letter on the State of Ireland, alludes to the good-humoured polemical badinage that occasionally found expression among the boys at Rathnarogue. The Catholic students would not unfrequently address some puritanical-looking youth with the appellation of "Father Which," alluding to the obsolete expression retained in the Anglican version of the Lord's Prayer,

"and retained, no doubt," adds Dr. Doyle playfully, "as a relic of antiquity, to show that the English Church has not yet abandoned entirely the worship of relics, or all veneration for olden times."*

In the year 1800, Doyle bade adieu for ever to the ink-spattered and well-notched desks of Mr. Grace's school; and as his heart by this time had begun to manifest marked evidences of a religious tendency, his mother fanned the flame by placing him at a seminary then recently established in New Ross by Father John Crane, a zealous and learned member of the Order of St. Augustine. "Doyle was my junior and some classes below me," observed Dr. Phelan, late Poor Law Commissioner, in a conversation with the author. "He was not a very quick boy at this period; but his wonderful studiousness and assiduity have left a marked impression on my mind after the lapse of near seventy years. We used to walk three or four miles to school every day, satchels on back—and of course I knew him well. He had no fancy for any plays or games. He was a reserved and not very sociable boy."† But in his intercourse with Father Crane he did not want for warmth of feeling. For this most amiable and paternal preceptor Doyle became at once filled with an affection that grew with his growth and increased year by year afterwards,

* "Letters on the State of Ireland, addressed by J. K. L. to a Friend in England:" Dublin, 1825, p. 149.

† The foregoing pages had been printed off when we received the above and further details from Dr. Phelan, who knew Dr. Doyle almost from his cradle. For several years after the r laxation of the Penal Laws it was not easy to find persons willing and able to undertake the instruction of Catholic youths. Dr. Phelan's father, however, who resided at Clonleigh, near Ross, succeeded in prevailing upon a schoolmaster named MacDonell to settle there, and instruct the children of the neighbourhood. But the unpleasant fact soon became evident that the pedagogue was fonder of alcohol than arithmetic, and preferred, as a general rule, grog to geography. Mr. MacDonell was sent about his business, and a schoolmistress was engaged in the person of Anne Warren Doyle, the widowed mother of the future J. K. L. Dr. Phelan, who received his earlier education from Mrs. Doyle, describes her as a person of respectable information, talent, and acquirements. This fact serves to corroborate an opinion often advanced by physiologists—namely, that gifted men are indebted for their intellectual superiority rather to the maternal than to the paternal blood.

Mrs. Doyle conducted the school for several years, and gave very general satisfaction. A little child in petticoats, of which she seemed devotedly fond, accompanied her to Clonleigh, and remained there during the period of her sojourn. It must be confessed, on the authority of Dr. Phelan, that Doyle, between the ages of three and five, was by no means an interesting child. "He was the noisiest creature I ever knew," observes Dr. Phelan. "He would often scamper upon the common at Clonleigh, bellowing like a bull, and with no clothes on him but his shirt. The common immediately adjoined the school-house. He was at this time about five years of age." This wild exuberance of feeling soon gave place to that wonderful sobriety which dignified him during his entire after life. "He attentively received his mother's instructions," says Dr. Phelan, "and was soon sufficiently advanced to accompany me every day to the old college school at Ross."

until death at last saddened its intensity. Letters will appear in this memoir illustrative of the sincere respect and love that he bore his old preceptor. Writing to the late Very Rev. Dr. Gibbons, on the 17th October, 1823, Dr. Doyle says, "There is no person now living, with the exception of one brother, to whom I have been so long allied by affection and friendship, or to whom I am under more weighty obligations."

The Very Rev. Dr. Furlong, O.S.A., acted as usher in Father Crane's academy at this period. In a letter to the author, he says: "The school was commenced by the Rev. John Crane, shortly after the Rebellion of 1798. Considering how short a period had then elapsed since it ceased to be a felony for Catholics to educate youth, and considering the prostrate condition of the country, and especially the county Wexford, at that period, the school was pretty vigorously conducted, and proved of great advantage to Ross and its neighbourhood. At the present day, however, Mr. Crane's school would not be looked up to as one of the first class." This seminary was in connexion with, and stood immediately adjacent to a convent of Augustinian friars, of which Father Crane was Prior. "In the year 1802," remarks Dr. Furlong, "Dr. Doyle was placed under my tutorage, and I instructed him for three months in the classics. I left the school in 1803, and in the following year it was relinquished. At that period I observed that he had talent, and saw he was able to improve himself: but I did not discover those extraordinary mental powers which in after life he made manifest to the world." He was at this time sixteen years of age, and body as well as mind seem to have been a long way from maturity. His piety, however, grew like the oak, solid and gradual. Those who remember the tall, slight figure of Dr. Doyle, will, perhaps, be surprised to hear that Dr. Furlong describes him to have been, in 1802, remarkably short in stature for his years.

To Catholics it is well known that there are two classes of clergy—the secular or missionary priesthood, and the regular, or those who pursue a monastic life. Mr. Doyle, from an early age, with the sanction of his spiritual director, had decided upon entering holy orders; but it was at that more advanced stage of existence, when thought intensifies and the intellect matures, that for reasons which will presently be mentioned he viewed some portion of the secular discipline with distaste, and, contrary to general expectation, determined to discharge the duties of his intended calling within the more limited sphere of action which a cloister presents. This wish and resolution to pass his days in conventual obscurity are curious, as contrasting with the thoroughly public career both as a Bishop and a politician which circumstances

subsequently led him to adopt. In his "Essay on the Catholic Claims," Dr. Doyle alludes to the motives which induced him to prefer the cloister to the mission. "Indeed, as a clergyman," he writes, "I feel sensibly the evils which arise from a kind of eleemosynary support—it was one of the motives which disposed me, at an early period, to prefer a collegiate to a missionary life; and to the present hour it is one which deeply weighs upon my mind—it is one of the many misfortunes of my native land, which often cause me in silence and solitude to wish I were banished from her shores, and restored to that exile in which I spent my youth!"

Though gifted with much humility, Dr. Doyle could never divest himself of a certain amount of manly pride and spirit, which, without lowering him in the sight of heaven, vastly tended to increase the general respect in which he was held on earth. There were even some practices existing among branches of the conventual clergy, which, at the outset of his career, filled him with humiliation, and occasionally with terror, lest his high and lofty spirit should at any time be obliged to bend to them. In one of Dr. Doyle's communications with Bishop O'Connor, which will be fully referred to hereafter, we find him pronouncing as a "degradation" the then, as now, rare system of friars begging *osteatim* for their support. He considered the practice calculated to diminish the respect due to the priestly character, and that it should be either greatly modified or altogether discontinued. After Mr. Doyle's ordination in 1809, some of the Augustinian brethren who knew his repugnance to the *osteatim* system, would occasionally exclaim in joke: "Ah! Doyle, we'll see you some of these days obliged to go off, bare-footed, with a bag on your back, and compelled to beg your subsistence from door to door." "Never!" he would indignantly reply—"Never!" adding, however, after a momentary pause, "of course, if commanded I must cheerfully take up that as well as other crosses, but I sincerely hope I shall never be compelled to contribute to so great a lowering of the priestly character." The "Discalceated" or Bare-footed Hermits of St. Augustine are now rarely met with.

In 1804, Father Crane found it expedient to discontinue the school, of which Doyle had been a daily attendant for upwards of two years. He was now an orphan, and lodged with a Mrs. Whelan, at Clonleigh, within a few miles of Ross. His mother, Anne Warren Doyle,* had died after a short illness, on 28th September, 1804. James Doyle was strongly attached to her, and justly. She was in a great degree to him what Monica was to

* Mrs. Doyle would seem to have been of the same family as Billy Warren, a distinguished musical composer, pronounced in Moore's Memoirs (pp. 27, 39, &c.) to be a near relative of Dr. Doyle's.

Augustine, and we may attribute to the early instruction which she caused to be imparted to his tender mind, the germ of that breadth of brain and strength of piety which in after life surprised the world.

The Convent of the Hermits of St. Augustine was most picturesquely situated on the side of a hill, overlooking the junction of the Nore and the Barrow. It consisted of four clergymen, including the Prior, Father John Crane. Charity and philanthropy characterised the lives of these good men; and in such high veneration was the Rev. Mr. Crane held by the people, that to this day they constantly visit his grave in the old abbey-yard, and carry home pieces of its consecrated clay. It occasionally happens, as will be seen at a subsequent stage of this narrative, that the secular clergy, and even sometimes bishops, are not exempt from a little professional jealousy whenever their small incomes exhibit a diminution in consequence of the adjacent presence of regular or conventual priests. No such feeling, however, existed among the parochial priesthood of the diocess of Ferns. According to a statement furnished by the then Bishop of Ferns, Dr. Caulfield, to government, and printed among the Castlereagh Papers (iv. 157), the prelate, after enumerating the friars within his jurisdiction on 29th November, 1800, wrote: "They are supported by the charitable contributions of the people; they are employed in preaching, catechizing, and instructing the people, attending the sick, and assisting the parochial clergy occasionally in the administration of sacraments." With such an edifying example constantly before his eyes, Doyle's religious feelings daily strengthened.

"In January, 1805," observes the Very Rev. Dr. Furlong, "he entered his noviciate, which always embraces the term of twelve months. At the Convent of Grantstown this period of his life was passed. I saw him twice that year, but only *en passant*, as a visit to a novice must necessarily be."

The Convent and chapel of Grantstown was an old, unpretending, thatched edifice, furnishing an instance of the modest and gradual but earnest efforts made by Catholic Ireland in the last century to assert its ancient faith. Another chapel of the order, situated at Callan, was built of mud; and the roof falling in one day during Mass, the congregation had to support it with their hands and shoulders until Father Grace, a venerable old friar, completed the holy sacrifice. The Convent at Grantstown is approached by a long avenue, lined on either side by stately trees. It stands adjacent to the sea-shore, within some miles of Carnesore Point, which forms the junction of the east and southern coast of Ireland. The extreme retirement of the locality led to its selection for the training of novices. Here young Doyle, through-

out the year of his noviciate, read, studied, and prayed. No events of interest chequered its progress. Within, there seemed to exist a perpetual retreat: silence, save when matins or the toll of the convent bell disturbed it, pervaded the holy place. Without, soothing quietude, broken only by the shriek of the sea-gull or the buzzing of a bee in quest of honey, reigned supreme. Had there been any one to watch the movements of Doyle and of the master of novices—without whom he durst never leave the cloister—many a day might the slight figure of the one, and the burly physique of the other have been seen wending their way along the retired sea-coast—the master's eyes rivetted on the swelling canvas of some passing merchantman, while Doyle's pored over the black-letter page of Tertullian or Augustine.

The noviciate is designedly the most trying period of a friar's life. Every legitimate means are employed to try his obedience, and test whether a genuine vocation has moved him. He dare not pass the convent bounds without the close surveillance of the master of novices. His cell is subject to be visited by the superior at all hours of the day and night. At midnight, especially in continental convents, the novices are frequently summoned from their beds to repeat in Latin the Seven Penitential Psalms. The day is passed according to the constitutions of the order, as compiled in the year 1287. At five o'clock each novice rises. Morning prayer, matins, Mass, and meditation consume the forenoon. This is followed by a careful study of the rule of St. Augustine, a small volume in the Latin tongue, which it is usual to commit as far as possible to memory. It is read aloud during dinner, and its salutary truths constantly instilled into the minds of the novices. Moral theology is rarely read; but the works of Augustine, and of his devout admirer, Berti, receive much attention. Should leisure and other circumstances permit (which is not often the case), novices are allowed to study rhetoric or logic, and occasionally, as a relaxation, the works of Butler, Challoner, Hay, or Reeves. To Doyle this indulgence was freely extended, and he gathered to himself abundant fruit as he read. At eventide, the solemn toll of the convent bell proclaims that a dead silence is to be observed. If any novice intentionally breaks it, remains up in his cell after bed-time, or otherwise infringes discipline, he is sentenced to kneel, with clasped hands, in the refectory whilst the other Religious breakfast or dine.

The site of the old Augustinian Convent at Grantstown was selected in consequence of its proximity to Clonmines, where the majestic ruins of a monastery of the Eremites of St. Augustine still exist. They are situated in a fertile valley, with a gradually rising ground in the rere, and an extensive estuary of the sea in

front, which is navigable for yachts to the very walls. There are persons still living, who may remember the young novice praying and reading in that picturesque ruin known as the Cowboys' Chapel. In this shaded retreat many a rich thought grew in the student's mind, and many a pious aspiration ascended from the same source to God. Throughout his entire after-life he found daily confirmation of the truth of the word, "It is good for a man when he hath borne the yoke from his youth."

Having passed without wincing through the ordeal of the noviciate, Doyle was pronounced by his Provincial and Prior sufficiently well prepared to take the three solemn vows of the order—namely, voluntary poverty, obedience, and chastity. Accordingly, in January, 1806, the profession of James Doyle was, with more than ordinary impressiveness, celebrated. He made his solemn vows as an humble son of Augustine in the little thatched chapel at Grantstown, in presence of the Prior, Father William Doyle, and several other Religious.

The despotic law which rendered it an indictable offence for Catholics to educate their youth had been, since 1782, obliterated from the statute book; and although not a few college-gates lay invitingly open at home, Doyle, after due consideration, decided upon proceeding to Portugal, with a view to prosecute his studies at Coimbra, the ancient capital and chief ecclesiastical city of that country. His expectations of the varied learning to be gathered at a foreign university were not disappointed. In after-life he always avowed himself favourable to continental education. On his memorable parliamentary examination he was asked whether he thought it desirable that, by the provisions of an act, Irish ecclesiastics should be compelled to study at home. We transcribe Dr. Doyle's reply to this and other queries in order that the reader may gather, from the truest source, the chief reasons which induced him to prefer a continental to a domestic collegiate education: "I think it is very advantageous to young ecclesiastics to travel abroad, and to spend some time at universities. I am of opinion that men's minds are much enlarged, and their feelings much improved by residing in foreign countries for some time, and by comparing their institutions with our own. Travelling holds out many advantages which naturally flow into the mind by communication with mankind. I think it would therefore be a great injury to the Catholic Church that men who might have studied abroad should be excluded from any office; at the same time, I beg to remark that there is no class of men who could be possibly employed at home, in our Church, who would be so much attached to this country and its institutions as those who have lived abroad. I

myself never would have loved the British constitution so much as I do, had I not been acquainted with the forms of government which prevail in the countries where I have resided. It is by comparison with other institutions that the excellence of our own is best known."

The foregoing reply was expressed by Dr. Doyle in the course of that elaborate examination before a committee of the House of Commons in 1825,* which the reader will find more fully noticed in the seventeenth chapter of these memoirs.

The following remarks, applicable to the present period of our narrative, were addressed, during a separate examination, to the Lord President of the Peers:

"*Q.* Are those who are educated on the Continent on burses better educated than those who are educated at home?" "*A.* I think the education at home is as good as can be had at most of the continental colleges; but our Irish students who receive an education at the universities abroad are better educated than they can be educated at home."

"*Q.* You make a distinction between the colleges and universities; have the goodness to state the ground of that distinction?" "*A.* At the colleges on the Continent there is generally at each a course of studies, and by attending to those studies a young man may get a certificate, and be rendered fit to serve in the Church in Ireland. Now, besides this course of studies, which is found within the college at home, there are public halls at the university, where lectures are given, where public examinations are held, where public exhibitions are performed, where degrees are given to those who have most distinguished themselves, and where, of course, there is that emulation and excitement of genius which tend to improve the mind and to increase the knowledge of men. For instance, I studied at Coimbra in Portugal, but in the college in which I lived there were several students educated who never attended the university; some few others, as well as myself, did attend the university; and hence there was a difference in the education."

"*Q.* In what do you apprehend the superiority to consist, of an education at the foreign universities over any domestic education which can now be procured in Ireland?" "*A.* On the Continent they have men of more extensive learning to teach in their universities than we can find in our colleges at home; there are greater rewards held forth; genius is better cultivated; and for

* The evidence taken before the Select Committee of the Houses of Lords and Commons on the State of Ireland. (London, Murray, 1825, pp. 393-573.)

these reasons I have found that a person receives greater information, and improves his talent more by studying at a university than at any private colleges." Such were the reasons which appear to have determined Mr. Doyle to prosecute his studies for the sacred ministry abroad.

With the blessing and warm wishes of his old preceptor, Father Crane, Doyle proceeded, accompanied by three other students, to Cork, in the spring of 1806, intending to take shipping from thence to Mondego Bay. The names of his companions were Clayton, Hanlon, and M'Dermott. They had never before seen the city of Cork, and they occupied the interval between arrival and departure in going about sight-seeing and visiting the public institutions. From Cove to the Groves of Blarney, from the Mardyke to Spike Island, no point of attraction within Cork or its vicinity remained unexplored. Doyle, though the youngest, held aloof from their society, and spent the entire of the two days at the Augustinian Convent in Brunswick-street, poring over the eight folio tomes of St. Augustine. This trait, so indicative of piety and mental solidity, furnishes an insight into the character of the man. To the motto of St. Augustine and of the Augustinian order—"Tolle, lege!"—he seems to have given a literal interpretation not less rare than commendable. Having arrived at Lisbon, the four Irish students, in obedience alike to the dictates of etiquette and inclination, called to pay their respects to the Prior of the gorgeous Augustinian Convent of that city, and received from the good man the *graça*, or three days' hospitality, which it is usual to extend on such occasions. They then proceeded to the College de Graça in Coimbra.

Of Mr. Doyle's letters at this period we have been able to discover one only. It is addressed to the late Mrs. Crosbie of Wexford. We fail to recognise in it the vigour of his later writings, but the gentlemanly courtesy and true Christian amiability of tone—the tendency to commit his impressions to writing—the allusion to the beautiful Inez and Camoens' poetry, are all more or less characteristic of the gifted writer:

"Coimbra, July ye 2d, 1806.

"DEAR MADAM—You'll excuse the liberty I take in writing to you, as I have the misfortune (I may call it so) of being so slightly acquainted with you; but if there is a fault, you must blame your own goodness. After various windings of Providence since I had the honour of conversing with you, I am now settled in a College in the celebrated city of Coimbra. I need not describe the situation of the city; as regards the College, it is a most beautiful building, standing near the river, with a large garden of six acres

which ascends to the top of a hill, where there is a splendid house, commanding a prospect of the whole city; and out of my window I can view the grove on the banks of the Mondego, where the beautiful Inez, so celebrated in Camoens' poetry, was murdered. His works being translated into English, I make no doubt but you have read them. There is a University here, where there are 2,200 students, and more than twenty particular Colleges. Coimbra is, in fact, a great place of learning, which causes the inhabitants to call it a new Athens.

"There likewise belongs to this College a beautiful country-house, one mile distant, where the students go every Thursday. I went there last week, and was charmed with the beauties of it. Whole groves of lemon and orange trees environ it, with, I believe, every other sort of fruit-trees that the earth ever produced. I scarce tasted of any, except the oranges, which the physicians say are wholesome. You'll excuse so long a letter from me, dear madam; and among your many favours to me, pray be kind enough to give my compliments to Mr. Crosbie, and likewise to the good Mrs. Heron. Mr. Ralph and his wife (as I suppose he has one before now) I saluted in my letter to the Rev. Peter Doyle from Lisbon; and will conclude by assuring you that I am, and ever will be,

"Your most obliged and humble servant,

"JAMES DOYLE.

"P.S.—If at any future time you would do me the honour of writing to me (as I am certain at any time I would be improved, laying aside the satisfaction I would feel in reading your letter), you may direct to *Senr. Fr. Iago Doyle, no Collegio de Graça, Coimbra.*"

The Augustinian College de Graça in Coimbra was annexed to the great Alma Mater of that city, and went by the name of "the little University." As Dr. Doyle observed in his parliamentary examination, only few among the students of the former possessed sufficient learning and industry to enter the larger establishment. In it, everything was on a great scale, and it required a thoroughly comprehensive mind to grasp its course of study. Doyle, after some close application and tough brain-work, at length qualified himself to enter and pass through the great University of Coimbra. Bishop O'Connor, O.S.A., observes: "He was deemed so talented by the academic heads, that he was admitted to the rare privilege of enjoying the full gratuitous range of the large University, while belonging to the graça or minor one."

A generous ambition filled him, and bright historical examples inflamed his patriotic and religious ardour. Some of Ireland's

most distinguished divines had not only formed their minds and received their education in Portugal, but afterwards became prominently connected with Coimbra. Archbishop Talbot of Dublin, the vigorous wielder of pen and crozier, studied here, and continued spiritual adviser to the Infanta, both before and after her marriage with Charles II. Dominick O'Daly of Kerry, the historian of Catholic persecution in the reigns of James and Elizabeth, founded an Irish College at Lisbon and a house for Irish students at Coimbra. Having acted as Confessor to the Queen, and Ambassador to France, he died Bishop Elect of Coimbra. Father Luke Wadding read laboriously at Coimbra, and having mastered the Portuguese language, preached with surpassing eloquence from the pulpits of that city. He wrote as many books as would fill an ordinary private library. He relieved the oppressions of Ireland by supplying the Supreme Council of Kilkenny with funds and men. Consulted by the See of Rome on nearly every question of importance, we find the regulation of the entire Irish Church consigned to his management. Wadding refused a Cardinal's hat, and died crowned by the humble skull-cap of his order. It may well be supposed that such locally suggestive examples of Irish worth fanned the flame of our student's sanctified ambition.

The Rev. Mr. M'Dermott, his old friend and fellow-student, writes: "Doyle's education when a boy, and on his arrival at Coimbra, was defective, which gave me an opportunity for indulging personal vanity, as I prepared him and two young Portuguese for matriculation in Greek, and I was called 'the professor,' and was vain, not knowing that a little learning was dangerous. Doyle, at this period, though unacquainted with the languages and science, was regarded by our learned Rector, Joaghim Carvallo, and by our masters of rhetoric and philosophy, Teicero and Pinto, as a youth of great intellectual promise." In answer to a query desiring to know whether Doyle had written any theme of striking power, our correspondent observes: "The alumni of Coimbra wrote monthly dissertations. Doyle, for some time after his arrival, was not sufficiently advanced in his education to write a thesis. After a time he made good progress, although our studies were perpetually interrupted by the din of arms and the passing of troops. Nicholas Clayton and I were his class-fellows at this period. The former kept the head of the class."

The most authentic accounts concur in stating that our student arrived at Coimbra quite a rough diamond, scantily informed in classics and science, but with a mind teeming with fertility. We have heard one who knew him well say that, had Dr. Doyle passed through an elaborate early education, his mind would probably

have never so suddenly or so luxuriantly expanded. Of this there can be little doubt. It is a fact well known to physiologists, that the memory and mind are often seriously injured by pressing on both too hardly and continuously in early life. Many a time have the materials of a really able man been irrevocably crushed by overtasking his brain in childhood, and terrifying him with the rod. Of this great function of our nature, Sir H. Holland, in his "Mental Physiology," observes that "its powers are only gradually developed, and that if forced into premature exercise, they are impaired by the effort. We are bound to refrain from goading it by constant and laborious efforts in early life, and before the instrument is strengthened to its work, or it decays under our hands."

"Coimbra," continues Mr. M'Dermott, "is the most celebrated University on the Continent, and even in science rivals Trinity at home. It is most difficult to obtain a degree there. The course is fifteen years. It has faculties of arts, theology, canon and civil law, and medicine, and some of the most eminent surgeons emanate from it. The examinations are fearfully severe. The Friars received Doyle gratuitously. Hanlon was rather indolent, never distinguished himself, and died some years after on the mission in Tipperary. Clayton was a first-rate man, extremely diligent and accurate. At thirty years of age he was offered a bishopric *in partibus*, which he declined."

To the premature dissolution of this gifted friend of his youth Dr. Doyle feelingly alludes in a letter to Bishop O'Connor, dated 6th October, 1822: "I have shared most cordially in the regret which we all have felt at the death of our dear friend in Galway. His loss to the Church in that province is very great—to the order to which irreparable; for in Ireland it did not possess a more efficient member, or one whose views, zeal, piety, and talents were better calculated to restore to it its former lustre. We know not the ways of God, but we know they are wise and beneficent, and whether He causeth death or giveth life, it is for the good of those whom He predestined to be the co-heirs of his Son. I have now lost two of my three College friends, both near and dear to my heart—both cut off in the prime of life—both victims to a sudden disease; but the reflections which crowd upon me are not to be obtruded upon you."

Doyle cultivated few friendships at the University. With one Portuguese, however, he formed an intimacy which remained ever afterwards cemented strongly. In his "Seventh Letter on the State of Ireland," Dr. Doyle alludes to "one of my earliest and most intimate friends, a Portuguese Priest, now a missionary on the Coromandel coast." His name was Misquita. The Bishop, on the 25th July, 1830, thus records his death: "My dear friend

Misquita died on Good Friday, in sentiments of exalted piety. The gentleman at whose house he departed has written to me all the particulars of his sickness and death. My poor friend intended to be with me about this time, and to return afterwards to Portugal, but Providence was pleased to call him in the midst of his labours."

There are few records or traditions to throw any further light on the first year of Doyle's college life at Coimbra. His fellow-student, Mr. M'Dermott, in reply to queries, observes: "The depth of his conversation was often relieved by the most fascinating playfulness. Many a time have I enjoyed it as we sauntered along the banks of the Mondego, and amused ourselves with the students on the bridge which connects the town with Santa Clara, so beautifully situated among handsome gardens. The students were light-hearted, and it was difficult for a blundering tourist to pass by without a shout of laughter from them. Doyle manifested no peculiar devotional feelings or aspirations in prayer. He was an ordinary observer of his Christian duties, and was much of opinion that *quis studat orat*. Our 'games' were mostly of a sedentary character—backgammon, draughts, and chess." Doyle probably felt with old Robert Burton, that "chess was a wholesome exercise of the mind."

For sacred poetry he formed a strong predilection at this period. In a letter, dated 14th November, 1822, addressed to his correspondent "Hannah," we find—"I hope to have the pleasure to hear you both play and sing the Stabat Mater. I believe I told you that this has been a favourite devotion with me since I was a boy in College, when the community sang it every Friday night. Our present Pope has always esteemed it a choice devotion in all his trials and persecutions; and it is beautifully expressive not only of the sorrows and sufferings of our Mother who is in heaven, but also of the Church, and of ourselves in our miseries here on earth."

Dr. Doyle does not say that his own voice contributed to swell the Stabat Mater in the chapel of the College de Graça. Few possessed a finer appreciation of the beauties of music than Dr. Doyle; but, like Dr. Johnson and many other distinguished men, he could never turn the simplest air himself. A Dean in the Catholic Church, not remarkable for his musical proficiency, however highly gifted in other respects, bemoaned this deprivation in a conversation with Dr. Doyle: "I find it a serious inconvenience," said the Dean, "having so often to celebrate High Mass and Benediction." "My dear sir," replied the Bishop, "I have a fellow-feeling for you. When I was a boy in College, they got up a singing class. Because I had some aptitude in other respects,

and liked to hear good music, they imagined that I could materially aid the vocalists; but they soon found out their mistake. I was at last sent behind the organ to blow the bellows; and this is the sum total of all the musical aid it was in my power to give."

From a communication of the Rev. J. C——, an alumnus of Coimbra, we catch an interesting glimpse of that conventual life in which Doyle was now a daily participator: "Twelve of the Friars belonging to the Convent and College de Graça," he writes, "filled professors' chairs in the great University during the day. If I mistake not, Dr. Doyle's master was Patricio, afterwards Cardinal Archbishop of Evora and Patriarch of Lisbon. The Augustinian Convent at Coimbra was a splendid and almost luxurious establishment. The very fragments alone of their daily banquet supported between thirty and forty respectable families. As regularly as clockwork, these numerous families, numbering not less than two hundred persons, daily sent for and received their share of the Friars' sumptuous repast. The supply was never known to fail, but lasted to *infinitum*, like the miraculous loaves and fishes." In 1834, the splendid Convent de Graça at Coimbra, with Santa Clara and the various other conventual establishments of men, were suppressed by Don Pedro.

The year 1807 found Doyle more than ordinarily studious. "There was a class of books," says Mr. M'Dermott,* "which he loved to pore over—Montesquieu's 'Esprit des Lois,' Condillac (the great metaphysical inquirer), the Justinian Code, and others of that character. We had a fine library of old books, but not equal to that of the Benedictine Convent in the same town." "While others," observed the late Rev. Mr. Clayton in a conversation with the Bishop of Saldes—"while others were indolently lounging or dozing, during the enervating heats of a Portuguese summer, I have seen Doyle reading and studying at the rate of eight hours a-day." The stirring events and the political schemes and discussions of the time weaned Doyle, to some extent, from this laborious course of study. "Doyle," writes Mr. M'Dermott, "now mixed more with the extern students, and with Portuguese society—including the Fidalgos—than Clayton and myself. Speaking the language with thorough fluency, he conversed freely with them on the chief local topics of the day, including the Inquisition,† which, however, since De Pombal's time had been very innocuous."

The perilous and insidiously expressed opinions of Voltaire

* While these pages were passing through the press, the unwelcome news has reached us of the death of poor Father Austin M'Dermott. He died on the 29th of August, 1860, at the Augustinian Convent, Galway, to which he had been for many years attached.

† See Appendix III.

and Rousseau swept furiously at this period across the Continent, overturning the faith of some, and shaking the long-cherished views of many. When we know that the evil hurricane raged in fullest force round the rock of Peter, it is not surprising that it should have penetrated the college cloisters and halls of the University of Coimbra. The shock was, for a moment, awful. Many were shaken, but comparatively few fell. Among the lay students of the University the damage occasioned by the hellish hurricane was of wider and graver extent. Doyle stood in the midst of a vast concourse of infidels. He breathed contagion, and was smitten. Specially gifted with a reasoning and philosophic mind—full of the metaphysical lore and theories of the day, he probably felt that, if a man is furnished by his Maker with a sound, vigorous, and discriminating judgment, he must either exercise that glorious endowment or abandon himself to mental sloth. Be this as it may, Doyle resolved to test searchingly the arguments so zealously put forward by the disciples of Voltaire.

Whether Doyle was right or wrong in thus imperilling the existence of his faith, we shall not now discuss. He probably gloried in the strength of his own judgment, and reposed too much confidence in its dictates. "Those who love the danger shall perish therein," and it cannot be denied that Doyle was for a time completely staggered by the well-put points of the infidel orators and writers. Fortunately, however, the violence of the temptation did not last long. While he enumerated in detail the arguments on the side of infidelity, it was, no doubt, fierce and potent; but ere he had summoned to the aid of his tottering conviction one-half of those which constitute the bulwark of a Christian's faith, the tempest had ceased, and all was calm as before.

Touching this critical period of his career, Dr. Doyle, eighteen years after, makes an interesting reference in his "Second Letter on the State of Ireland." Through life he appears to have especially taken the holy father Augustine as his guide and model. There is no portion of the saint's Confessions finer than his account of the errors of Manicheism into which he temporarily fell—a sect which held that the light of reason sufficed to discover to us the truth, without faith or the use of authority. Dr. Doyle, however, had, in the following confession, a better motive than his own humiliation, which, Possidius assures us, was Augustine's main design in composing the work referred to. The episode preaches a solid moral. We find that Dr. Doyle was not a Catholic from prejudice or the chances of birth, but from the profoundest conviction of the truth of his creed. He did not take for granted that its tenets were correct, but tested their legitimacy by rigid inquiry and unsparing analysis. Confi-

dent that Catholicism was the work of Jesus Christ, he calmly and joyously resumed his studies.

"I had scarcely finished my classical studies," he writes, "and had entered College, when I found myself surrounded by the disciples or admirers of D'Alembert, Rousseau, and Voltaire; I frequently traversed in company with them the halls of the Inquisition, and discussed, in the area of the Holy Office, those arguments or sophisms for the suppression of which this awful tribunal was ostensibly employed. At that time the ardour of youth, the genius of the place, the spirit of the time, as well as the example of my companions, prompted me to inquire into all things, and to deliberate whether I should take my station amongst the infidels, or remain attached to Christianity. I recollect, and always with fear and trembling, the danger to which I exposed the gifts of faith and Christian morality which I had received from a bounteous God; and since I became a man, and was enabled to think like a man, I have not ceased to give thanks to the Father of mercies, who did not deliver me over to the pride and presumption of my own heart. But even then, when all things which could have influence on a youthful mind combined to induce me to shake off the yoke of Christ, I was arrested by the majesty of religion; her innate dignity, her grandeur and solemnity, as well as her sweet influence upon the heart, filled me with awe and veneration. I found her presiding in every place, glorified by her votaries, and respected or feared by her enemies. I looked into antiquity, and found her worshipped by Moses; and not only by Moses, but that Numa and Plato, though in darkness and error, were amongst the most ardent of her votaries. I read attentively the history of the ancient philosophers as well as law-givers, and discovered that all of them paid their homage to her as to the best emanation of the one, supreme, invisible, and omnipotent God. I concluded that religion sprung from the Author of our being, and that it conducted man to his last end. I examined the systems of religion prevailing in the east; I read the Koran with attention; I perused the Jewish History, and the History of Christ, of his Disciples, and of his Church,* with an intense interest, and I did not hesitate to continue attached to the religion of our Redeemer, as alone worthy of God; and being a Christian, I could not fail to be a Catholic. Since then my habits of life and profession have rendered me familiar at least with the doctrines and ordinances of divine re-

* Dr. Doyle might have added the holy Scriptures to this list. In a Letter on Bible Societies, published in 1824, the Bishop mentions that "he has read the Bible every day for upwards of twenty years, and devoted many an hour to the study of it."

velation, and I have often exclaimed with Augustine: 'Oh, beauty, ever ancient and ever new, too late have I known thee, too late have I loved thee!'"

The spreading heresy was resisted with vigour and effect. Fervent prayers were offered up from hundreds of altars for its overthrow. Spiritual retreats were ordained, and skilfully conducted by the ecclesiastics of Coimbra. Silence and meditation, which form a prominent feature in that devotional observance, brought many an erring mind to its senses.*

During the year 1825, when several hundred priests were assembled in retreat at Maynooth, Dr. Doyle addressed them in a sermon of great condensed power. He impressed on his hearers, in conclusion, that their own minds and hearts should silently preach more eloquent and touching truths than any which it might be in the lecturer's power to inculcate. "This procedure," he went on to say, "was attended with very beneficial effects at the university in which I spent my youth. I well remember the sombre hue of mourning which clothed the chapel, the solitary lamp, the long and gloomy aisle, the sepulchral silence, the earnest piety of the kneeling penitents. The conductor of the retreat would ascend the massive pulpit, wrap himself for a few moments in mental prayer, and then enunciate a solitary text—'*Verbum caro factum est*,' for example. He made no comment, but left his auditory in silence to digest the great truth. The effect was grand. Prepared for the effect by prayer and thought, every mind, thus thrown on its own resources, created its own pious offspring, fondly dwelt upon it, and profited."

Doyle, when at Coimbra, did not merely trust to the power of a spiritual retreat to think rightly. As already seen, he had fully satisfied his own doubts by a due course of thought and research within the College library. From that moment he became a thoroughly convinced Christian; and, being a Christian, he could not fail to be a Catholic. Many years after, in his "Essay on the Catholic Claims," addressed to the Earl of Liverpool, he thus expressed his views:

* The religious scepticism which sprung up, like an unwholesome fungus, at this period, assumed so wide and alarming a character, that many zealous writers on the side of Christianity published books gravely controverting the infidel scribes. Among other works of this class, advertised in the London *Courier* of 1808, is "A New Argument to prove the Existence of God." Even the Irish College at Paris, long revered as the nursery of so much sanctity and learning, was visited by the prevalent virus of opinion. The author of the "Reminiscences of an Emigrant Milesian" (ii. 238) records: "I entered the Institution of the Abbé MacDermott (the Irish College) in 1794. Religion had not yet been tolerated in its ancient rights. Voltaire and Rousseau were more read by myself and my fellow-students than sacred history. Of this fact Abbé MacDermott was aware, but he could not help it, or control us. All he could do was to impose the observance of morality and propriety of conduct."

"He who addresses your Lordship is a Roman Catholic; he is one in the inmost conviction of his soul. Had he assisted with the apostles at Thabor, and, waking, seen the glory of the Lord—had he been stricken from heaven like Paul on the way to Damascus, his faith might have been more vivid and enlarged, but his rational conviction of the truth of his religion could scarcely be more full and composed. During the greater part of his life he has freely exercised his judgment; his opportunities of inquiry have been many; his mind, if not strong or acute, has been diligently cultivated; and no theorem in mathematics, if due allowance be made for abstract science, has been to him more clearly proved—the distinction between vice and virtue is not to him better ascertained, than that the religion which he professes is the same that was preached by the apostles and founded by Christ."

CHAPTER II.

The French Invasion of Portugal—Doyle shoulders his musket—Battles of Caldas, Rolica, and Vimiero—Doyle acts as interpreter; and goes on the diplomatic service—Convention of Cintra—The Court of Braganza makes seductive proposals to Doyle—He rejects them and returns to Ireland—The regular Clergy persecuted by their own Bishops—Monastic luxury in Portugal—State of Ireland fifty years ago—James Doyle ordained Priest—Refused faculties by Bishop Ryan—The Augustinian Convent at New Ross—Domestic nomination—The Professor perpetrates poetry—Bishop Delany—Dean Staunton—Rev. Andrew Fitzgerald—An amusing interview—Mr. Doyle appointed to a chair in Carlow College—His first acquaintance with the students—An unexpected incident—Splendour of the rhetoric class—Death of his brother Patrick—Letters—Rev. Dr. Slattery—Doyle's reputation daily increases—Letters.

In November, 1807, Spain and Portugal were invaded by Napoleon Buonaparte, whose passion for extending his dominions by the most unscrupulous acts of usurpation had been steadily swelling since the triumphs of Marengo and Austerlitz. A national appeal to Great Britain for aid to resist this new act of aggression was made, and acceded to. In July, 1808, Sir Arthur Wellesley resigned his office of Chief Secretary for Ireland, and proceeded at the head of a goodly army to the Peninsula.

The French invasion of Portugal had been accomplished with the utmost secrecy and despatch. General Junot penetrated the country through a mountainous district hitherto regarded as almost impregnable, and his advance on Lisbon had been only reported to the family of Braganza a few hours previous to the actual arrival of the enemy. The Prince Regent and suite, panic-

stricken, fled to Brazil, and as the royal fleet cleared the mouth of the Tagus it was hotly pursued by Junot's shells and round shot.

Shedding no blood, and cajoling with a subtle diplomacy those whose influence it was worth securing, Junot at once removed the royal arms of Portugal, raised those of France, suppressed the Council of the Regency, to which the Prince had delegated his sovereign authority, assumed the reins of government, filled all the lucrative offices with Frenchmen, and skilfully sealed the harbours against any hostile entrance from without. Having established head-quarters at Lisbon, the French General, with plausible promises of protection and protestations of amity, insidiously spread over the land two vast wings of his army. Strangely fascinated, or paralyzed by dismay, the people, without a struggle, crouched beneath them.

Elaborate lines of communication were established from Lisbon to Elvas, and from Almeida to Coimbra. Vessels of war, refitted and armed under the auspices of Junot, frowned along the coast, and tended to increase the general awe.

At length a successful Spanish insurrection, and the appearance of two English fleets at different points, excited the hopes of the Portuguese. The first blow was struck at Oporto. The French General Quesnel and his staff were taken prisoners. The spirit of insurrection rapidly ran, like an ignited train of gunpowder, along the banks of the Douro, until at last reaching Coimbra—the focus of hostility to French rule—it asserted itself with an explosion that shook the land. At this point the French posts were overpowered, and a Junta was formed whose efforts spread the flame to Condeixa, Pombal, and Leira. "All ages and conditions," writes the Rev. Mr. M'Dermott,* "were summoned to arms. A refusal would be considered as treason. The ecclesiastics of the University, especially the students, were enrolled. Doyle displayed much loyalty, was drilled, shouldered his musket, and went on guard. I was sent, with Lord Burghersh, now the Earl of Westmorland, to Guarda, Viseu, &c., and to a fortress the name of which I cannot recall. We had an escort of native cavalry, and our mission was to ascertain the dispositions of the Portuguese peasantry and gentry. Much satisfactory information was obtained and transmitted to Lord Castlereagh, and afterwards to Sir Arthur Wellesley when he landed at Cape Mondego.† I was sent as I was considered to know the language well, and was of more active habits than Doyle, although by some years my junior. We returned to Coimbra, and thence I accom-

* Letter to the author, 30th November, 1856.

† Napier (vol. i. pp. 157, 190) mentions that one of the Coimbra students having, with great boldness and address, at the head of a band, compelled the hostile

panied Lord Burghersh to Leira, where we met the British head-quarters. I was then introduced to my fellow-countryman Sir Arthur, who was very affable. I slept two nights almost under the same tent with the great General. I continued a sort of nondescript, with the rank of Captain, an orderly, and well mounted, and as interpreter between the English and Portuguese armies. I was present at the battles of Caldas, Rolica, and Vimiero. Before and during the bloody engagement at Rolica, where the French lost 1,500 men, I was entrenched behind a strong windmill, ball-proof, employed in giving spiritual assistance to a number of soldiers, who, knowing that I was in priest's orders, sought my aid. But at Vimiero (on the 21st of August, 1808) I was greatly exposed to the fire of the enemy, as I was obliged to keep going to and fro with orders and despatches to the Portuguese General. I almost forgot to say that I brought General Anstruther's* division, then returning from Sweden, up to within a comparatively short distance of Vimiero. They were in time to take their position in the field, and contributed to the success of that great day. Anstruther established his sharp-shooters and artillery in an old churchyard, and they kept up a deadly fire from behind tombstones and mausoleums. How awful! to see them dealing destruction around from the very chamber and bed of death! Junot, Duke D'Abrantes, commanded in person. The whole of the French force in Portugal, numbering 14,000 men, was employed, and not more than half of the English army. Junot left thirteen pieces of cannon behind him, twenty-three ammunition waggons, with shells and stores of all kinds. We took an immense number of officers prisoners, and 3,000 French corpses strewed the field that day. I did not see Wellesley or Burghersh after Vimiero. The hardship of the bivouac and battle-field did not agree with my health. I got the ague twice after the Convention of Cintra, and was received, helpless from illness, into the Convent of Alcobaco. I gradually recovered, was very glad to return my sword, and resume my long-interrupted studies. Although a volunteer, I assure you I was a most unwilling one, as I had no natural taste for a military life, The circumstances, however, in which I was placed were peculiar, and I believe Doyle, myself, and other students discharged our

garrison of Fort Figueras, at the mouth of the Mondego, to surrender, Sir Arthur was enabled to land his troops there, and fill the fortress with English marines.

* "He (Sir Arthur) directed fast sailing vessels to look out for Anstruther." (Napier, i. 189.) Sir Arthur Wellesley, on the 20th August, announces the good news to Lord Castlereagh: "Anstruther is on shore, and I expect him in camp every moment." Next day Sir Arthur informs his lordship that much praise is due to General Anstruther for the gallant defence of his position. The House of Lords, in returning thanks to Sir Arthur Wellesley, pronounced Vimiero "a signal victory, honourable and glorious to the British arms."

duties with zeal and integrity, while the performance of these duties continued incumbent upon us. I am greatly attached to Portugal, its history, and its cause. That country is distinguished for conferring lasting benefits on mankind, and has produced great men in the arts of war, peace, navigation, literature, and the fine arts. In consequence of the Portuguese language not being much studied, the history of that fine nation is almost unknown."

On the 17th January, 1857, we had the honour of receiving a letter from the late General the Earl of Westmorland, which forms an interesting supplement to the foregoing portion of our reverend friend's epistolary reminiscences:

"I certainly have not forgotten Mr. M'Dermott," writes the Earl of Westmorland, "and I am delighted to learn from your letter that he has survived the long period since we were together on our journey through the Portuguese provinces, and I sincerely hope he is in all health and prosperity. It is perfectly true that he went with me, then Lord Burghersh, to Guarda, Viseu, &c., and I suppose he means Calorica, adjacent to the fortress of Almeida; and he returned with me to join the army under Sir A. Wellesley at Leira on the 10th of August, 1808, from whence he continued with the troops on their advance towards Rolica and Vimiero, but as he left me at that time to join one of the advanced corps, I cannot remember how far he accompanied the army. The circumstances which led to my being joined by Mr. M'Dermott were these: Sir A. Wellesley deputed me, while on board ship in Mondego Bay, to proceed through Coimbra and the central Portuguese provinces, all of which were in insurrection against the French, and report to him the troops which were collected and the general state of armament of the country. I proceeded immediately to Coimbra, and found there the greatest enthusiasm on the part of the whole population for their Prince, and the students of the University had formed themselves into a corps, which was joined to the regular troops, and were in garrison in the town, ready for any service which could be required of them. Amongst the leaders of these students was Mr. M'Dermott, and Mr., afterwards Bishop Doyle. Those young men, with several Portuguese, offered to accompany me as an escort to the provinces, and I gratefully accepted their patriotic proposal. They rode with me to Viseu, where Mr. M'Dermott will be able to give you an account of our dinner, or rather our supper, with the Bishop, and next day proceeded to Calorica and Guarda, where I found General Barcellor and a corps of eight or ten thousand men, who had been joined by a Spanish brigade under the Marquis of Valladeras. Soon after I arrived, a report was received by the General that the French force under General Loison was advancing upon Guarda,

and he requested me to remain with him to give him what assistance I was able towards combining the movements of his troops with the British army. I therefore remained till it was ascertained that the corps under Loison had taken another direction; I then returned to report to Sir Arthur Wellesley the state of all the troops I had seen, and the arrangement that I had made—that the force under General Barcellor, with all the troops he could collect from the northern provinces, should march upon Abrantes, and from thence operate along the Tagus by Santarem upon Lisbon, thus forming the left of the British army in its advance upon the capital."

The true value of the valorous spirit displayed by the loyal Portuguese against the French may be inferred from the great precautions General Junot adopted to prevent an outbreak. "The harbours were sealed against the English," writes Napier, "a great and rich tract was enclosed by posts, and rendered so pervious to the troops, that any insurrection could be reached by a few marches, and immediately crushed."

Mr. Doyle executed his part in a thoroughly *con amore* spirit. He materially served the national cause, not only by the exercise of his wisdom, tact, and foresight, but by the inspiriting influence of his voice and example. He flung aside his books of theology, substituted a uniform for the student's gown, grasped his sword, and exhorted the apathetic to action. With a conscience as pure, a purpose as holy, and a heart as dauntless as the Boroihme of his fatherland, he proceeded to labour for the expulsion of the invader.*

This course he had openly declared his intention of adopting from the moment that the French army, glittering with the bright but terrible prestige of Napoleon's name, showed its impregnable front in Portugal. Mr. Doyle was not dismayed by the proclamation of the Duke D'Abrantes, dated from his head-quarters at Lisbon: "Every city, and town, or village which shall take up arms against my force, and whose inhabitants shall fire upon the French, shall be delivered up to pillage, and totally destroyed, and the inhabitants put to the sword. Every individual taken in arms shall be instantly shot."

Dr. Doyle was always of opinion that a Priest should, in certain cases, administer to the temporal as well as the spiritual wants of his flock and fellow-men, and that, like the Apostle Paul, he ought to exercise his rights as a citizen. Nearly twenty years after the event referred to, we find Dr. Doyle thus laying down the

* Besides bearing arms in support of the national cause, Dr. Doyle informed the Very Rev. Dr. Yore, in 1821, that during his residence in Portugal he had been engaged on the diplomatic service.

political duties of a clergyman. It will be remembered that Ireland's mild and long-disregarded petitions for Emancipation had at this time begun to give place to a more defiant and organized demand: "There are times," writes the Bishop, "and circumstances, when a Priest is justified—nay, when he is obliged to mix with his fellow-countrymen, and to suspend his clerical functions whilst he discharges those of a member of society. I myself have once been placed in such circumstances, and devoted many a laborious hour to the service of a people engaged in the defence of their rights and liberties. The clerical profession exalts and strengthens the natural obligation we are all under of labouring for our country's welfare, and the priests and the prophets of the old law have not only announced and administered the decrees of heaven, but have aided by their counsel and their conduct the society to which Providence had attached them."

It was doubtless to this eventful period of his life that Dr. Doyle once casually alluded in a conversation with Michael Staunton, Esq., now filling an important public office, then editor of *The Morning Register:* "When I first paid a visit to Dr. Doyle," remarks Mr. Staunton,* "he expressed surprise at my youthful appearance, having been known to him as the editor of a newspaper for many years before. I said it was my destiny to begin life very early, and to have found it necessary to undertake duties at twenty which usually devolve upon others of far more advanced years. 'The most important duties of my life,' said he, 'I discharged at twenty, and I have not gathered a new idea since.'"

After the signal defeat of the French at Vimiero, General Kellerman submitted to the Commander-in-chief, Sir Hew Dalrymple, a proposition to suspend hostilities, with a view to effect a treaty for the evacuation of Portugal by the French.

A party well acquainted with the facts he refers to writes: "Colonel Murray was despatched by Sir Hew to Lisbon with the articles of convention, fully empowered to frame and ratify a final treaty with the French Generals. Colonel Murray proceeded to Lisbon in H.M.S. *Hibernia* of 100 guns. He was accompanied on this important mission by Mr. Doyle, who, there can be no doubt, was consulted on the occasion. He had great local knowledge, and acquaintance with Portuguese politics. Mr. Clayton was also of the party. Independent of other services, he and Doyle proved useful as interpreters. On the 30th of August, 1808, the so-called Convention of Cintra, after much negociation and correspondence, was concluded at Lisbon. With some the convention proved unpopular, while others rejoiced at the fulfilment of a treaty which ridded the land at once from a ruthless invader."

* Letter to the author, 20th May, 1855.

It is not surprising that an intense feeling of antagonism and aversion should have existed against the French. In the Earl of Westmorland's* "Early Campaigns of the Duke of Wellington" there are several instances related of French brutality. Among the cases cited occur the following: A general officer in entering Leira met a young woman with a child at her breast. With a single thrust of his sword he pierced the two bodies. Again, when the English advanced guard arrived there, it found in one of the Convents the dead bodies of several Monks who had been killed by the French soldiers, some of whom had dipped their hands in the blood of the victims, and smeared the walls of the Convent with it.

After the French defeat at Vimiero, Doyle, as we have seen, accompanied Colonel Murray with the articles of convention to Lisbon. This city has always been the seat of Portuguese royalty and government, and on the ratification of the armistice, a council of regency was promptly re-established there. Almost the only case of desertion to the French interest during Don Juan's absence had been that of Principal Castro, who accepted the office of Minister of Worship under Junot. The new government comprised men not less remarkable for political judgment and experience than for their tried fidelity to the House of Braganza. Don Juan VI. continued to remain at Brazil, but maintained a constant correspondence with the Council of Regency at Lisbon.

It has been truly said of Dr. Doyle, that there never was a man who from present political premises could draw such accurate political conclusions; and that, had he devoted his attention exclusively to statesmanship, he might have equalled in eminence Pitt or Fox. The growth of his mind, though not matured at this period, was yet sufficiently advanced to strike most forcibly those who came into intellectual contact with him. "Some years after Dr. Doyle's return to Ireland," writes the Rev. James Crane, in a letter dated Ross, 19th January, 1857, "I succeeded him at Coimbra, and heard from the lips of my masters, Lino and Chrysostimo, who had been his fellow-students, expressions of great regard and admiration for the talents of Dr. Doyle, whom they frequently designated *grande rapar*, or splendid young man."

* The following is, we believe, one of the last notes written by the late Lord Westmorland: "I am happy to have learnt from you so good an account of Mr. M'Dermott, and I beg you will thank him for his message. I now remember that he advanced with the army to Rolica and Vimiero, which you so justly call 'the glorious day.' I beg your acceptance of a copy of the 'Early Campaigns of the Duke of Wellington.'" A few years ago, some friends of the late Father M'Dermott applied for the Peninsular medal, in acknowledgment of the services to which Lord Westmorland alludes; but the request was refused, on the grounds that Mr. M'Dermott's name did not appear in the Duke of Wellington's despatches.

There can be no doubt, that Doyle's great talents and devotion to the Prince were well known to the Royal Junta, and that during his sojourn at Lisbon he had confidential interviews with the members of that important body. It has been confidently stated that proposals, which in any other case would have dazzled and seduced, were more than once tendered to the young and gifted student. Far from boasting of such tributes of respect in after years however, Dr. Doyle, with the dignity of true humility, rarely alluded to this epoch in his early life. Once only we find it referred to publicly. It occurs in his pastoral of the 22nd of June, 1823, and when he felt that his exhortations to a people smarting from wrong, and wild with discontent, would derive additional impressiveness from the avowal of this fact. "Dearest brethren," writes the Bishop, "our great interest for your welfare in these appalling times has dictated these sentiments, and we deserve to be heard by you with attention. We are no hirelings, 'who feed ourselves, and leave the flock to starve.' We can 'call you to witness, that we have not desired the silver, nor the gold, nor the clothes of any of you.' We have at an early period of our life rejected the favours of the great, and fled even from the smiles of a court, that we might, in our native land, from which we had become an exile to procure an education, labour in the most humble department of the sacred ministry; and since we have been amongst you, 'we have not made our life more precious than our soul, provided we could finish our course, and the ministry of the word which has been transmitted to us from the Lord Jesus.' We do not glory in these things, but we offer them as arguments of the purity of our intentions and the sincerity of our love for you, inviting you by our example, as well as by our words, to suffer patiently for the sake of Christ, and to remain in allegiance to your king, as we ourselves have done when imprisonment in a foreign country,* and all manner of distress, as well as the most alluring prospects, tempted our fidelity." Doyle's sojourn in Portugal is the only period of his early life that found him in the neighbourhood of "a court."

The Rev. Nicholas Clayton, who accompanied Dr. Doyle with Colonel Murray to Lisbon, was the only one of the four Irish students at Coimbra who had ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with the communications between Doyle and the Portuguese government. Father Clayton died soon after Dr. Doyle's

* "After the French occupied Coimbra, Doyle, Clayton, Hanlon, and myself were made prisoners, watched narrowly, and obliged to appear once a-week before the Corregidor, but the authorities somewhat relaxed their surveillance after we had made a few appearances."—*Rev. Mr. M'Dermott to the author, 30th of November*, 1856.

elevation to the Episcopacy. A cherished friend of the latter remarks: "I remember, when spending some time at Old Derrig (the Bishop's residence near Carlow), I ascertained that during his stay in Portugal he could have done what he pleased with the government, and often refused riches and honours to a fabulous amount. These facts were then proved to me by a young clergyman named M'Donnell, on whom the holy Bishop lavished all the kindness and fondness of a parent, and who died about the year 1824." In a confidential conversation, about the same time, with the pious and accomplished lady who, under the name of Mariana, will be a familiar acquaintance of the reader's ere this narrative terminates, Dr. Doyle said: "My dear child, as to wealth, it has not, and never had, any attraction for me. Were it otherwise, I could have commanded ingots of gold in Portugal."

The temptation was strong, but Doyle's principles proved stronger. He did not forget the vow of voluntary poverty which, after deep thought and preparation, he made two years before in the little Convent of Grantstown. Fondly and reverently clinging to the vocation of his youth, he tore himself away from the dazzling dignities, the smiles and glitter of a court, and with an amount of heroic fortitude rarely witnessed, turned his steps lowlily homeward, to labour "in the most humble department of the sacred ministry." The Irish Friars, at this period, were slighted to such an extent by even the Prelates and Priests of their own religion, that the Holy See was obliged formally to interfere.* Doyle, however, felt with St. Augustine, that "the caresses of this world are more dangerous than its persecutions;"† and, like St. Cyprian, he abandoned fame and fortune to take his station, for the love of Christ, among the reproached of men. Ireland still lay bound in penal chains. Altogether, a more uninviting place for a Catholic of talent and spirit to reside in could not be named. Orange fanaticism hunted or sneered him down. Rather

* Official letter from Cardinal Litta to Archbishop Troy, 14th October, 1815. We quote a passage: "The severe treatment imposed upon the regulars of Ireland by the Bishops is still the cause of complaint and outcry. It has been alleged that the regular clergy in some diocesses in Ireland have been prevented by the Bishops from the celebration of Mass, preaching the gospel, and exercising their other functions in their respective chapels, under pain of suspension; also from collecting, either at their chapel doors or in the towns and country, whereby they are deprived of the necessaries of life. Some Bishops are also said to prevent the regulars, under the same penalty, from building or repairing their chapels and convents, or admitting young men to their noviciate and profession; nor will they allow those who are devoted to the care of souls to receive their due emolument. Finally, it has been laid before us that the regulars are very much despised and maligned by the secular clergy of Ireland, and that the Bishops with great difficulty promote them, or give them faculties to hear the confessions of the faithful."

† Ep. 231, n. 6. See St. Augustine's letter to Count Darius accompanying a volume of his Confessions.

than remain in a land where the chains of slavery clanked at their heels and the brand of political outlawry marked their brow, several Catholics of independent feeling fled from their native land, became voluntary exiles on a foreign shore, or sought under other governments that office and dignity from which unjust laws excluded them at home.*

For years, a subtle and malevolent ingenuity had daily devised, and circulated through a partizan press and a prostituted pulpit, the most damaging slanders against the suffering Church of Ireland. Wily appeals to the prejudices and passions of the bigoted and narrow-minded enkindled a persecuting spirit of hostility and distrust which can hardly be considered even yet wholly extinct. "The followers of Christ," exclaimed Doyle on one occasion, "are the children of sorrow; this world which rejoices is not our home; our chalice is one of affliction, and we must await the period when He who mixed it for us will return to change it into a cup of delights, and bestow upon us that everlasting joy which no man can take away."

We have seen how the young novice of St. Austin tore himself from the seductions of the Court of Braganza, in order that he might enter the sacred ministry of Christ. This he could easily have done in Portugal, where the order of which he was about to become a religious had many splendid conventual establishments. He loved Portugal and its cause well, but he loved Ireland better. He loved his princely preceptors, but he thought his old friends the poor Friars of Ross, in their crumbling Convent, entitled to a stronger feeling of affection and respect. The full value of that austere resolution which led him to select Ross, or the thatched Convent at Grantstown, in preference to Alcobaco or Santa Cruz, cannot be adequately estimated without weighing in the opposite scale the luxurious attractions of the latter establishments. The Monastery of Alcobaco was the Escurial of Portugal. It possessed a feudal grandeur with a royal pomp which attracted the admiration of many and the notice of all. If sinners in search

* Mr. Hugh O'Connor, one of the most opulent merchants of Dublin, mentioned in his examination before Parliament in 1825, that as he found Ireland an unpleasant place of residence, in consequence of the existing civil disabilities, he fully intended to leave it. "*Q.* Does the unpleasantness of the residence arise to you from the disabilities under which you labour or from the party feeling to which religious differences have given rise? *A.* I take it that the civil disabilities create that party feeling. *Q.* Which is the inconvenience which you peculiarly suffer; is it the political disability or the inconvenience of party feeling? *A.* I never sought for any place: it is from social intercourse being poisoned. *Q.* Do you think that there are other Catholics disposed to take the same step as you yourself are inclined to do? *A.* It is natural to suppose there are; I have heard many say they would leave Ireland. *Q.* Do you think that any proportion of Irish capital will be transferred to other countries in case the Catholic disabilities are continued? *A.* I should think there would; I have myself some capital in France."

of repentance had taken refuge within its halls, Alcobaco had been also the resort of kings in quest of pleasure. Its revenue exceeded that of the Portuguese Monastery of Mafra, which had an income of £24,000. The library of Alcobaco contained 50,000 of the best and rarest volumes of every age and nation, with a mass of valuable MSS.—a fact in itself sufficient to disprove the charge of hostility to literary pursuits with which Monks have so often been branded. Among these books were many pleasant *souvenirs* given by Pitt, Lord Strathmore, Canning, and other eminent statesmen, "*in memoriam magnificentissimi hospitii*" which they received from the Monks. A recent number of that influential Catholic organ, *The Dublin Review*, observes: "Let us endeavour to conjure up before the eye that almost fabulous pile of conventual buildings crowning the hill, with its countless belfries and its square, massive towers, out of the centre of which, like the sun breaking from amidst fantastic clouds, rose in magnificence the mighty dome, the best-proportioned and lightest in Europe. What an imposing sight must it not have presented to the valley below! Adorned with innumerable statues were the corridors and galleries surrounding the immense quadrangular court, out of which opened no fewer than eight hundred and sixty-six apartments. The fathers and lay brethren, together with the subordinate retainers of the Monastery, amounted to four hundred. We must, however, regret that the munificence of John V., which was so lavishly expended on the construction and embellishments of the monastic kitchen, bore too evident a testimony that, with the increase of wealth the humble fare befitting a religious house had, in the course of time, been somewhat too much forgotten. This noble hall, one hundred feet long, with its finely groined walls sixty feet in height, furnished with every contrivance to carry out extended culinary operations, had obtained quite a European celebrity. It has been described as 'the most distinguished temple of gluttony in Europe.' How much more do the genuine followers of monastic discipline now rejoice in their present lowly and straitened condition than in the recollection of the luxury that once surrounded them in this palace of perverted monasticism!" So far *The Dublin Review*. Through the centre of this vast hall flowed a crystal stream, spangled by every sort of rich and delicate fish. Venison, with every rarity of the season, loaded the broad shelves and covered the long tables in endless profusion. The banqueting hall, removed by a long succession of galleries from the leviathan larder, was a sumptuous saloon, adorned by choice pictures, covered with a rich Turkey carpet, and illumed by a profusion of wax tapers in sockets of massive silver. Ewers and basins of the same metal, filled with truffle creams and generous wine, abounded,

while gorgeous velvet hangings and embroidered linen increased, if possible, the monastic luxury.* What a contrast did the splendours of Alcobaco and Santa Cruz present to the mud walls of Callan Convent, or the thatched rafters of Grantstown Chapel!

In 1834, the various conventual temples of Portugal were suppressed by Don Pedro, and their property annexed to the domain of the state. There is now no oasis in the vast monastic waste. The moan of the night-wind sweeps through the spacious cloisters, and the bat and the owl hold sway within the unroofed basilicas. One of the richest estates fell into the hands of a Portuguese money-lender in London. A letter of Dr. Doyle's, dated 1822, records the opinion, that "to suppress or secularize most of the convents of men in Portugal would be a good work."

Although dazzled by the monastic splendours of Portugal, it may well be supposed that Mr. Doyle was far from being attracted by them. With a view to enter the humblest department of the sacred ministry he turned his steps homeward, and arrived in Ireland at the close of the year 1808. The state of Ireland at this period may be gathered from a few remarks of his own: "I have read," he writes, "of the persecutions by Nero, Domitian, Genseric, and Attila, as well as of the barbarities of the sixteenth century. I have compared them with those inflicted on my own country, and I protest to God that the latter, in my opinion, have exceeded in duration, extent, and intensity, all that has ever been endured by mankind for justice sake. These Catholics are now emerging from this persecution, and—like the Trojans who had escaped with their household gods to the shores of the Adriatic, or the Jews after returning from the captivity—they are employed with one hand in defending themselves against the aggressions of their implacable enemies, and with the other cleansing the holy places, rebuilding the sanctuary, making new vessels for the sacrifice and worshipping most devoutly at their half-raised altars. The recollection of their past sufferings is far from being effaced. The comparative freedom which they enjoy is a relaxation of pressure, rather than a rightful possession. As religionists they are suffered to exist, and the law restrains the persecutor, but persecutes them of itself. They are obliged to sweat and toil for those very ministers of another religion who contributed to forge their chains. Their hay and corn, their fleece and lambs, with the roots on which they feed, they are still compelled to offer at an altar which they deem profane. They still are bound to rebuild and

* See *The Dublin Review*, No. xciii. *Vide* also the description by General Cockburn, in his "Voyage," vol. ii. chap. 8, of "The Palace and Monastery at Mafra." The same writer, in describing the Capuchin Convent near Palermo, says, "No woman is allowed to enter."

ornament their own former parish church and spire, that they may stand in the midst of them as records of the right of conquest, or of the triumph of law over equity and the public good. They still have to attend the bailiff when he calls, with the warrant of the church-wardens, to collect their last shilling (if one should happen to remain), that the empty church may have a stove, the clerk a surplice, the communion-table elements to be sanctified, though perhaps there be no one to partake of them. . . . . Such is their condition; whilst some half-thatched cabin or unfurnished house collects them on Sundays to render thanks to God for even these blessings, and to tell their woes to heaven!"

Such, or worse, was the condition of Ireland in 1808, when our student bade adieu for ever to the attractions of the Continent, and embraced the uninviting duties of an Irish priest.

"In December, 1808," writes the Rev. Mr. M'Dermott, "Doyle, Clayton, and myself arrived in Cork from Portugal, accompanied by several transports having a large number of troops on board." Doyle shortly afterwards proceeded to Ross, and was received with much joy and affection by his old preceptor Father John Crane.

For nine subsequent months Doyle rarely stirred outside the Convent bounds. The utmost quietude and simplicity characterized this retreat, and the transition was sudden and striking. After the storm of politics and the clangor of arms, some retirement and meditation was desirable. Ross Convent, too, was endeared to him by many interesting associations, personal and historical. So far back as the reign of Edward III. an Augustinian Monastery flourished almost on the site of the present building, and continued to diffuse around its boons and blessings until Henry VIII. seized the property of the Friars, and necessitated them to appeal for the first time to the generosity of the Irish heart—a fund so inexhaustible that for 300 years they were enabled to uphold the Institute, to keep the lamp of faith burning throughout the long night of oppression, to promote religion, and to preach charity and patience to the persecuted flocks of Wexford. Mr. Doyle longed to emulate the many good hermits of St. Augustine, who had studied on the same spot, and laboured on the same ground, before him. The young student looked forward with anxiety to his ordination, and in preparation for that great event he devoted much time to prayer, thought, and study.

The Very Rev. Dr. Furlong writes: "Dr. Doyle and I met in 1809 for the first time since his noviciate. He resided at Ross; I at a Convent twelve miles distant, being professed during his absence. No student can be ordained till he reaches the full canonical age—namely, twenty-three years and a day. Dr.

Doyle knew that he was born in September, 1786, but did not know the day of the month. To make sure he fixed the 1st of October, 1809 (Rosary Sunday) for his ordination; and on that day he and I were ordained together in Enniscorthy by the Right Rev. Dr. Ryan, Coadjutor Bishop of Ferns."

The ordination ceremony is highly impressive, and lasts for several hours. At the close of a solemn preliminary address, the officiating Bishop pronounces an anathema against any student who leaves the chapel when once the holy mysteries of ordination have commenced. He warns any person present who may not feel the vocation strong within him, to withdraw ere it be too late; and it has occasionally happened that some students, distrustful of their own strength of soul, do retire at the eleventh hour, robed in the vestments of the sacred calling upon which they were about to enter. Should the number of students receiving ordination be large, they remain in rows at the foot of the altar, and their acquiescence to the administered vows of perpetual chastity and obedience is expressed by one simultaneous step forward. They then throw themselves upon their faces, and continue to remain prostrate while the choir recites the Litany of Saints. Bishop Ryan, who was assisted by his Archdeacon, performed the solemn ceremonial on the present occasion with great impressiveness. To the young Priests who knelt at his feet he addressed a touching exhortation, fervently praying that they might be filled with the Holy Ghost (*Acts*, ii. 1, 11) and inspired with knowledge and zeal to preach Christ's gospel to all men.

"In about six weeks after," proceeds Dr. Furlong, "Doyle and I, with some others, were collected together in Ross to read theology, under the Very Rev. Philip Crane, then our Provincial. Dr. Doyle was appointed to teach logic, and displayed some acumen. Soon after I was sent to Callan, but returned again on the 27th of March, 1810. From this date until the November following, Dr. Doyle and I lived under the same roof, and it was only at this period I had a true opportunity of forming a judgment of his mental faculties, or of the dispositions of his heart. The powers of his mind require no comment. In regard to his heart, I am convinced his friendship was most sincere, his gratitude steadfast, not in the least impaired by time, and any one who placed a confidence in him, provided the confidence was encouraged by Dr. Doyle, might have calculated on his most ardent and most zealous support. I am rejoiced to have an opportunity of making this remark, because a person who was not tolerably intimate with him, a person who only knew him by halves, might not easily come to this conclusion." In answer to a query or two, Dr. Furlong further observes: "After breakfast, from 10 till 4

o'clock, he gave his attention to the study of logic and dogmatic theology, and the evening he usually passed with his step-sister, Mrs. Howlett, who resided in the town. Of Locke he was particularly fond, and many were the differences of opinion between us as to its value, aim, and tendency. His piety was most edifying. In all my life I never saw a man devote equal thought and time in preparing to approach the Holy Eucharist."

Mr. Doyle every morning subjected the students to a very elaborate examination in theology. One of them, the present Bishop of Saldes, tells me that Mr. Doyle had prepared overnight for this purpose a series of erudite and ingenious notes, written on a long, narrow slip of paper, rolled around his left forefinger like a scroll, and held fast by pressure from the thumb. According as the examination progressed, our professor would gradually elongate his string of notes, to the infinite discomfiture of some indifferently read young men.

The Very Rev. Dr. Furlong's letter proceeds: "In November, 1810, James Doyle and I were sent to Enniscorthy to the Coadjutor Bishop, Dr. Ryan, to be examined for faculties. He did not examine us, and declined to give us faculties. Dr. Doyle returned to Ross; I went to Wexford, and we never lived in the same house afterwards."

The Bishop's refusal to grant faculties to two young Priests of spotless rectitude, and gifted with more than ordinary talent, will, doubtless, surprise some readers. Dr. Ryan was not exempt from certain sacerdotal prejudices and jealousies which are happily becoming extinct with the progress of liberality and enlightened views. He entertained an undisguised feeling of dislike towards the Regulars in general, and for those of his own diocess in particular. Haughty to every one, he was markedly so towards Friars, and some of them to this day look back with a chill to the uniformly ungracious manner of Bishop Ryan. When Bishop Caulfield's infirmities rendered a Coadjutor necessary, the clergy assembled to nominate one; but differences of opinion prevailed to such an extent among them that Archbishop Troy, of Dublin, who was then well nigh regarded as the Pope of Ireland, seeing no likelihood of unanimity, conditionally nominated to the office Dr. Ryan, Parish Priest of Clontarf, near Dublin. A native of Wexford, brother to a banker, erudite and upright, the clergy of the diocess, with some few exceptions, considered that in the person of Dr. Ryan they would have a respectable and learned prelate. He died in 1819, a few weeks previous to the consecration of the man to whom, in a whimsical mood, he had refused priest's faculties a few years before. Dr. Ryan, however, could not prevent him from saying Mass. It was formerly a custom to leave

upon the altar written announcements of things lost and found, which the Priest invariably read out for the congregation. One day after Mass, in 1810, Mr. Doyle uttered a scathing denunciation of this practice, and its desuetude dated from that day.

In 1806, a fever hospital and dispensary was founded in Ross by a gentleman named Haughton. The act of foundation required that those establishments should be managed by a committee consisting of twelve Catholics and twelve Protestants. Of this board Mr. Doyle was a zealous and efficient member. In his examination on the state of the Irish poor, he strongly urged that a legal system of relief should be administered in each parish or district by trusted and competent men elected every year. He inferred, from experience, that they would use great discrimination and economy in the expenditure of the funds. Referring to his own labours on the Haughton committee, Dr. Doyle said: "I have been in the habit of giving charity in Ireland as every person has, and I never used the same discrimination, and never took the same pains to ascertain the merits of a claim—I never informed myself so well about the good or evil that might result from what I gave, as I did when acting as a member of that committee; and this remark applies to all the other members also. Then there is another advantage which it would be proper to notice as resulting from the composition of that committee. They agreed by a bye-law to breakfast together every Monday morning; they met and discussed their proceedings, and the consequence was, that at all times, and even when Ireland was exceedingly disturbed, great harmony prevailed among the different religionists in that town, and I think this was mainly owing to the Protestants and Catholics meeting every week, and acting together for a charitable purpose."

Mr. Doyle had been rather careless of his apparel while an ecclesiastical student. He now became more particular. Writing to his old friend Mrs. Crosbie at this period, he goes on to say, after some preamble: "I must tell you, then, that I want a suit of clothes, and as, at present, I have not an abundance of money, I choose rather to become a debtor of yours than of any of these Ross gentlemen; so I therefore request of you to send by bearer, cloth from 26*s.* to 30*s.* per yard, cassimere for a waistcoat, and some strong dark cord for a small-clothes. I shall remit you the amount in fifteen days."

Mr. Doyle's daily routine was most simple and unostentatious. On some few occasions we find him entering into the humble festivities of the peasantry. We have heard one old woman in Ross recall with pride the circumstance that, forty-four years previously, her wedding was honoured by the presence of the subsequently

illustrious "J.K.L.," who blessed it and graced it as he alone could do. In 1812, while still resident at Ross, Doyle experienced his first temptation to participate, as a public letter-writer, in the stirring politics of the day. One morning he emerged from his cell, armed with a document of formidable dimensions, bearing the signature of "Clericus," and addressed to the editor of *The Freeman's Journal*. The subject was one which excited great discussion at the time—domestic nomination. By this principle Bishops would receive their appointment and investiture from a Dean and Chapter at home. Much difference of opinion regarding its policy prevailed. Doyle had some hopes that his letter would have the effect of cementing the divided parties, and expressed his views with force, learning, and ingenuity. Previous to posting it, however, he requested that Mr. O'Connor, one of his brother Religious, would act as literary censor, while he read the document aloud. Mr. O'Connor, having listened attentively to it, said: "Your letter is, no doubt, able; but it seems to me that it will rather tend to provoke further discussion than to allay it. There are two parties at present most intemperately jarring. Would not the force and novelty of *your* views be likely to create a third?" Doyle entertained a high opinion of his friend's judgment, and, at this period of his life at least, he distrusted the strength of his own. To the Friar's remarks he merely replied, "True," and tore the document into a hundred fragments.

The reader is referred to the appendix of this work, from which he will perceive that the controversy on the question of domestic nomination was not very edifying, and that Doyle and his friend exercised much discretion in forbearing to prolong it. The fervid eloquence of Doyle on a subject so exciting would only have added fuel to a flame which, according to Matthew O'Conor, threatened to consume Catholicity in Ireland. The principle for which he contended was afterwards conceded by Leo XII., but, in the Concordat of 1829, it again ceased to be operative.

Mr. Doyle's step-brother, the Rev. Peter Doyle, P.P. of Tintern, having broken his leg in hurrying to administer the last sacraments to a death-bed penitent, in 1812, Father James Doyle temporarily deserted his cloister to discharge the active duties of a Missionary Priest during the good pastor's indisposition. After three months' experience, our Friar was not sorry to get back again to his quiet Convent. But he was not left in uninterrupted seclusion. On family differences and difficulties Mr. Doyle was perpetually consulted. Writing confidentially to a mercantile lady of Wexford, an old friend of his, who had experienced annoyance from some of her relatives, he says: "They are a dangerous, self-interested family, and widely expanded in your neighbourhood.

They can serve you or injure you without your suspecting it; and although they will never be your sincere friends, strive, when there is not an interest to the contrary, to keep up appearances with them." By his family he was constantly consulted on every move, marriage, or "miff." Writing to Mrs. Coney, he says: "I wish there had been no attempt at renewing a friendship which can never be sincere."

The Provincial of the Augustinian Regulars merely possesses the power to grant such faculties as enable Friars to officiate within their order. To hear the confessions of lay persons, permission must come either from the Bishop of the diocess or his Vicar-General. This latter office was filled by the Parish Priest of Ross, Father Thomas Doyle, who discerning in James Doyle an intellect of no ordinary capacity, and well knowing that Dr. Ryan's refusal was merely the gratification of a senseless prejudice, at once presented his namesake with the desired licence. Mr. Doyle's reputation as an enlightened spiritual director soon spread far and near.

Moore, in the autobiographical sketch of his life, revives the old remark, that it would be difficult to name any eminent public man, unless Mr. Pitt, who had not, at some time, tried his hand at verse. Dr. Doyle was no exception to this rule. In 1811, he threw off an amusing Hudibrastic poem in allusion to some local occurrences with which the students of Ross were alone familiar; and when, in the summer of 1812, they were about to depart to their appointed convents after completing their studies, Mr. Doyle composed the following farewell lines, to the air of "Bannow's Banks," at the earnest solicitation of the warm-hearted novices.

The little College stood on a picturesque hill overhanging the river Barrow. "The number of students," writes the Bishop of Saldes, "was few. The people of Ross were most kind and attentive to us, and at our departure we entertained many of them at dinner in the College, among whom were several most respectable Protestants of the town and neighbourhood. Although there is a convivial allusion in the lines, Dr. Doyle was himself the most temperate of men, even mixing water with a glass of wine; but he was, at the same time, most hospitable, and always wished his guests to enjoy themselves without reserve."

"The drooping sun concealed his rays behind the cultured hill,
The lengthening shade forsook the flood, or faded from the rill;
The blue smoke curling from the cot seemed lingering to the view,
As if in Nature's silent hour 'twould hear our last adieu.

"The tuneful bird now pensive sat, or smoothed its languid wing—
Its notes no longer closed the day, nor would the milkmaid sing;
The blooming meadow turned to gray, and lost its lovelier hue,
When we, by Nature's self, were forced to take our last adieu.

"All human ties must break in time, new scenes old scenes replace,
Hands may be rent, but hearts cannot be torn apart by space.
Affection makes one sad farewell, and love springs up anew—
Love, the best passion of the heart, *that* sanctions our adieu!

"With minds improved, with grateful hearts, we leave the scene we love,
Where social virtues fix their seat, descended from above;
Where all that generous nature yields, and gentle wishes woo,
Lie round about our college hill, that hears our last adieu.

"Hail, College, hail! thou blest abode, where innocence and mirth,
With frequent play and casual feast, made paradise on earth,
May'st thou each year send forth, like us, a fond and fervent few,
Who, when the hour of duty comes, will bid thy walls adieu.

"Ah! Father of our college days, and must we go and leave
Our boyhood's prop, our manhood's pride, our dream in life's last eve!
Parental fondness filled thy breast—let filial tears bedew
These cheeks, made cheerful long by thee, whom now we bid adieu.

"With feelings of fraternal love each heart responds for all,
We go, 'immortal souls to save,' obedient to our call;
But ere we leave our college nest to cleave life's tempest through,
Do thou, our father and our friend, receive our last adieu."

There is a pensive tone in these lines, which derived no slight stimulus from a family sorrow which pressed silently and heavily on Father Doyle's heart. In May, 1812, news reached him that his favourite brother Patrick, who had only just been called to the bar with great promise of success, was threatened by a complication of diseases. Father Doyle gathered together from his pinched resources sufficient money to secure the professional attendance of the eminent Dr. Percival and two other physicians. The Friar could not leave Ross, or the class of which he was the theological instructor until the July vacation, and with painful anxiety he daily watched the post for some favourable account of his brother's health. Dr. Percival's bulletins were curt and cautious; and Father Doyle eagerly availed himself of the first moment of vacation to hurry to Dublin and to judge for himself. For weeks he did not leave his brother's bedside. At length, on the 30th of July, we find him announcing a favourable change to Mrs. Crosbie: "I feel a peculiar pleasure in being able to remove your apprehensions for my poor brother. On Friday he was considered out of danger, and has been recovering since, though very, very slowly. On this day he and I drove out in a carriage to the Blackrock: he was much fatigued, yet I hope it may be of use to him; if so, it will be repeated daily. Nothing which money could procure has been omitted. I have sent regular accounts of his situation to Dr. Doyle at Ross, who as regularly sent his opinion and advice. I expect a fortnight will enable Pat to travel to Wexford by easy stages. He would indeed be the greatest loss to me of

anything on earth, for I never found in his breast a feeling different from my own; and I well know that he would as willingly share with me all the advantages of life as I have shared in his bitter sufferings; yet I could have borne the loss of him without desponding, having been taught by experience that for happiness we must depend almost entirely on ourselves."

The young barrister survived a year or two only from this date. "For him," observes Dr. Howlett, "he entertained a most extraordinary affection; his grief at the loss of his brother was most poignant; and no wonder—for with the most brilliant talents were combined in him a meekness and amiability of temper and manner, which was not possessed by any other member of the family. As a student, he got from Trinity College the highest honours that could be conferred, at that time, on a Catholic—rooms in the institution for his life. He studied for the Bar, was a cotemporary of Sir Michael O'Loghlen, and was considered much superior to Sir Michael." Patrick Doyle, having passed with *eclat* through Alma Mater, was called to the Bar in the Hilary Term of 1811. The remembrance of his talents is retained to this day by several of his distinguished fellow-students, Mr. Commissioner Phillips* among the number; while the Rev. Dr. Mortimer O'Sullivan, a prominent foe to everything "Romish," has recorded in his Parliamentary evidence, that although Patrick Doyle had left College before him, his reputation as a very distinguished scholar was frequently referred to in the University.

On James Doyle's removal, in 1813, from the confined cloisters of Ross Convent to the wide sphere of action which the College of Carlow opened to him, the whole destiny of his life hinged. As peculiar interest must attach to the latter establishment from Dr. Doyle's long connexion with it, we will here introduce some account of its origin, from the pen of Dr. Delany, Bishop of Kildare, at the close of the last and beginning of the present century. The document from which the details are taken was forwarded to government, and may be found in the fourth volume of the Castlereagh Papers, p. 142. The Bishop's simple statement renders still weaker the well-nigh threadbare calumny, that Roman Catholic Priests have ever been, not only apathetic in promoting, but downright hostile to the spread of education. The taunt which imputes to Priests the craven policy of seeking to keep the mind of youth in a state of twilight, has often found expression, and occasionally credence. It is impossible to read unmoved Dr. Delany's account of the struggles on the part of the Prelate, Priests, and people, to erect, from their own scanty

* Since the above was written, poor Charles Phillips has paid the debt of nature. He died, February, 1859. Mortimer O'Sullivan quickly followed him.

resources, at a time of great national prostration, a large collegiate establishment. The intrepid men who led that forlorn hope deserved well of their country.

The Penal Law which rendered it an indictable offence for Catholics to instruct their youth,* had no sooner been effaced from the statute book, than the Clergy of this small diocess indomitably toiled in the teeth of obstacles the most disheartening to raise an ample College, and organize within it an elaborate system of education. They succeeded in completing their undertaking; but unforeseen difficulties soon threatened to overwhelm it. It is painful to read the abject language of supplication for help which the old Prelate, in the extremity of his distress, addresses to the Irish government. He assures them that the small fees for dispensations in prohibited degrees of kindred, "together with the interest arising from four government debentures, literally constitutes the entire established fund and sole permanent emolument actually possessed by that poor, unprotected, alas! and now utterly forlorn institution. It is in such a rueful predicament at the present crisis, as to enjoy little more than the name of a bare existence: 'tis true it is not actually quite extinct, yet does it in good earnest lie gasping, unless promptly succoured on the very point of inevitable dissolution. Tender, therefore, as a parent must be naturally supposed to feel for an expiring child (to waive considerations here of a still superior nature), shall the person to whom this luckless establishment, deserving surely of a better fate, chiefly owes its birth, fondly hope to obtain forgiveness in presuming to approach on this occasion his majesty's ministers with an humble and earnest supplication to look on it with an eye of pity, and lend their all-powerful support to prolong its existence." Dr. Delany then proceeds to narrate that on the repeal of the penal statute which opposed an insuperable bar to the erection of Catholic schools, Dr. Keefe and the Parish Priest of Carlow instantaneously availed themselves of the auspicious moment, and, on the strength of the scanty means of both, which did not exceed £100, commenced the erection of the College. Aided by the Clergy and laity they completed their design, "and by means of subscriptions," quaintly adds the Bishop, "universally entered into everywhere throughout the local district, of from a British sixpence and a shilling each up to a guinea and more, individually, in a few instances in each parish, combined with hat collections for brass also in every chapel, did they finally execute

* In the "Commons' Journal" for 1769, we find complaints made to Parliament, not that the Catholics opposed the progress of education, but, on the contrary, "that a great number of schools were dispersed in different parts of the kingdom, under the tuition of Popish masters, contrary to the *sense* of several Acts of Parliament."

the work—a large, handsome edifice 120 feet long;" and the Bishop proceeds to give a minute description of this fine building. "The Priests continued to bestow on it a guinea or half-a-guinea each after the schools were opened, till it was reckoned to be fully established, when these donations were wholly withdrawn, and it was left for several years back to stand on its own bottom, and support itself solely by the surplus profits resulting, after the necessary expenditure, from a pension of twenty guineas paid by clerical students." The enormous rise in the price of provisions, fuel, and the oppressiveness of the window tax* at length gave a mortal blow to the funds of this admirable institution. Moreover "the Royal College of Maynooth," for the gratuitous education of the priesthood, was established in the interim, and the students soon deserted Carlow for its more favoured sister. Dr. Delany states that a farmer worth £15,000 "made instant application to him to name his son to a place in Maynooth!" The Bishop, in conclusion, enumerates the salaries of the several professors, with the other expenses of the establishment, which do not seem to have been far short of £600 a-year, and once more implores "the illustrious personages here addressed to give the College a share of the bounty which they had already extended to Maynooth. On their eventual determination," emphatically observes the Bishop, "tremblingly hangs, at this decisive moment, the final destiny of this tottering house, rapidly hastening, without a figure, to the ground, unless they are pleased to extend a hand to support it. May God in his mercy inspire them to pronounce a favourable sentence!"

The appeal proved unsuccessful. Nor is it to be regretted. Thrown on their own resources, the Bishop and his Clergy worked with indefatigable and efficient zeal to establish on a firm basis the College of St. Patrick at Carlow. Providence blessed their exertions. In 1817 it was greatly enlarged, for the reception of 100 lay students, whose studies are chiefly directed to general history, mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, political economy, the elements of law in general, and in particular the laws and constitution of their country. The College was, a few years ago, incorporated by royal charter with the University of London. In the ecclesiastical department there are professors of theology and sacred Scriptures, of natural philosophy, moral

* The window tax was first introduced in Ireland by the Right Hon. Isaac Corry, who succeeded Sir John Parnell as Chancellor of the Exchequer. An epigram of the day wittily refers to this official change:

"For the loss of Sir John we need not be sorry;
His post's better filled by keen Isaac Corry,
Who the art of finance has now brought to its height,
For our taxes being heavy, he has laid them on *light*."

philosophy, rhetoric, and humanity. The College stands in the centre of a spacious and well-planted park, which exhibits a delightful scene for recreation and retirement.

Bishop Delany's eccentric style of composition has doubtless struck the reader. Until Dr. Doyle came to show them how to wield a pen, the Prelates and Priests of Ireland, from the reign of George II., were, with one or two exceptions, singularly feeble as writers. Penally prohibited from receiving instruction at home, they sought at an early age the blessings of education at the Colleges of St. Omers, Douay, or Louvaine in France, at Coimbra in Portugal, or at Salamanca in Spain. Unpolished and unlettered previous to entering the continental Universities, it may well be supposed that, as they conversed almost exclusively in French, Spanish, or Portuguese, during the long period which their full college courses consumed, the young Irish ecclesiastic, on returning to the land of his birth, neither wrote or spoke the English tongue with force or purity. To this rule Dr. Doyle was himself no exception, until he laboured with giant energy to overcome all obstacles. Several copies of his letters, written at the period of his return, are before us, and the difficulty he found to find words sufficiently expressive of his meaning is but too painfully evident. The deficiency in the Irish Priesthood to which we have alluded was, however, in some degree compensated for by their polished continental gesture and suavity. This interesting characteristic of the Irish Priest of the old school has been noticed by Lady Morgan in her charming novel of "Florence MacCarthy," while both Le Sage and Goldsmith have turned to good account their sketches of that now almost extinct character, the Irish student upon the Continent.

At the period of Mr. Doyle's removal to Carlow the presidential chair of the College was zealously filled by the Very Rev. Dean Staunton. Father Andrew Fitzgerald, a Dominican Friar, had instructed the students in divinity. Having for several years given very general satisfaction by the zealous and efficient discharge of his duty, first as professor of humanity, and finally of theology, Mr. Fitzgerald, one morning, in conversation with Dr. Staunton, delicately suggested the propriety of increasing some of the academic salaries. Dr. Staunton happened to be lost in the regions of thought; the hint missed its mark, and the following day, when the President appeared less absent, Father Fitzgerald returned to the charge. "The work is hard," he said, "and the pay small. To diminish the former is impossible, but to increase the latter easy." Dr. Staunton expressed his opinion that the limited state of their funds precluded the possibility of acceding to Mr. Fitzgerald's request, but promised to consult the Bishop upon the subject.

The result of the conference may be inferred from the fact that a few mornings after, when Dr. Staunton was at breakfast, a knock at his door and an excited announcement induced the good man to abandon his meal, and hurry precipitately to take the professor's place at the divinity class. The students had been waiting an hour for their preceptor; Mr. Fitzgerald was no where to be found, and great consternation prevailed. Dr. Staunton took a manual of theology, and tremulously endeavoured to acquit himself of the professor's duty. "His fingers were all thumbs," however; he was a novice at the art, and far from discharged the task to his own satisfaction. The good President returned to his room, and remained there exceedingly dejected for the rest of the day.

Catechism in hand, he was with the class betimes next morning. His downcast expression excited commiseration among the students, and rarely before had their conduct been marked by more exemplary docility. The Dean hastily thanked them for their attention, sought his chamber, and did not indulge in his accustomed walk that day. He was sitting at the fire, with his head reclining pensively on his hand, when the sudden entrance of Father Joice, a Franciscan friar and one of the curates of the parish, induced him to look up from a volume of De La Hogue's Theology, upon which his eyes had been mechanically fixed. "I'll tell you what it is, Dean," said Mr. Joice, "you need not fret so for Father Fitzgerald. Call me a blockhead if I don't get you, within twenty-four hours, an abler man than ever he was, and perhaps at a lower salary." Dr. Staunton's eyes opened wide. He thanked his visitor heartily, shook him by the hand, begged of him to lose no time about the matter, and, according to some accounts, put behind the fire a letter he had been writing to the absconded professor.

As postal communication was slow in those days, Father Joice repaired personally to Ross, and having been fortunate enough to find Mr. Doyle at home, he at once opened the subject of his mission, and succeeded, after encountering a slight resistance, in bearing him off in triumph. The Augustinian and Franciscan, after an exceedingly cold drive, arrived in Carlow, by the Waterford coach, at the unseasonable hour of 2 o'clock in the morning.

It has been said of Dr. Doyle that he seemed born for the high office which he so long and so ably filled. There had always been a majesty in his gait, and a lofty dignity in his tone, which, though admired by many, were by some misunderstood. His loftiness of demeanour was in a great degree unconsciously borne,

and those who best knew him—his fellow-students and brother clergy—entertained no doubt of this fact.

Mr. Doyle was at length shown into Dean Staunton's presence-chamber. He had never before seen Mr. Doyle. He surveyed the lofty figure from top to toe, and after a momentary scrutiny inquired what he could teach. "Anything," replied Doyle sonorously, "from A, B, C, to the third book of Canon Law." An acquaintance with the third book of Canon Law embraces a stage of theological erudition rarely attained by the ordinary run of ecclesiastics. Dr. Staunton did not altogether like the confidence of the answer, nor the tendency to haughtiness which stamped his visitor's mien. Long accustomed to the tuition of youth, a rebuke flowed with ease from the President's lips. "Pray, young man," he said, "can you teach and practise humility?" "I trust I have at least the humility to feel," replied the Friar, "that the more I read the more I see how ignorant I have been, and how little can, at best, be known." Dr. Staunton appeared struck by the reply. He rubbed his hands with satisfaction, and rang the bell for cake and wine.

"You'll do," mused the Dean. "With respect to terms," he said, "there can be, I conceive, no difficulty." "Sir," replied Doyle, "I am gratified that you should consider me eligible for the office; but I am not in a position, at this moment, to give you a decided answer." "What!" exclaimed the old Dean, starting, and nervously surveying the lofty, unbending figure before him. "My reply, sir," responded Doyle, "springs not from pride, but has been elicited by a perfectly opposite feeling. As an Augustinian Friar, I have sworn obedience to my Father Provincial. He lives at a considerable distance—in Cork. Whether he may or may not permit me to leave my convent and accept a professor's chair in the College of Carlow is altogether a lottery. I have written to the Provincial, but an answer cannot reach me before to-morrow. In the meantime, I thought it better to acknowledge your summons personally and promptly. Whether I am at liberty to accept your proposal, twenty-four hours will determine." "My friend," said Dr. Staunton, "your Provincial will not, I am sure, offer any objection. I have the pleasure of knowing the Rev. Michael Sheehan, and will write to him myself on the subject. Meanwhile I may consider that you have, conditionally, accepted my proposal."

In order to render our narrative of Dr. Doyle's life as complete as possible, it will now be necessary to go back a little. Immediately on receiving the summons to Carlow, Doyle addressed a note to his friend Father Daniel O'Connor, then attached to

the Augustinian Convent, Cork, requesting that he would apprize the Provincial, Dr. Sheehan, of the invitation, and, if possible, obtain permission to accept it. Doyle's letter, far from soliciting the indulgence, merely desired to acquaint his Provincial, as a matter of courtesy and right, with the nature of the proposal. "I am quite ready," he added, "to accept the humblest position in the order that may be assigned me. Should the Provincial's views prove in any way unfavourable, express from me at once the most unqualified submission."

Father O'Connor obeyed his friend's wishes to a certain extent only. He proceeded to the Provincial's room, and announced the desire felt for Doyle's assistance at Carlow College. "My dear O'Connor," replied the superior, "I fear it is impossible that we can spare him. Our order is small, and death has thinned its ranks of late. Most of those who still remain are of an age sufficiently advanced to make one apprehend that they cannot be with us beyond a few years more. It was my intention to have sent for Mr. Doyle, and to station him in this Convent with you. Surely the secular clergy possess men well qualified to fill the chair without looking into our little order for one. Write to Mr. Doyle, and inform him of my decision."

Mr. O'Connor respectfully remonstrated with the Provincial. "You have little idea, Rev. Father," he said, "of the intellectual power of that man. There is a mine of unwrought and untouched resources within his head. I, who have just returned from Ross, where we have been under one roof for four years, well know it. Depend upon it, Mr. Doyle's splendid talents are intended for noble purposes, and require to be exercised; they would be lost here. Let him go to Carlow, where a wide field lies open before him, and rest assured that the honour and credit he will confer upon our order, while occupying the chair of theology at Carlow, will prove of greater benefit to us than any services he could possibly render here."

The Provincial, yielding to Mr. O'Connor's advice, revoked his decision, and Doyle had an acquiescent answer by return of post. Dr. Doyle never forgot his friend's kind interference on the occasion.

On what trifling circumstances the most important events sometimes hinge. Had Mr. O'Connor, meekly yielding to a sense of blind obedience, neglected to remonstrate respectfully with the Provincial, Mr. Doyle would doubtless have been summoned to Cork, and possibly assigned an obscure position in the ascetic Convent of his order. Residing in retirement, aloof from the cares of the world, and that exciting clash of political opinion which so strongly characterized the time, his days would have

passed over in silent prayer, and in the unostentatious discharge of his religious duties. Nothing would have been heard of him at his death beyond a few ephemeral expressions of personal regard from his brethren whom he had edified, or perhaps a burst of lamentation from those whom he had silently led from sin to virtue, in the closet or confessional. And so he would have been given to the earth, and his stone would record nought save that he had lived. Catholic Ireland would not only have been deprived of one of her brightest ornaments and examples, but her wrongs would probably still remain unredressed.

We may observe that the little College at Ross did not long survive Mr. Doyle's retirement from it. In 1816 it ceased to exist.

There are some amusing and characteristic anecdotes related of Dr. Doyle's first acquaintance with the Carlow students. His working dress was, to say the least, eccentric, and he had no sooner appeared in it than a general titter ran through the academic ranks. A hat, originally black, but somewhat faded from long exposure to the weather, reposed upon the back of his classic head; a pair of brogues encased his feet; jet black garments clothed his limbs and body; and a loose frieze coat, thrown carelessly across his back in the manner of a mantle, completed the attire. Mr. Doyle's frame displayed this odd-looking dress to the best advantage. His hands and feet were long, his person gaunt, his neck thin, his shoulders narrow, his countenance austere, and, to those who did not know him, repellant. Wrapt in thought and his mantle of frieze, he slowly paced the avenues of Carlow College park. The students laughed heartily at the new professor, and thinking the whole affair a right good joke, gave little or no attention to their studies that day.

The new professor, meanwhile, gave notice to the students to prepare themselves with as much diligence for an examination as though they were about to undertake jurisdiction. The students indulged in renewed laughter, and declared that the man must be demented to attempt so daring a display of theological power. "He will only make a fool of himself," said they, "we have more theology in our little fingers than ever he or any other Friar had in his brain."

The bell at last rang, and as Doyle quietly took his seat in the middle of the class-room, with a massive volume of theology spread open upon one knee, his pocket-handkerchief resting on the other, and a snuff-box in his hand, the ebullition of merriment already alluded to rang undisguisedly through the apartment. Doyle raised not his head; but having hastily swept the room from right to left with his eyes, without seeming to do so, resumed, with imperturbable gravity, the perusal of the volume.

CARLOW COLLEGE.

It was time to face this mutiny. Suddenly Dr. Doyle raised his head and his voice, and commenced the examination. There was something so authoritative in his manner that all levity was forgotten, and every student present stood mute and paralysed. The shock was wonderful; and mouths that had previously curled upwards now drooped with dismay. Doyle began his examination at the bottom, then suddenly started to the top, skipped over twenty heads, alighted in the middle, ran to the right, then to the left, and finally to the top again, taking every student completely by surprise. His progress through the ponderous tome was equally irregular, as he knew the Fathers and it altogether by heart. The students failed to acquit themselves satisfactorily, and flung their eyes to the ground in humiliation. Some, it is true, answered accurately; but when called upon to support their views by references to the Fathers and the Sacred Scriptures, they completely broke down. The professor uttered a few words of reproof and advice, but with such earnestness and force, that several of the young men, instead of availing themselves of their hours of recreation, passed the entire day in study, and when the time for examination again arrived, their conduct was found more than enough to counterbalance the inattention of the previous morning.

In the course of a few days, an unexpected incident occurred. Father Andrew Fitzgerald returned to Carlow, and, with a rather crestfallen appearance, presented himself at Dean Staunton's room. It there transpired that Mr. Fitzgerald had engaged, with three other learned Dominicans, Drs. Harold, Ryan, and Magennis, to open an extensive educational establishment at Bloomfield House, near Booterstown; but finding, at the eleventh hour, that the attendant outlay would considerably exceed their original calculation, the good Dominicans abandoned the project as inexpedient.

Mr. Fitzgerald's uniform demeanour had endeared him not less to the students than to the President, and his return was hailed by the latter with mingled feelings of pleasure and regret. Dr. Staunton felt himself placed in an awkward position. He had completed arrangements with Mr. Doyle, while to close the College gates against Mr. Fitzgerald's return would prove an ungracious and unpopular act. Dr. Staunton sent for Mr. Doyle, and, tremulous as before, explained the very embarrassing posture of affairs. "My dear sir," said Doyle, "don't bestow a thought on the matter. My box is not yet unpacked, and I will return to Ross by the evening coach." "No, Mr. Doyle," replied the President, "you shall not go. I have sent for you, brought you a long way, and engaged you. I have long projected a rhetoric class. Remain here at least one year and teach that class, should you succeed in forming it. Mr. Fitzgerald returns to his old work in the morning."

The new rhetoric class was to be composed only of such students as should voluntarily join it. It being the natural tendency of most youths to apply themselves as little as possible to study, it was Mr. Doyle's policy to bind them by the ties of fascination to his new class. We fear it is not very easy to convey any adequate idea of the comprehensiveness, brilliancy, and attractiveness of the introductory lecture which he addressed to the students. Having noticed and exposed some Egyptian fables attributing to a wrong quarter the first invention of oratory, the lecturer traced its origin and progress from the time of Pittheus and the siege of Troy; and reverentially pausing to offer a tribute of respect and admiration to the mighty merits of Homer, he proceeded to follow the line of Pagan orators with elaborate chronological precision, expounding their value and detailing their various characteristics of perfection. The names of Corax, Tisius, Pericles, Empedocles, Demetrius, Gorgias, Prodicus, Alciadamus, Antiphon, Polycrates, Aristotle, Longinus, Isocrates, and Cleon, fell from his lips in wealthy profusion; and having closed and crowned the line of Grecian rhetoricians with the great name of Demosthenes, Mr. Doyle unfolded the beauties of that brilliant constellation, of which Dionysius of Halicarnassus may be regarded as the chief. Passing to the Roman orators, he traced the true vigour of their growth from the silly decree of the Senate, by which all rhetoricians were ordered out of Rome; but the Athenian philosophers, Diogenes and Critolaus, protested with such eloquence against the enactment, that every educated mind in Rome became filled with a burning desire to study and practise the fascinations of rhetoric, "among whom," added Mr. Doyle, "the name of Marcus Tullius Cicero will shine resplendent to the crack of doom itself." From the decline of the Roman empire and the introduction of Christianity, the lecturer traced the formation of a new and pure species of eloquence, as exhibited in the writings of the Latin fathers of the Church, Lactantius and Minutius Felix. He particularly adverted to his holy father in religion, St. Augustine, and dwelt with much eloquence on the oratorical achievements of that great and good man at Hippo, Cæsarea, and elsewhere. He thus went on, passing in review before him the rhetoricians of every clime and age downwards, analyzing their powers and developing their beauties, until he came to Bossuet, Massillon, and Bourdaloue, to Pitt and Fox, and finally to the then leading orators of Ireland, Grattan, Curran, and O'Connell. "And now, gentlemen," he said, "I hope I have fired your ambition. No doubt there are, as there ought to be, many of you who desire to influence the passions, captivate the will, and convince the understanding, as those remarkable men I have named, have influenced, captivated, and

convinced. Many of you possess within your reach this invaluable element of power, and you have only to stretch vigorously to obtain it." The students were completely bewitched by the language of the new professor, and, with a buoyant enthusiasm, they flocked to his standard in numbers.

The inaugurative lecture, of which we have feebly endeavoured to convey an outline, consumed five hours in the delivery. The students never expected to hear anything like it again, and when, on the following morning, they heard their master deliver a second address, if possible surpassing the other in beauty and vigour, but of a perfectly distinct character, their intense feeling of wonder and admiration may be guessed. "We thought he had exhausted himself the day before," observes one of Dr. Doyle's pupils, "but we soon found out our mistake, for, during the subsequent six years which he remained at Carlow, he frequently addressed us with hardly less learning and eloquence."

Mr. Doyle devoted a portion of his second day's address to the subject of pulpit oratory. In conclusion, he reminded his hearers of the objects of clerical eloquence, which have been thus summarized: "To inform the understanding, even of the inapprehensive; to arouse the slumbering conscience, to regulate the moral feelings, to unlock the iron grasp of avarice, and expand the liberal palm to deeds of charity; to humble the towering insolence of pride, and disarm the uplifted hand of oppression and revenge; to infuse the spirit of benevolence into the heart of unfeeling obduracy, and to breathe the love of peace into the bosoms of the turbulent."

The professor of rhetoric having apparently concluded for that day, his pupils were about to retire, when he called them back. "It is necessary," he said, "to give a character and reputation to our young class. For this purpose we should endeavour to surround the forthcoming public examination with some eclat. I would therefore suggest that each of you make yourself master of some particular chapter, in which it shall be my care that you be chiefly examined. Some extraneous questions may be put by the examiners, but trust to me that it shall not be long ere I bring you back to those parts with which you will be best acquainted. I will therefore submit to you some memoranda on the subject which I have prepared." Mr. Doyle read aloud the names of various alumni of the class, each in connexion with some particular chapter of "Blair's Rhetoric." "In regard to this arrangement," continued the diplomatic professor, "I do not impose secrecy upon you. It is perfectly optional with you to avow or conceal it; but I would beg to suggest to you, that to pursue the former course idly could serve no good or useful purpose, while the latter is ob-

viously the interest of every rhetorician who has a reputation to earn and maintain. You are, no doubt, as anxious as I am to see this young and struggling class established on a basis of popularity and stability from which it can never afterwards be shaken."

This ingenious suggestion worked its way. The students read, studied, and eventually answered at the *academus* like so many Ciceros. A halo seemed to surround Carlow College from that day; and men, still living, who witnessed and heard those celebrated examinations, speak of the young men who figured on that occasion as persons singularly inspired. The secret was kept inviolably. "It did not transpire for nearly thirty years after," writes one of the most distinguished of Mr. Doyle's pupils, "and I believe I was, myself, the first to avow it then."

Besides the studies usual to a rhetoric class, Mr. Doyle prescribed an interesting thesis to the students. He felt that they would be much more likely to enter, *con amore*, into an existing topic of discussion than one of an historical character, and he accordingly selected "an Address of Congratulation to Louis XVIII. on his restoration to the throne of his ancestors." That from the pen of William Kinsella, afterwards Bishop of Ossory, was unquestionably the best; but a distinguished Parish Priest of the diocess of Kildare, still living, having supported his very able thesis by some singularly clever answering, he carried off the premium. William Clowry, subsequently an eminent preacher and polemic writer, and Edward Nolan, the successor to Dr. Doyle in the see of Kildare, also particularly distinguished themselves on this occasion.

A letter, dated 10th August, 1857, from one of the last of Bishop Doyle's diocessan Priests, the Rev. J. Delany of Ballinakill, observes: "He taught rhetoric for the next six months; the class-book was Blair. His acquaintance with Longinus, Quintillian, and above all, with the fugitive and fragmentary poetry of his native country—'the Exile of Erin,' &c. (Carolan, Drennan, Reynolds, &c.)—the beauties of which he pointed out and dwelt upon with singular pathos, astonished and charmed his listeners; all this coming from one, who in his efforts to master and excel in the language of another country (Portugal) had nearly forgotten his own, and whose pronunciation at this time was so uncouth and barbaric, as frequently to extort bursts of laughter from his class." Doyle, no doubt, when repeating with rapture some euphonious English sentences, was involuntarily following the pronunciation of Teicero, his old master of rhetoric at Coimbra.

Dr. Doyle's constitution was never a strong one, although he generally contrived to accomplish the work of a dozen ordinary

men; and even at this early period, when he might be supposed to possess all the elasticity and vigour of youth, we find from the following letters that he suffered from frequent and serious attacks of delicacy. One of his first letters to his relatives in Wexford, dated 17th January, 1814, after asking several questions, which show his anxiety for their welfare, says: "From this place there is nothing which could interest you. My health is tolerably good, but I feel great apprehensions about the approaching Lent. My stomach and head were considerably affected last Christmas, and that was one of the causes which prevented me from going to see you in Wexford. Since our studies have been resumed I feel greatly better, so that labour seems necessary for me, and I can assure you I have quite enough of it. From five o'clock in the morning until ten at night I have not an hour to spare, unless about one after dinner."

This short period of relaxation was usually occupied by Mr. Doyle in a walk along the picturesque banks of the Barrow, in company with his fellow professors, Michael Slattery and John England, both respectively distinguished in after life as Archbishop of Cashel, and Bishop of Charleston.

The rally from complicated illness which Patrick Doyle made in 1812, owing, doubtless, to the exertions of his brother the Friar, was devoted to an energetic attempt to perfect his legal studies. In 1813 he acted as junior counsel in a suit before Judge Fletcher. The case was called on earlier than had been expected. The senior counsel was absent; Judge Fletcher invited Mr. Doyle to proceed. Mr. Doyle diffidently hesitated; the attorney in the case informed the court that Counsellor M'Nally could not possibly be in attendance before an hour. The Judge got impatient, and desired Mr. Doyle to open the case. The young advocate, after a nervous cough or two, did so. By degrees he warmed to the subject—a marked sensation was produced. His pleading was rapid, ornate, and convincing. He swept all before him: the jury decided in his client's favour without leaving the box. Young Doyle had one or two other triumphs. But unhappily the excited flush of ambition on his manly cheek gave place, ere long, to the hectic tinge of pulmonary consumption. The cruel disease hurried him before it, and buried him in an early grave.

This melancholy event is referred to in the following letter, addressed to Mary Howlett, afterwards Mrs. Coney. Through her, nearly all his family correspondence was carried on. He entertained a strong esteem for this lady; generally reserved to others, to her he unbosomed his confidence freely. The entire of this voluminous correspondence has been placed at our disposal.

"Carlow, 17th February, 1814.

"My dear Mary—As I always felt a pleasure in writing to you, you may readily suppose that it was only the continual agitation of my mind, since I came to Carlow, which could have prevented me from giving you some account of my life, and inquiring about your own happiness; but now "when remedies are passed the griefs are ended." I am indeed more easy at present than I have been for a long time, and find that reason and religion have enabled me, in some measure, to think with composure of a loss which to me is irreparable, and not less so perhaps to many of those friends to whom I have been constantly attached.

"It is useless to tell you the particulars of poor Patrick's illness and death; the great frost and snow prevented me from witnessing either, and he had expired on the day before I reached Dublin. Nothing was omitted that could be done for him, but no skill or medicine could remove the fatal disease. The dense masses of snow which blocked up the roads, rendered it impossible to remove his remains to Ross as *he* would have wished, and as I intended; but that is a matter of no importance, and he had too much sense to set a value upon it. He died a holy death; and I have every reason to hope that he would not now exchange his situation for what it was. The great prospects which were opening to him in the way of his profession, are only an additional cause of regret; but I will say no more of him.

"I feel happy in my present situation; the state of my health alone gives me uneasiness. I hear occasionally from Peter; I believe of all my friends it is he who thinks oftenest of me. I must go down in summer to settle some affairs of Patrick's, otherwise I did not intend visiting the county Wexford until the recollection of him would be worn away. I purpose to spend a week between your house and Piercestown, another between Mary Dillon and Ross, and the rest of the vacation at some watering place."

The "Peter" alluded to in the foregoing was Dr. Doyle's half-brother, the Parish Priest of St. Martin's, Tintern.

In 1814, Carlow sustained a double bereavement in the death of Bishop Delany and Dean Staunton. The episcopal throne of Kildare, and the presidential chair of the College, were thus rendered vacant. The Rev. Andrew Fitzgerald succeeded to the latter, and Mr. Doyle was at last appointed Professor of Theology in his room. The following letter, addressed to Dr. Howlett, alludes to these circumstances:

"Carlow, 1st October, 1814.

"My dear Martin—I have thought of writing to you, I believe, every day since I left Ross, but was so engaged, or rather

in so unsettled a state of mind, that I am glad to have deferred doing so until now. The death of my old friends caused an entire revolution in the ecclesiastical concerns of this town. I had a great deal of difficulty in keeping myself clear of party spirit, which, on more than one occasion, ran very high. I succeeded, however, entirely to my satisfaction; and though the utmost disinterestedness governed my conduct, I was put into the very situation which my most sanguine wishes would have pointed out. In addition to other advantages, I have got a new suite of rooms fitted up for me in the very best style, so that in every respect my fortune is prosperous. We have had many public dinners, &c., since my arrival, which obliged me to regale very often on claret; but I have entertained you long enough with my own affairs. I had almost forgotten to tell you that I had been very ill for some days, and was obliged, for the first time in my life, to lose a guinea by your profession. George* is about engaging in some commercial pursuit; Tom,† Peter,‡ and myself, are making up about £100 for him; my share of it is with Tom. I will be of any further use in my power to him, and my earnest wishes for his success, you may be sure, will not be wanting. Were it not for George and his business, I could furnish myself with a horse now, which would be of infinite service to me; if I survive the winter I shall get one. With all my other labours, which are great, I have been obliged to preach a good deal—this, however, is *professional business;* besides the discharge of duty, there is an accession of character on such occasions which, to a person like me, is of more real value than bank-notes. Adieu.

"J. DOYLE."

Dr. Slattery, the late Archbishop of Cashel, competed with Dr. Doyle for the chair of theology on this occasion. Dr. Slattery had graduated in Trinity College, and was regarded as one of the most learned men in the Irish Church. The preference, however, was given to Mr. Doyle, whose sensitive heart felt so pained lest Dr. Slattery should have experienced any humiliation by the rejection, that he at once yearned towards him with an intensity of affection that death alone terminated. They were bosom friends ever after, and when Dr. Doyle became a Bishop, he frequently took Dr. Slattery with him on his visitations. Dr. Doyle testified his kindness of disposition towards Dr. Slattery in a more remarkable manner. On the death of the Most Rev. Dr. Everard, in 1821, the archiepiscopal see of Cashel became vacant. Dr. Doyle at once exerted his influence in endeavouring to have the name of Dr. Slattery marked "*dignissimus*" among the candidates sub-

* His youngest brother. † Captain Doyle. ‡ Rev. Peter Doyle.

mitted to the judgment of the Holy See. His exertions, however, proved unsuccessful, and Dr. Laphen, P.P. of Thurles, received the preference. But Dr. Doyle's friendship for Dr. Slattery did not terminate here. In 1833 he was nominated President of Maynooth College, on Dr. Doyle's earnest recommendation; and in the following year the archbishopric of Cashel became again vacant. Dr. Doyle's former exertions in favour of Dr. Slattery were remembered. He was unanimously declared "*dignissimus;*" and most worthy for the sacred office Dr. Slattery indeed proved himself by the piety and ability with which he discharged for twenty-three years the duties incidental to it.

The winter of 1814 found our professor of theology in "good health, with a good fireside, plenty of labour, plenty of money, and a good name:"

"Carlow College, 4th November, 1814.

"My dear Mary—I find the longer a correspondence is interrupted, the more difficult it is to resume it. My situation in life, my views, my pursuits, my acquaintances, are so different from yours, and so little known to you, that I can scarcely find a subject for a letter when I wish to write, unless I were to fill it with expressions of esteem for you, and interest in your welfare; but this would be useless at present.

"You might expect that I would be offering you advice, and so I should if it were necessary, but in your own family you have enough to consult, and my only wish is that you should always act in concert with your husband and mother, and at all times prefer their wishes and opinions to your own. A thousand things occur in your town and country, and yet you stand so much on ceremony with me, that you would not write me a single word unless I had formally requested of you to do so.

"As to myself, I have little to say; if good health, and a good fireside, plenty of labour, plenty of money, and a good name, be advantages, I enjoy them to the fullest extent. I feel contented, and except when a recollection of poor Pat disturbs my mind, I might say that none of my family can be more happy. Providence has been particularly kind to me. I strive to thank God every day, and as I pray for you as well as for myself, I hope you will do the same for me in your turn.

"I had promised to spend the Christmas vacation at Kilkenny, with Dr. Marum, but as he is about to be consecrated Bishop of Ossory, he may be so occupied that I would not wish to intrude on him."

CHAPTER III.

How to preach—Death of another brother—Letters—Mr. Doyle held in awe—Students on the rack of examination—Robbery and murder—A peace maker—Letters—Alarming illness of Mr. Doyle—Rev. Richard Hayes—An amusing dispute—Rumour of Mr. Doyle's appointment to the bishopric of Ferns—Letters—Claude's retort answered—An unfortunate bargain—Correspondence with the Rev. R. J. M'Ghee—Dr. Corcoran foresees the future bishop in Mr. Doyle—Electioneering excitement—Letters—Death of a third brother—The See of Kildare vacant—Appointment of Mr. Doyle—Remarkable circumstances attending it—Correspondence with Cæsar Colclough and Sir H. Parnell—A rebuff—Letter from Dr. Troy—An amusing interview with Dr. Curtis—The Veto.

MOORE records an anecdote of a divine well known for being a *seccatore* in his preaching, who having been caught one day in a shower going to church, was complaining to a friend of being very wet. "Well," said the friend, "only get up in the pulpit, and you'll be dry enough." Father ——, an Irish Priest, was pronounced by one of his parishioners to be a most moving preacher, for the moment he got into the pulpit, at the conclusion of Mass, every one left the chapel. These and similar satires would seem to have reached the ears of Dr. Doyle, and he constantly laboured to remove the obstacles to impressive preaching, which had unhappily become too general. As a professor his zeal was of the most ardent kind. He earnestly desired that the young Priests of his class should be not only learned theologians, but also practically conversant with every branch of knowledge, which could not fail to render them *au fait* for the exigencies of the future mission. Effective preaching he regarded as an indispensable condition of success in the Irish missioner. He was indeed averse to theatrical elocution, and, except on rare occasions, to elaborate composition; for, in a country circumstanced as Ireland—where the Priest, supported by the voluntary system, depends for subsistence on the beneficence of his flock—he saw that the number of the Priests should of necessity be limited, and if the Priest spent a large portion of his time in the composition of his sermons, he could not discharge the other various and onerous duties which devolved upon him. Dr. Doyle's great object as professor was so to mould the minds of his pupils that extemporaneous preaching—a little previous thought being, of course, supposed—should at all times come easy to them. "Spontaneous effusions," he said, "which come naturally and warm from the heart, stamped with the immediate impress of the genuine feelings of the speaker, seldom fail to excite by sympathy the emotions of the audience, and, reaching the heart, cause corresponding chords to vibrate."

The tracts in use at Carlow and Maynooth are, for the most part, the works of continental divines, and therefore certain points of special discipline are not referred to at all, or, if referred to, treated in a manner not adapted to Ireland. "Hence," writes one of his pupils—"Hence Dr. Doyle's indefatigable labour and constant annotations—his continuous commentary upon every page of the class-book; as a supplement of defective information it is of essential importance to the young Priest."

Our professor had not ceased to bemoan the premature death of Patrick Doyle, when George, his last surviving brother, became stricken by mortal illness. A letter addressed to the late Dr. Howlett of Ross refers to this affliction:

"Carlow College, 9th April, 1815.

"My dear Martin—I seldom felt greater difficulty in writing to any person than I do at present. I consider myself so much indebted to you for your attention and kindness to George, that my feelings are distressed when I endeavour to express them. It is well to have known misfortune in some degree, for it prepares the mind and heart to sympathise with other men, whom, in better circumstances, we could look upon with indifference. You recollect the exclamation of old Dido, '*Haud ignara malis miseris succurrere disco.*' I allude to your sickness, &c. &c., coming from India. I did not expect, when I heard from Mary of George's extreme delicacy, that he would live even until now; yet she, I perceive, entertains hopes of his recovery, although I think that is not to be expected. I beg of you earnestly to let me know some day in the week what you think of him, and how he is. I was anxious for many reasons, which I mentioned in a letter to the Captain, that George should go to Knockstown. I suspect that he did not show that letter to Mary as I desired. I shall write to her again on the same subject, if you let me know that he is in a state capable of being removed. At the same time, my dear Martin, you must allow me to assure you that I *feel* much more the inconvenience you must be at on his account than any expense which would attend his stay in Ross; *that* to me could not be an object of much consideration. As to going down to see him, though my not doing so has given pain, perhaps offence, to Mary, I do not mind it. If we suffered ourselves to be governed by the feelings of women or of sick people, we would be no longer capable of holding our place in society. My visit could not serve him. I saw him once lately, and think it was for the last time. I have proved my friendship for him in times and ways when it could be useful. Moreover, it is a truth that, from five in the morning until ten at night, I cannot spare an hour with convenience, unless half-

an-hour after breakfast and a short period for rest in the evening, when the fatigues of the day leave me unable, or rather unfit to think or write on any subject. My health was never better, thanks to God. A few days of relaxation in the country during Easter week was of great use to my mind and body.

"Yours, with the most sincere affection and the utmost gratitude,

"J. DOYLE."

Another letter on the same sad topic:

"Carlow College, 11th April, 1815.

"MY DEAR MARTIN—I had anticipated the account of poor George's health; I had no hopes of his final recovery. Again I thank you with all my heart and soul for your attention to him, and feel particularly unhappy that he should feel a particular wish to see me. His anxiety on the subject would, I believe, determine me to go down in any other circumstances but those in which I am placed, notwithstanding all that I should suffer—for though I can command my feelings on such occasions, the trial, I am convinced, would injure me seriously. Our President went to Dublin on yesterday about some law business, and I don't know when he will return; the whole establishment would suffer by my absence even for a single day. I could not calculate the evils to myself and others that might result from any illness of mine, which I should necessarily anticipate if I were to go to Ross for three weeks. I did not recover the shock which I received when last in Dublin; poor Pat's death disabled me during a part of the last year, and ought I not, under these circumstances, to remain at Carlow, where constant occupation excludes distressing reflections? Your own mind will suggest to you what you should say to him about my absence. I am totally ignorant of the particulars of his circumstances. My dear friend, let him have every attendance you think useful; and when he dies let him be buried like his neighbours: the clergy of the town can have an office for him, and may dine at your house or at the inn. I will write to Captain Doyle, and request of him to interest himself in my place upon the occasion; and whatever money you or he may be obliged to expend, I, of course, will repay. If you do not think it improper, I should be glad you would tell George that all my affection for him continues; that it is a dread of distressing him and myself, and a wish to preserve my health (which, I fear, would suffer from seeing him), more than the obligation of remaining here, which prevents me from going down; that I am satisfied of your attention to him, and only wish that he would give to you a statement of his little affairs, and then resign himself entirely to the providence of God; that he has lived long enough if he can

die well; that his days may have been shortened on account of his sins; that he should lament over them in the bitterness of his soul, and hope, through the merits of Christ and the sacraments of salvation, to pass to a world where there is not grief nor sadness, and where pain will be no more; that I will always remember him in my prayers, and that the sacrifice of the altar shall be offered by my hands and soul to obtain the remission of his sins, and of the punishment due to them, until it shall please God that he and I and all our friends will meet, never more to be separated. Adieu."

The Professor's reputation as a profoundly wise and learned ecclesiastic increased daily; and although remarkably youthful in appearance, a frequent expression of awe grew up in his immediate presence. Mr. Doyle's general deportment was not by any means calculated to diminish this feeling. Erect as a lath, grave as a judge, reserved, dignified, and austere, he was feared by some, beloved by those who knew him intimately, and reverenced by all. Of his apparel he had now become much more particular, and the noon-day sun was not more spotless than his dress and person. Any appearance of slovenliness in others, especially if wearing the garb of clergymen, disgusted him exceedingly; and he often communicated his views pretty strongly on this subject to the theological students committed to his care. Alluding to an influential ecclesiastic attached to the College, whose long, bony nails were perpetually clogged with black snuff, he said: "I protest when that old gentleman comes to table, the state of his hands almost turns my stomach."

As he discharged his various duties with the regularity of clock-work, it may be supposed that any trip in the progress of these methodical arrangements greatly annoyed him. "I never will forget," writes one of Dr. Doyle's pupils, "the look of concentrated scorn and reproach which he would throw on Father Andrew Fitzgerald whenever he kept the class unnecessarily waiting, or caused business to be temporarily suspended."

His air had, in the eyes of strangers, a good deal of the *noli me tangere* about it. "I dread to meet that man upon the college walk," said Mr. F—— of Carlow, in 1818, "his expression always seems to say, 'Keep your distance, sir.'"

As an examiner he was held in great awe, and many a student who thought himself, in private, remarkably well read, proved, when once under the Professor's searching test, sadly deficient. Some who had really acquired good information, occasionally became so confused and embarrassed from the mere prestige and presence of Dr. Doyle, that they broke down lamentably. Their position when on the rack of examination, was well adapted to

increase the painful embarrassment of a nervous man. Placed in a pulpit, the observed of all observers, many were the faltering and ludicrous answers which found expression beneath its formal canopy. "A really stupid student went into the pulpit," observes the Rev. Mr. M——, "but, of course, he was quite dumbfoundered. 'Good God! cannot you answer that simple question?' (The poor fellow could hardly tell whether he was on his head or his heels!) Dr. Doyle put another, yet still no reply. 'Can you, at least, tell how many sacraments there are?' No answer. 'Why, the man does not even know his catechism; come down, sir.' But the cream of the joke consisted in the quizzing which the poor goose received from his companions. 'By Jove!' said one, 'you deserve a premium for bothering Doyle. He tried to catch you tripping, but you were too 'cute to be tripped by him. You very dexterously contrived not to be inveigled into a wrong answer.' By such quizzing as this, they absolutely succeeded in making the simple student believe implicitly that he had gone with credit through the examination."

A student ascended the pulpit with a very self-satisfied expression, but he suddenly lost his presence of mind, and was obliged to come down again, wearing a remarkably meek aspect. "If you had gone up as you came down," said the examiner, "you'd have comé down as you went up!"

Any symptoms of self-sufficiency, or overweening confidence, annoyed Mr. Doyle more than even the faltering accents of a helpless timidity. Tendencies in this direction he rebuked caustically. Theological students sometimes deliver sermons in presence of the academic heads, who offer such critical observations at the conclusion of the discourse, as may seem calculated to improve the style and stimulate the intellectual strength of the future pulpit orator. On the occasion to which we refer, Dr. Doyle acted as chief judge. Some brilliant thoughts and well-put points, sprinkled with a more than average complement of "hems" and "haws," and not a few awkward solecisms, found expression. The Professor did not interpret these "hems" as the indications of an interesting diffidence, but, on the contrary, detected the existence of some disingenuousness, and a good deal of self-sufficiency. Several members of the auditory expressed warm marks of approval, but Mr. Doyle remained impassive as a statue. The speaker, encouraged by his friends, sought to drive his points still further home by a succession of thumps upon the reading desk. At length he concluded, and all eyes were turned in anxious inquiry towards Dr. Doyle. "Well," said the Rev. Mr. ——, "what verdict do you pronounce?" "My verdict is Guilty, sir," replied the Professor of Theology. "Guilty!" exclaimed the Priest, with a look of dis-

may, "of what?" "Of robbery and murder!" proceeded Doyle solemnly. "The whole sermon may be found in Bourdaloue, and it has been murdered in the delivery!"

Mr. Doyle was particularly fond of taking down the overweening vanity of young persons. Writing to Mrs. Crosbie at this period, he speaks of the "vanity and want of good sense" of a member of his family, and requests his correspondent "to take opportunities rather of humbling than of raising her pride."

The examinations at Carlow during this and subsequent periods were of a much more searching character than those of many other colleges. Dr. Doyle, writing to his nephew, 20th October, 1814, says: "C—— has left this; at his examinations he could not answer a *single word;* so, if he were my brother, I could not remove him from the Latin school; he and some others of a like description went to Kilkenny, where an examination is merely a matter of form. I wrote by him to my friend there, and hope he may succeed, though I would not advise him to go."

The Rev. P. Brennan, who was Dean of Carlow College at this period, informs us that Doyle's intense application to study, from the time of his arrival there in 1813 to his appointment as Bishop, six years after, almost exceeds belief. Surrounded by tomes of history, jurisprudence, theology, ethics, and metaphysics, and nourished by such intellectual food, his fertile mind grew, strengthened, and expanded. This course of study was relaxed every Saturday, but not to indulge in recreation. On that day he laboured unremittingly in the confessional. He not only acted as spiritual director to the majority of the students, but also to the laity. The Parish Priest, Father W. Fitzgerald, was a very delicate man, and Mr. Doyle assisted him with singular zeal and efficiency. On every Sunday morning he preached in the parochial chapel, either on the gospel of the day or on such topics of abuses as the times seemed to demand.

An interesting instance of mediation performed by Dr. Doyle about this period transpires in the following letter. He reluctantly undertook the office, though usually a thankless one, and, as Gay tells us, always fraught with peril, especially when a husband and wife are the disputants:

"Carlow College, 24th September, 1815.

"My very dear Mary—I am becoming almost unaccountable to myself. There is no person in the county Wexford, or out of it, I have thought of more frequently than of you. I intended a hundred times at least to write to you, and at length *did* write a very long letter, sealed it, opened it again, and tore it. And why this should have been the case I can scarcely tell. I believe, to be candid, the reason I did not write was, that my letter should be

filled by disagreeable topics. I feared that perhaps I should hear the same from you, and concluded that it were better to leave you and myself to mind our own business, than to torment each other with the affairs of others, however interesting. This silence, however, could not continue always, for how could I deprive myself of all intercourse with you, for whom I entertain an old and a great affection, and to whom I can communicate my thoughts with more confidence than to many others?

"Well, to begin. I found our poor friends in that miserable state which must result when distrust and jealousy, grown almost to hatred, take the place of affection, and of that common feeling which, like a bond, should connect the thoughts, and wishes, and actions of a husband and wife. I endeavoured to remind him of the duties which he owed to her—to respect, to cherish her, to indulge even her errors, and look upon her faults with pity rather than with severity; but with her I was more free, in reminding her how nature and the law of God and Jesus Christ subjected her to her husband; that he should be obeyed even when unreasonable; that when he spoke she should be silent; that though she had a right to the property of both, yet the administration of it entirely belonged to him; that she should labour when he wished, and keep what company he pleased; that his opinion ought to regulate the expenses of her house and of her dress—in a word, that she was to have no interest but his, and that she should remedy his faults more by prayer than by reasoning or disputing. All these labours of mine were, I fear, of little use; and need I tell you that although only a few days in my native county, I was most impatient to leave it. D——'s family affairs are in the same state they have always been. He treated me with the utmost affection, and I was greatly distressed whilst he related to me the various miseries of his life. The state of his soul, and the poor prospect of a reformation in that respect, is a constant source of uneasiness to me. I enjoy the best health since I left the sea, where I have been bathing for some weeks. I bought Peter's black mare for £20, and ride out every day. We had a consecration here last week, conducted in a style of great magnificence. Write to me immediately, and let me know the state of your own affairs in the first place, and of all those for whom you know I am interested."

It is interesting to trace, at this early period, that generosity of heart and unbounded charity to the indigent which formed, when a Bishop, one of Dr. Doyle's fairest characteristics. How he could afford to dispense gracious charities in 1816, without injustice to himself, will surprise many readers, when they learn that the salary he enjoyed at first for his professional services

amounted to £20 per annum only.* This sum was, at a later period, increased to £25, as the college book at Carlow records. "I owe some money to your husband, and did intend to pay him sooner; but, to be candid, I lent all the money I could muster to a family in great distress, who intended to pay me at Christmas, but could not. I suppose I shall get it in the course of this year; but whether I do or not, John may calculate upon being reimbursed about Easter, for I could not in decency ask money from our President before then. Write to let me know that you are not annoyed with me for deferring this matter."

On the 5th of May, 1816, he writes: "I have long been expecting a letter from you, and hoped you would have cheered me during the late gloomy season with some accounts from home. I am much disposed to be angry with you; but *cui bono?* I have not yet seen our countrywoman, Mrs. C——, though her husband is an old acquaintance of mine, and they have visited us. You may infer from this how little we here interest ourselves about the affairs of the world; the less we interfere with them, the more comfort we enjoy. We shall have a profession of two Nuns here on to-morrow, and, in the following week, an ordination of about thirty persons. This is the trade in which we are engaged, and you see it is flourishing."

25th May, 1816: "As an opportunity occurs of writing to you, I avail myself of it to let you know I am well, and more mindful of my friends than even you, good-natured though you consider yourself. This will be given to you by Mr. Cullen, a young lad of whom I am very fond, chiefly on account of the simplicity and innocence of his mind, and the good progress he is making in his studies. He has been under my care during the last year, and if he calls on you will, I am certain, get his dinner, which is sometimes a very acceptable thing to a student. How often in my life, when a scholar, would I consider a good dinner as little short of a special favour of Providence! I shall be here until the 29th of June, but am undetermined where I may go, having resolved not to see the county Wexford sooner than August, if even then. You may call this ill-nature, and perhaps it is; but there are many instances of such conduct, and that will make it less surprising. *Were it not for the awkward appearance which my remaining here* would have, when all the other professors are absent, I doubt whether I would leave it during the vacation; but then we must often sacrifice our wishes to the opinions of the world, however unreasonable such opinions may seem."

* Bishop Delany, writing to Lord Castlereagh in 1800, tells him that the salaries of three of the professors at Carlow were only 15 guineas each!—*See Castlereagh Papers*, iv. 147.

There is some advice not unworthy of Bourdaloue in the following letter of the same period:

"My dear Mary—I am indebted to you for your very kind letter. You generally send me pleasing news, and even when it is not so, you temper it with such reasonable reflections as take away that bitterness which generally accompanies complaint. I can almost say that all your views and conduct coincide with my wishes, and the success which attends your industry and economy is all that I anticipated.

"The inconstancy of friends will teach you to fix your thoughts on God, who never changes or deceives; at the same time, you should make the most generous allowances for the behaviour of other people, which often appears blamable when in reality it is not so. Necessity, family interests and connexions, change of circumstances, produce changes in every individual; and you have no more right to expect consistency from mankind than to expect that a young shrub will ever become a tree. In ourselves we can often find also the causes why other people change towards us; for though self-love tells us we are always consistent, the very reverse is generally the case. I rejoice exceedingly then, that, without censuring others, you are enabled practically to understand what I long since told you, that you will be at ease in proportion as you are humble and domestic, and happy, truly happy, in proportion as you are religious—doing all things for the fulfilment of God's will. Of myself, I can only say I am well, and might add happy, if contentment, ease, a sufficiency of necessaries and comforts, with the respect and affection of all those above me, can render me so; indeed I frequently thank God for his innumerable favours to me, and often fear that such an exemption from trouble or crosses as I enjoy is rather a mark of His displeasure than of His good will; but He may have many hardships in reserve for me, and if He has, I hope, with His assistance, that I shall bear with them."

The crosses at last come:

"Carlow College, 24th September, 1816.

"After my return from Dublin, I had a week to recruit my strength, and then a spiritual retreat commenced, at which I was obliged to preach every second day; immediately afterwards our examinations for opening the different classes proceeded; all these things are troublesome and teasing, but happily I got through them, and was going on with my business last week, when behold I was seized with an inflammatory swelling of the glands of my neck, which created a fever in my blood, and kept me in a most painful state, without sleep or food, for three or four days. By repeated and violent applications of medicine, inside and exter-

nally, I succeeded in reducing the inflammation, but the irritation was so great that some of the small blood-vessels in my stomach burst, for which I am now under medical treatment. This illness, though short, has enfeebled me somewhat, and given me much pain. I feel thankful to God for being recovered so soon, and am greatly indebted to all my friends here for the extreme interest they manifested about me."

The correspondence again flags, but by a vigorous effort it is renewed. It is curious to observe that he who, when a Bishop, became the most indefatigable writer of his day—although literally overwhelmed with duty—should have shrunk, when a professor, from the comparatively insignificant task of writing a brief letter to his relatives at home:

"Carlow College, 8th February, 1817.

"My dear Mary—I generally get angry with you and myself at the same time—with you for not writing to me, and with myself for neglecting to write to my nearest and dearest friends. How often have I thought of you within these last two months, and yet could not command time or muster resolution enough to enable me to send you a letter! I have at length begun, and intend in a few minutes (for I write very fast) to send you three pages, though it should all be nonsense. . . . . Now, as to my own affairs. I am just as usual; my health in general has been tolerably good through the winter, although constantly exposed at that season to colds and sickness. I take exercise when the weather is fine, live temperately, and drink nothing but water.

"The poor here are greatly distressed, and all the exertions made by the rich are inadequate to their relief. However, as potatoes are cheap and good, we have no great apprehension of any serious want. I intended to have gone down to Ross at Christmas, but many things concurred to prevent me, particularly the illness of a young lady here, who has been dying these two months of consumption. She is still alive, after suffering more than I supposed human nature was capable of bearing. I happened to be the director of her conscience, and her family would be miserable if I were absent from her even for one day; I thought also that by saying Mass for her, and giving her every other comfort and assistance in my power, that I would be insuring her prayers for me in heaven, where undoubtedly she is about to go, as she has been blessed through her life with the most extraordinary graces, and is only detained here on earth that her sufferings and glory may be as perfect as her innocence." "Why," adds the Professor in a postscript, "why did you not tell me of Hayes' great sermon? You know how interested I am in his success."

Mr. Doyle alludes to the late Rev. Richard Hayes of the Franciscan Convent, Wexford. He was a young priest of great promise and learning, and became eventually a highly distinguished preacher. His gifts and acquirements were most varied; as a patriot, he was disinterested; as a priest, zealous; as a preacher, powerful. In discharge of his memorable mission to Rome in opposition to the Veto, he made not only many enemies, but, as "Brennan's Ecclesiastical History" asserts, a sacrifice of his health and life on the altar of his country. "Father Hayes' features," writes a Wexford correspondent, "were not comely; his figure was long and thin. I remember well with what amusement I beheld, many long years ago, Father Hayes and Dr. Doyle (then Father James Doyle) walking up and down my dear mother's drawing-room, and halting before the pier and chimney-glasses, and disputing as to which was the plainer-looking man! I merely mention this to show how his master mind would unbend, and amuse itself with trifles." The reader must not infer from this anecdote that Dr. Doyle's features were cast in an ordinary or unprepossessing mould. Hogan's splendid full-length statue of the Bishop in Carlow Cathedral, which is considered a striking likeness, presents a countenance of angelic sweetness and intelligence.

In 1817, the health of Dr. Ryan, Bishop of Ferns, became much enfeebled, and at a meeting of his clergy to appoint a coadjutor, a strong disposition existed among them to nominate Mr. Doyle as *dignissimus*. Dr. Ryan's* eccentricities had not declined with his health, however. His old prejudice against the Regulars once more found expression; and, in deference to wishes so influential, the Rev. James Keatinge, a zealous curate of the diocess, was appointed Coadjutor Bishop of Ferns. This circumstance is referred to in the following:

"Carlow College, 19th October, 1817.

"My dear Mary—I have been endeavouring to find a leisure hour these last three weeks, of which I might avail myself in order to write you a long letter. I have found one at last, but scarcely know what to say, as I have often told you there is the greatest possible sameness in my life; it runs on like a rivulet through a level plain, unnoticed and undisturbed. The only news I have is that I sold the little horse I had at your house, and bought another, which after a few days I returned. Since then I am on foot, travelling about like the Master whom I should imitate, and in a

* Dr. Ryan is occasionally referred to in Dr. Doyle's letters of this period. On the 17th of February, 1818, he says: "I heard that Dr. Ryan had gone up to Dublin lately. Poor man, he has again committed himself with his Enniscorthy friends in a troublesome business. I wish he would mind his health and his diocess, and nothing else."

great measure becoming an humble Friar. I don't find my health in the least degree impaired, as I take a long walk every day. I intend to continue to do so until I get a horse, which will not be before next spring, for the shortness of the winter days, the badness of the weather and the roads, would keep me within, unless I kept a chaise and pair, and at present my finances are rather straitened, and would not allow me to indulge in a luxury of that kind. Father Walsh from the Island was here last week. He told me the clergy were to meet in Enniscorthy some day lately, and that it was generally supposed a coadjutor would be elected for Dr. Ryan. I suppose I shall shortly hear the result, though I don't feel much anxiety about it. I believe there is no one of the many candidates spoken of more indifferent about the result than myself; indeed, if I were to form a wish on the subject (which I would not), it would be to be left in oblivion."

The difficulty experienced by Mr. Doyle in "finding a leisure hour" may well be understood, when, in addition to the arduous duties of his professorship, we know that, as an enlightened spiritual director, he was much consulted at this period, both in the closet and the confessional. One of the most interesting portions of the correspondence which has been placed at our disposal are Dr. Doyle's letters to a lady who now presides as superioress in an Irish educational convent. Born and reared in the bosom of a zealous Protestant family, she grew up with views strongly antagonistic to the ancient faith of Ireland; but, influenced by a thoughtful and observant disposition, these prejudices gradually softened and melted away. She prayed much and fervently, and having at last embraced the Catholic doctrine, committed her conscience to the guidance of Father James Doyle. The following letter of condolence was written on the death of the lady's mother, who had died in the same faith:

"8th August, 1817.

"My dear H——, I most sincerely condole with you on the loss you have sustained: other trials of a more severe kind had prepared you for this, which, being long apprehended, is on that account even less severe. Had your mother's disease been of a different kind, it would have been a comfort to you to have heard her last sigh and received her last embrace; but Providence had weaned you by degrees from all that was once valuable in her, and left only a shadow, to be taken away by death. I consider your absence at the time of her dissolution as one of the many favours conferred on you by Almighty God; for had you been at home and present, you would have had to bear with the most violent affliction in witnessing an agony which terrifies, but does not generally cause

pain. I wish that now, when all that is eventful in your life will crowd upon your memory and imagination, that you would seek for light and grace from the Father of orphans, 'who keepeth Israel, who leadeth Joseph like a sheep,' and not suffer your mind to be depressed and agitated, 'whereas you know that He has care of you.' It is forbidden us to grieve for the dead like others who have no hope, 'whereas if Christ died, he too hath arisen from the dead, and those who have slept, and we who are left, will be taken to meet Him in the air, and so will be always with the Lord.' These are the considerations which St. Paul proposes for our consolation, desiring us to be satisfied, 'whereas we, too, shall be with the Lord.'"

In 1817, Carlow College underwent considerable enlargement, for the reception of one hundred lay students. Mr. Doyle took a warm interest in the alterations, and may be said to have mainly directed them. Writing to a friend in the following year, he says: "I wish that D—— would send that youngest son of his to the college school here. It is undoubtedly *the best school in Ireland;* and that boy, who has grown up wild, might even yet be formed in it."

Theological students are acquainted with a remarkable controversial discussion, at the house of the Countess de Roye, between Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, and Claude, a Huguenot dignitary. Bossuet asserted that the principle of private judgment should, by a kind of moral necessity, prevent a Protestant from making an act of faith which would have for its object the divine inspiration of the Sacred Scripture. Claude did not deny the assertion in direct terms, but retorted that the Catholic was in the same situation, because in forming such an act of faith, the motive on which he should rest was the authority of his teacher, equally fallible as the private judgment of the Protestant. The elucidation of this question embarrassed not only Bossuet and Claude, but many other theologians since their time. In October, 1817, Mr. Doyle took the difficulty in hand, and, from his theological chair, gave an analysis of acts of faith as supposed to be made by two children, a Catholic and a Protestant, whilst under the direction of their respective masters. The notes of this voluminous discourse have been placed at our disposal, but we can only undertake to give a summary of them. Mr. Doyle affirmed that a Protestant might make, as validly as a Catholic, certain acts of faith when first taught the common creed, because the gift of faith is infused at baptism, and only awaits a capacity in the subject, and some external cause or occasion, in order to excite it. It is indifferent what religion the master who teaches the Apostles' Creed may

profess: the pupil, if baptised, is the elect of God and a child of the Catholic Church until he renounce her communion by wilfully embracing error. Having expounded the principle of private judgment as maintained in the Protestant Church, Mr. Doyle supposed the case of a Catholic and Protestant boy who had been baptised, and brought to a church for instruction. When they have learned the creed, they are desired to believe firmly in their minds that the articles are revealed by God, and necessary to be believed in order to obtain salvation. Mr. Doyle affirmed that both could do so. The gift infused at baptism is now put into active operation, and the Catholic boy becomes a believing Christian, having hitherto been, according to the hypothesis, in a state of childhood. The Protestant boy is in the same state, for he neither has, as yet, learned any other principles of religion than those contained in the common creed; and if the religious principles hitherto learned by them be the same, how can they be different? Both have been baptised—no matter whether by Paul or Apollo, as it is Christ who infuses the gift of faith. The next question is—in what does the difference consist between the Catholic and Protestant as regards the acts of faith which they may form afterwards? Dr. Doyle showed that, so long as they agreed in the articles which were the objects of their acts of faith, there was no difference between them; but in a little time the respective masters leave the articles of the creed, and proceed to teach additional articles, about which they are not agreed. The Catholic preceptor says, "You are to believe that Christ is really present in the Eucharist." The Protestant master says, "You are to believe firmly that Christ is figuratively present," &c. Even as yet there is no difference between the two boys in their mode of belief, though there is in the object of it: both believe in the Church and that what she teaches is true; but both perceive that the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches differ in opinion as to what the Holy Catholic Church teaches regarding the mode of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. The next question is—what are these boys to do, and then where do they begin to differ? They are both permitted to ascertain by inquiry whether the Roman or the Anglican Church is the Holy Catholic Church mentioned in the creed. The Catholic pupil is supposed to return from the search perfectly satisfied: the master says, "You were allowed to inquire where the true Church was, that your obedience to her commands might be reasonable; but now reason has discharged her office. Having long since professed to believe the Holy Catholic Church, you have now only to learn what it teaches, and to believe it on her authority. To doubt that authority is to doubt one of the articles of the creed." The Protestant pupil, equally sincere with regard to the object of his

pursuit, is supposed also to return convinced that the "Reformed" is the Holy Catholic Church. Assuming such to be the fact, and that he proceed to believe the spiritual presence—not because his private judgment approves of it, but because the Protestant Church (which, through invincible error, he takes to be the Holy Catholic Church) teaches it, he is still a good Christian; and should he die in that erroneous faith, but free from actual sin, he would go to heaven—his greatest misfortune being, that should he fall into mortal sin, he could not, by virtue of any sacrament, obtain its remission, there being no valid absolution outside the Catholic Church. But should the Protestant return from his inquiry and exercise his private judgment as his master directed him to do, not only to ascertain whether the Reformed Church was the Holy Catholic Church, but also to determine where the articles of the creed, or the mode of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, was or was not agreeable to God's word, then he renounces the first principle on which he set out—namely, his belief in the Holy Catholic Church—and attaches himself to the second principle of private judgment which his master gave him, and by so doing becomes a heretic, or chooser of faith, for the first time. Mr. Doyle, at the close of his discourse, mentioned that, in treating the subject, he differed with reluctance from De la Hogue, the celebrated professor of theology at Maynooth, who had failed to point out what the Protestant could do, and where the precise point was when he diverged from the great principle of the Catholic Church and took up that of his own sect. It would also appear that De la Hogue, throughout his treatise on the subject, did not say what use of private judgment is allowed to the Catholic.

In May, 1817, we find the professor fairly unhorsed by Father Peter Doyle. The crosses, of which in a former letter to his niece he declared himself completely free, were not slow in overtaking him: "I know not how much time I may spend with you next summer, but whatever it may be, I am glad you have got a car, as I have no horse at present. My bargains with Peter have always been unfortunate, but the last I made with him was particularly so. I gave him £20 for a mare, and sold her two days after for £3 8*s*. 3*d*., after having been at considerable expense by her. I don't know whether I shall buy another, as I have so many calls for money, and I cannot bear to be in debt. You seem to enjoy more prosperity than any of the family, and there is no one of them more worthy of it."

The Rev. Robert J. M'Ghee, a distinguished Protestant polemic and advocate of the Bible Societies, having been engaged, in the autumn of 1817, on a work entitled "The Bible, the Rights of Conscience, and the Established Church Vindicated," applied, as

he says, to the "Professors of the Popish Colleges of Maynooth and Carlow," for a statement of the Catholic doctrine in regard to reading the Scriptures. Mr. Doyle promptly acceded to the request, and at page 67 of Mr. M'Ghee's book the document alluded to may be found. It would seem that, soon after the Council of Trent, a regulation was made at Rome, that lay persons should not read the Bible in the vulgar tongue without the permission of their pastors. "This," proceeds Mr. Doyle, "is the only prohibition relative to the reading of the Scriptures extant. It was made at a period when many ignorant persons supposed themselves capable of forming a creed from the Bible, and when it was read more for litigation than for edification's sake. This rule was never universally published or observed; and here, as in France, no permission was ever required, in virtue of any Church law, for any person to read the Scriptures. Hence we have had repeated editions of the Douay Bible; and copies of it are found in numberless Catholic families, where it is read without any permission being obtained or sought for. Instead of prohibiting the reading of the Scriptures, we encourage the religious and sensible persons of our communion to read them frequently—having previously invoked the direction of the Holy Ghost, for which purpose a form of prayer is prefixed to our Bibles. We do not recommend the indiscriminate use of them; for example, we do not desire that the Word of God should become the school-book of children." The writer quoted, as an exposition of the authentic Catholic doctrine on the subject, a brief of Pius VI. to the Archbishop of Florence, approving of his translation of the Bible into Italian, and observing that a vast number of bad books which grossly attacked the Catholic religion had been circulated to the great destruction of souls; that the Archbishop had done wisely in publishing the Sacred Writings in the language of his country, suitable to the capacity of all—especially when he had added explanatory notes, which, being taken from the Holy Fathers, precluded all danger of abuse. Mr. Doyle in conclusion observed, that should Mr. M'Ghee or any of his friends desire information in regard to any of the tenets of the Catholic Church, he would feel most happy to afford it.

The document to which we refer having reached Mr. M'Ghee, he wrote to his rev. correspondent for permission to publish it. The application in the first instance had been private, and Mr. Doyle does not seem to have intended his answer for the public eye. However, he very politely gave consent, as follows: "Rev. Sir—In reply to your kind letter, apprising me of your intention to publish a decision of mine on a case submitted to me relative to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, permit me to say that

you are at liberty to make any use you please of what I wrote on the subject. I only apprehend that, from writing it in haste, and not at all supposing it would ever appear in print, it may want that clearness and accuracy of expression, so much to be desired on questions about which such a diversity of opinion seems to prevail. If it should require any verbal alterations which would not affect the sense, in order to fit it for your publication, you have my permission to make them."

The Rev. Mr. M'Ghee, in announcing to Mr. Doyle his intention of publishing the document of which we have given an outline, advanced another polemic remark or two, which elicited some further frank expressions of opinion from Mr. Doyle. This voluminous letter is now printed for the first time, and may be found in the appendix. The Rev. R. J. M'Ghee in acceding to our application for the use of it, remarks that he has "written so often and so strongly against the Church of Rome, that it affords him pleasure to have an opportunity of showing any personal kindness to a Roman Catholic."

Instead of sitting down to peel apples and crack nuts, Mr. Doyle, on All-Hallows' Eve, 1817, retired to his room and threw off the elaborate letter to which we allude. Dr. M'Ghee regards Dr. Doyle as the ablest ecclesiastic which the Catholic Church has produced.

Meanwhile the professor's correspondence with Mary Coney is resumed. We catch a glimpse, through his mysterious and rather hazy hints, of a wish expressed by the aged Bishop Corcoran that Father James Doyle should share the episcopal burthen with him; but this is entirely *entre nous:*

"It was only on yesterday I received your long-expected letter. I had almost despaired of hearing any more from you, and was preparing my mind for a separation from one of my dearest friends. Your own recovery and your mother's gratify me beyond what I can express, and all the news you send me is in itself more than a compensation for a negligence of six months.

"Though long it is since I wrote, I have not a particle of news which could interest you. My friends here are all unknown to you, and though I may feel an interest in what concerns them, you could not feel any. I am beginning to feel very much at home in the county Carlow, and it is not impossible that I may spend my life among them. The Bishop has made me the most flattering offers, even lately, if I would engage not to leave the College, and in a great measure I agreed to remain. I don't mean to insinuate that you might be preparing *the Grecian couch;* nothing is further from his intention or mine; but, my dear Mary, my interest and character require that you should not mention these

things. I say so, as I know you are a little prone to boasting occasionally, and no person is at all times under the government of their good sense. Our Bishop is in a very delicate state of health."

Some predestinarians imagined that Dr. Corcoran would have died during this year; and when his health gave symptoms of irrevocably breaking, nods triumphant and significant were freely interchanged among those who had predicted his decline. The idea originated in the following incident: the Rev. Dr. Murphy of Kilcock was considered by far the most competent Priest to fill the See of Kildare, vacant by the death of Dr. Delany. The bulls were sent to him from Rome, but he declined the proffered dignity. It was customary at that day to follow up the presentation of the bulls by literally offering the mitre to the Priest's acceptance. Brother Serenus, a monk from Tullow, called upon Dr. Murphy to elicit a final declaration of his intention. Dr. Murphy handed Serenus the brilliant mitre of Dr. Delany, saying, "All is not gold that glitters. I decline to accept this responsibility. Go to Father Michael Corcoran of Kildare, the second name on the list, and see whether he will take it." Serenus received the mitre reverentially, and proceeded to Ballyrone, where he met the worthy Parish Priest of Kildare. For thirty years he had unostentatiously discharged the duties of a simple country pastor. Pious and cautious—classically learned, but not polished—professionally *au fait*, without much theological erudition, Father Michael Corcoran was merely selected and elected in default of a more eligible candidate. The See was now for several months vacant, and Serenus implored of the good pastor not to throw new difficulties in the way of the unanimous wish of the diocess. Father Corcoran was far advanced in years, and seemed rather despondent as to the length of time he should pass in this world. "Well," he said, after a few moments' reflection, "I shall take the mitre for three years, when the greatest ecclesiastic that ever graced Kildare will relieve me of the responsibility." Father Corcoran mentioned no name, but he doubtless alluded to Dr. Doyle, who had now been nine months at Carlow College. Father Corcoran had remarked his promising talents; and the foresight evinced by the old Priest in his observation to Serenus was singularly verified. Dr. Corcoran was buried beneath the flags of Tullow Chapel within four years of his acceptance of the mitre; and the gifted divine, whose life we are chronicling, succeeded to it with an acclamation never before witnessed in the case of so young a man. These details were communicated to us by Brother Serenus, shortly before his death.

In 1818, we find some electioneering excitement penetrating the austere seclusion of our theologian's closet. Carlow was

about to be contested by three candidates, all of whom had published plausible and ingenious addresses, and enjoyed the advantages of great local influence, with a well-organised and energetic band of supporters. Mr. Doyle passed the rival claims of these gentlemen in review before him, and undertook the task of guiding popular opinion to a just decision regarding their merits. The following extracts are transcribed from a paper in the autograph of Dr. Doyle. It is the first document in our portfolio by which the writer's ability as a politician can be gauged:

"We are all sensible of the necessity of returning such members to Parliament as are most likely to promote the best interests of the country at large, and of our county and town in particular. Of the three candidates who at present claim our suffrages, two only can be returned—one must be rejected. Let us examine their respective merits in order to come to a just determination." Referring to Henry Bruen, who had represented Carlow since 1812, Mr. Doyle went on to say: "One of them is a resident amongst us; he expends a large fortune—if not in the employment of the tradesman and the labourer, in the promotion of the arts and industry, or in administering to the relief of the widow and the orphan—yet he spends it at the table or on the turf, and thus, while ministering to his own pleasures, serves, in some measure, the country where he dwells. I admit that we are little interested in his private habits, nor should the situation of his ragged tenantry have great influence on our votes, if he possessed the qualities which one should require in a representative. His residence in Ireland (which seems to be the only claim put forward on his behalf by his friends) may be a good reason why he ought to rank high upon a grand jury, or take the chair at a public assembly, if he were in the habit of attending either; but it seems to be no reason why we should select him to promote the interests of our country in Parliament. I would anxiously inquire of this gentleman what good has he effected, what evil has he prevented, what useful or honourable vote has he given in his place, for the last six years? Has he advocated the liberties of the subject, or opposed the suspension of the charter of our freedom? Has he detailed the sufferings of Ireland? has he refuted the calumnies of her enemies? has he ever attempted to promote her interests, or ever used his parliamentary interest for the benefit of our town or county? No! What are his claims, then? They are of a most secret nature indeed. We should search the back benches of the treasury retainers to discover them, if they exist. Such a man is not fit to be our representative."

Dr. Doyle then proceeds to refer to Colonel Sir Ulysses Burgh, Surveyor-General of the Ordnance, afterwards Lord Downes, and

for some time an aid-de-camp to George IV. Sir Ulysses had married, in 1815, Maria, only daughter of Walter Bagenal, M.P. for Carlow county. This gentleman, who died in 1814, was the last male of the ancient and influential Carlow sept of Bagenal. Beauchamp Bagenal was a prominent leader of the Volunteers of 1782:

"Another is a gentleman just returned from the Continent—a military man, bred in a profession hostile, by its nature, to the principles of our constitution, but yet the descendant of a respectable and liberal family—connected also with a Bagenal, a name which should ever be dear to this country—professing also sentiments which entitle him to some confidence, but upon the whole destitute of solid claims. Some of his family connexions should excite our suspicion; Sneyd and Foster are his kinsfolk—the Duke of Wellington is his patron and friend. No Roman Catholic should support him till Mr. Bruen's exclusion is ascertained, and Mr. Latouche's return placed beyond the reach of doubt.

"The only person whose claims remain to be considered is the son of David Latouche, a man who was held forth by Henry Grattan, when he presented the Protestant petition in support of the Catholic claims, as representing the commercial and landed interest of Ireland, and whose name did more to remove the prejudices of the English people, and promote the real interests of this country, than has ever been effected by the rivals of his son. This candidate is also the brother of a man whose merits are recorded in the hearts of all who knew him—humane, generous, charitable, patriotic, the best of landlords, the best of friends, the zealous defender of the rights of Ireland, and the protector of her children in the worst of times; who never sought for power or patronage at the expense of principle, and scorned whatever would imply a compromise of the honour or interests of his country. Robert Latouche is the brother of this man, and in fact the representative of his property, in a political sense at least; but he has his own claims, independent of those mentioned. His private virtues are known to you all; his public spirit is recorded in those votes which, in union with the other members of his family, and not as the slave of a party, he has given in the House of Commons. Search its debates, and you will find that on every great question since his return he has stood by the rights of the people, protested against those votes which sanctioned the partition of kingdoms, and the distribution of men to princes, like the spoil of a pillaged city to a licentious soldiery. He has endeavoured to preserve untouched Magna Charta, the palladium of your liberties; he has laboured to procure the emancipation of his Catholic countrymen, to free you from galling taxes, to promote the best interests of his

native land—these are the pledges of his future conduct, these are his claims on your unqualified support!"

Rapid rumours, gathering as they rolled, disposed of Mr. Doyle in several ways during this year. By some he was nominated to the Catholic rectorship of more than one important parish. On Christmas Day he writes to Mary Coney: "I should have no objection to the parish of Wexford, if it were not incumbered with too heavy a pension. As to Peter's, I would not like it for many reasons which are quite unnecessary to mention to you. I feel the greatest possible indifference about those things. People may treat about me, and dispose of me, but they shall not do it unknown to myself; and perhaps their views and mine differ very widely. This is a subject upon which I could *talk* to you, but do not like to commit it to paper.

"I had just returned from the Convent when I received your letter. I said Mass at twelve o'clock last night for the nuns, and again at two this morning. I also gave Benediction. This, with the extreme labour of our examinations and confessions, has nearly exhausted all my strength for some days past. I hope to recruit it in Kilkenny, where I am going on Monday, to spend a week with the good Bishop of Ossory. You need not speak of my visit there. Indeed I wish you to mention my name as seldom as possible, for many persons in your country are as anxious and as busy about me as though I were a man of consequence. I recollect what you said of K——'s story. You may listen to these things, but attach little weight to them. That man has more depth in his speculations than all the P——s in the barony of Forth."

Ill health again oppresses the Professor of Theology. On the 17th February, 1818, he writes: "I avail myself of the present opportunity to let you know that I am still alive and well, though tormented with a cold for the last fortnight. I spent some time very agreeably in Kilkenny, and since my return I have not heard (unless by accident) from the County Wexford. I suppose that there have been no changes of importance amongst you, or you would have informed me of them; for, bad a correspondent as you are, I believe you are the best amongst my friends. This cold has stupified me. My spirits are much depressed; but I think a letter from you would be of great use to me, so do not delay writing."

The Professor's "cold" became gradually worse, and we find him during the succeeding month in an exceedingly delicate state of health, but nevertheless preaching the panegyric of the Apostle of Ireland, and discharging the duties of President of Carlow College, in the absence of Dr. Fitzgerald, who was sojourning at Mallow for the benefit of its air and waters. There are some pas-

sages in a letter to his niece, dated 19th March, 1818, which contrast curiously with the life of untiring activity and corroding care in which, as a Bishop and a Patriot, he afterwards became so ardently involved:

"I shall (G. W.) see you all in summer, for I have given up every idea of going to France in the vacation. The ill-health of this President of ours will now encumber me with additional care and trouble, and I need not tell you that I don't relish either. If he should die, he has appointed me his executor, and they would endeavour to induce me to succeed him; but I am resolved not, unless for a few months, until some other person could be procured. I should not live in his situation above two years at the farthest; but then I hope he may not die, and whether he does or not, don't you say a syllable, even about his illness, to any person. Adieu, my dearest Mary! write to me very shortly; I would prefer even a disagreeable apology to your silence."

Mallow did its duty, and Dr. Andrew Fitzgerald survived until the year 1843.

Mr. Doyle's feelings received a considerable shock by the sudden death, in October, 1818, of James Doyle, M.D., of Ross. This physician, who enjoyed considerable local fame, had studied in France when the opinions of Voltaire and Rousseau fatally agitated it, and he returned to Ireland with sentiments not far akin from infidelity. Many were the earnest admonitions addressed to him by his half-brother, during the period of his sojourn at the Augustinian Convent in Ross; but the old man's views seemed inextricably fixed. There is reason to hope, however, that they had undergone some change for the better when death struck him down, while ascending his own staircase, on the 5th of October, 1818, aged sixty-three. His library and surgical instruments he bequeathed to the Haughton Fever Hospital.

The late Very Rev. Dr. Prendergast, P.P. of Bagnalstown, from the first day he had seen our Professor entertained a high opinion of his talents, and frequently lavished upon him very complimentary marks of attention. Dr. Prendergast was an accomplished divine for the times in which he lived, and he is said to have twice refused the Bishopric of Kildare. The following note, addressed to Dr. Prendergast, belongs to the present stage of our narrative:

"Rev. Dear Sir—Kindness received often renders persons intrusive. I fear you will say it is the case with me, when I take the liberty of introducing to you Joseph Barlier, a lay-brother of the order of La Trappe. He has been sent from France to this country, by his Superior, to solicit some aid towards the reparation

of an old monastery in La Vendée; he has with him a bundle of documents to prove his mission—of which, indeed, I have no doubt. I know you are partial to religious institutions when they are such as they profess and ought to be, and on that account I hope you will treat this poor lay-brother with the same kindness you show to another Friar of much less merit, but who is most sincerely your obedient and humble servant, "J. DOYLE."

In the spring of 1819, Dr. Corcoran, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, died, after a prolonged illness. The Rev. Dr. Prendergast consented to act as Vicar-capitular, but gave it to be understood that he would not accept the episcopal responsibility. He convened a meeting of the Clergy to appoint a successor to Dr. Corcoran, and in the discharge of his duty presided. He impressed upon the Clergy the great importance and solemnity of the selection they were about to make. He told them to look around widely; if they were not thoroughly satisfied with a Priest of their own diocess, to search the next, and if not there, further still. "Nay, gentlemen," said he, "I will go further. Do not confine your inquiry to the secular Clergy. Pass the ranks of the religious orders in review before you, and pray to God to guide your judgment."

The assembled Clergy approved of the Vicar's suggestion. They received the Holy Eucharist, retired to the chapel, and forthwith sought and obtained from the Holy Ghost that aid, which enabled them to select, with confidence, one of the most distinguished Catholic Prelates since the days of Bossuet.

On Tuesday, 23rd March, 1819, the Most Rev. Dr. Murray and other Bishops having presided at the month's mind, or solemn office for the repose of Dr. Corcoran's soul, were waited upon in Tullow Chapel, at the conclusion of the ceremony, by a deputation of clergymen, who intimated that Father James Doyle, of the Order of St. Augustine, had been the object of their choice. To these circumstances Monsignore Meagher, in an unpublished MS. before us, thus eloquently and touchingly refers: "To your eternal honour, venerable fathers, be it remembered, how, spurning every consideration which a worldly prudence might suggest, and ardent only for the honour and welfare of the house of God, you overlooked, in your admiration of Dr. Doyle's transcendent merits, the worth and long-tried services of your native pastors. Long be it told—for the edification of the people of God, and for imitation by all upon whom the fearful responsibility of providing worthy pastors may devolve—that the moment you had assembled to fill the vacancy, the very men among you whose claims of preferment were strongest, came forward to exhort you that you

would not allow any recollections of themselves to impede your preference of the man whose excellence surpassed their own. And you, at a time when no fixed laws regulated the order of such transactions, with warm consent registered your suffrages in his favour; and by an election which, to use the language of the canons, might be termed *quasi inspiratione*, advanced to the dignity of your chief, a man, all stranger as he was, whose only title was the superiority of his worth. And great was your joy, venerable fathers, when you learned that, impelled by the same motives, every Prelate of our province, not only sanctioned your choice, but had already, with one voice, anticipated your wishes; and singular was the delight expressed by the great Pontiff, Pius VII. of holy memory, when made acquainted with the unanimity, piety, and disinterested zeal that regulated these acts."

Mr. Doyle was pacing in the college park, reading his breviary, when some of the priests came forward and *lordshipped* him. It was the first he had heard of the recent decision, and he coloured deeply, as goodnatured congratulations came from those around. "There is not much cause for congratulation," he said, "nevertheless, if it is God's will that I should accept this awful responsibility, then God's will be done." On the following day, he informs his friends in Wexford of the change about to take place:

"My Dear Mary—Though it is a long time since I wrote to you, I can expect you will easily forgive the omission when I assure you, that all the time which was not occupied in the necessary discharge of my duties, was engaged in taking exercise, or managing the business of others which charity or some other sense of duty obliged me to undertake. [Here he adverts to a private matter.] But I should rather wish to pass over in silence this disagreeable subject, and congratulate you on your being likely to have a Bishop shortly in the family. I perceive it will give you pleasure, though it will give me pain, for the apparent advantages of it are few and transitory, while the labours and dangers of it are great and permanent. I have, indeed, more reason to hope for the divine assistance in the discharge of the duties which are likely to be imposed upon me than many others, for the concurrence of the Prelates, Clergy, and people, in their approbation of the choice that has been made, is a sign that it was directed by Providence."

He at once felt and discharged all the responsibilities of the episcopacy.

In May, 1819, while Bishop elect, we find him writing to a clergyman in the hope of effecting a reconciliation between him and another party who had threatened a law-suit; "which," he

adds, "whatever might be the issue, could not fail of exposing us and our ministry to censure. I know that Mr. G—— is at present disposed to compromise, and as we should be foremost in making sacrifices which tend to promote peace and good-will, I request that you will meet me on Wednesday morning next at Mr. Maher's of Kilrush, that we may concert together the means of promoting the object which the Vicar-capitular and, I hope, each of us are anxious to attain."

As an illustration of the earnest sense of public duty with which Dr. Doyle became animated from the moment he was Bishop elect, we subjoin a few letters. In May, 1819, we find him in communication with Sir Henry Parnell, M.P. for the Queen's County. The substance of his correspondence with that statesman may be gathered from the following, addressed to the late Cæsar Colclough of Tintern Abbey, M.P.:

"Carlow, 10th May, 1819.

"SIR—The notice given by Sir H. Parnell of his intention to bring into the Commons a bill, to place Roman Catholic houses of worship on the same footing as those of Protestant Dissenters, has induced me to address you. I am unacquainted with the privileges granted to the Dissenters in this respect; but from my knowledge of the inconveniences under which we labour, I have written to Sir Henry, and suggested to him the service he would render us, by including in his bill school-houses and dwellings for our Clergy. I also mentioned the special advantages we would derive from the introduction of a clause enabling the Roman Catholic Bishop here, or the President and Professors of this College for the time being, to receive donations or legacies to a certain extent, in trust for this establishment. I remarked that our College had been built by subscription, and contained each year, since the commencement of the French Revolution, about one hundred students; that it had supplied every part of the kingdom with a considerable number of Priests, singularly eminent for their good morals, peaceable demeanour, and zeal in the discharge of their duties; and that, although it seemed to be entitled to the protection of the laws, it has suffered more from the operation of the Penal Code than any other establishment in the kingdom, as many well-disposed persons have been deterred from giving donations or leaving legacies to it, through an apprehension of their falling into the hands of men who might not observe the trust which should be reposed in them—or what was still more dreaded, lest the legacies might fall to the Commissioners of Charitable Bequests, on the plea of their being left for what is called parish purposes. Fully satisfied of your disposition to

render to us every service in your power, I am induced to request, that if Sir H. Parnell should deem it proper to introduce the clause alluded to into his bill, you would give it your active support. I also represented the inconvenience felt by the Catholic Clergy, on their appointment to parishes, from the want of decent residences, being often obliged to live in cabins, or lodge with farmers, where they were necessitated to associate with and contract the habits of the lowest orders of the people; whilst the parishioners, not unfrequently, had to incur the expense of preparing dwellings for each successive Priest—all which could be obviated by permitting us by law to build parochial houses, which could not be alienated or bequeathed by the incumbent. Your testimony in favour of an establishment which in reality is so useful to the country would, I am confident, have considerable weight. You will, I hope, excuse the liberty I have thus taken, as, since the death of our late Bishop, there is no other person who could with so much propriety attend on the present occasion to our interests; and probably the present bill is the only one which will be introduced for some time on this matter.

"We heard the fate of Mr. Grattan's motion with a mixed feeling of pleasure and regret; we are truly grateful to our friends; we hope the lights of the age, and a more correct knowledge of the religion which we profess, will increase their number. I don't know anything arising from the Penal Code so mortifying as the imputation of our being capable of entertaining designs hostile to a constitution we revere, and to which our interests and our religion alike oblige us to be faithful."

The Catholic question had just been brought before Parliament, for the last time, by Henry Grattan. On the 3rd of May, 1819, he presented eight petitions from Catholics and five from Protestants in favour of that measure. He made his last appeal on behalf of the oppressed body; but the bill, if passed, would have been encumbered by "securities" unpalatable to some Catholics. He moved for a committee, but the intolerants gained the victory by a majority of two!

Dr. Doyle addressed Sir Henry Parnell to the effect of which the reader has been put in possession, and received the following reply:

"London, 20th May, 1819.

"Sir—I have had the honour of receiving your letter, respecting the circumstances which you have so much reason to complain of, concerning Catholic schools and charities.

"I have for the present postponed proceeding with the bill of which I gave notice. But I think it is very desirable that you should send me a petition to be presented to the House of Com-

mons, reciting the matters contained in your letter. The signatures of the heads of the College, and of a few respectable Catholic inhabitants of Carlow and its neighbourhood, would be quite sufficient.

"This proceeding would give me grounds to act upon, and enable me to overcome the dislike the House of Commons feels to enter upon the details of the Catholic question. I should be glad to have so good an opportunity of giving a notice of my intention to bring in a bill early next session to remove several of the minor grievances. You had no occasion to make any apology for communicating your wishes to me upon the subject of your letter, as I consider it a public duty to attend to all such valuable suggestions."

Dr. Doyle replied, that he would feel most anxious to prepare and send forward the petition recommended; but as all the Catholic Bishops were equally concerned in the chief grievance referred to, he could not with propriety petition Parliament unless in concert with them. The particular grievance under which Carlow College laboured was only a circumstance arising from the general law, and probably would not be deemed worthy of attention unless joined with something of general importance. "However," he adds, "I hope I may be able to procure one or more petitions of the description you recommend, by the next session."

And so he did. From a passage in his examination before Parliament in 1825, we gather, that he lost no time in sounding and organizing the Bishops for an earnest, prompt, and unanimous demand on the question of Catholic bequests. The following is an extract from that examination:

"A few years ago, petitions were presented to Parliament from the Roman Catholic Bishops, complaining of the state of the law with regard to Catholic charities; what are at present the feelings and opinions of the Catholic Bishops with respect to the powers that are possessed by Catholics to endow Catholic charitable institutions?

"The impression upon the minds of the Catholic Bishops and clergy, and even laity, is, that every donation or foundation of that kind would be liable to litigation; and that unless the instrument whereby it would be conveyed were drawn up in a very careful way, the Commissioners of Charitable Bequests in Ireland would be entitled, as no doubt they would be inclined, to seize upon it; and therefore the doubtful state of the law upon that subject is one cause, and I may say a chief one, why our places of worship and our religious establishments, which might be very useful to the country, are left destitute of those means which they would otherwise acquire. It was a feeling of this kind that induced the

Bishops to send forward the petition which has been now mentioned, and I myself was among those who signed it; and the same feeling still continues, though in some degree mitigated."

It was not for several years after that the Commission of Charitable Bequests was placed on a more satisfactory footing. The board, as at present constituted, includes not a few Roman Catholics, amongst whom may be named Lord Bellew, Bishop Denvir, Chief Baron Pigott, Baron Hughes, Mr. Ennis, M.P., and Dean Meyler. Their eleventh report states, that the amount of the trust funds vested in them, on 31st December, 1855, was £205,969.

Dr. Doyle's election to the See of Kildare was somewhat remarkable. That a man belonging by birth and education to another diocess—known only for a very few years to that of Kildare—of no very conciliatory or sociable manners, unless among his intimate friends—belonging to the ranks of a conventual community, against which, as we have shown, much senseless prejudice existed in those days—that a man thus circumstanced should have been unanimously selected as Bishop by the Clergy of Kildare and Leighlin, is certainly a fact of singular significancy.

It would seem, moreover, that the authorities at Rome were not very favourable to the appointment of Friars to the episcopal dignity. Sir J. C. Hippesley, an English diplomatist, who resided for many years at Rome, and was singularly intimate with the highest ecclesiastical personages there, in a letter to Lord Castlereagh (iii. 86) says: "At Rome, I had repeated conferences with the Pope's ministers on this subject of Bishops-Friars—the records of Propaganda itself proving the eternal squabbles and annoyance resulting from Friars, when employed in the episcopacy or on foreign mission. Cardinal Antonelli, who was at the head of Propaganda, concurred with me entirely on this point, and assured me that no Friar should in future be appointed to the episcopacy in Ireland." That our Friar should have been elected at home, and appointed at Rome in the teeth of so many circumstances adverse to his nomination, is, as we have said, a fact worth noting.

In compliance with a time-honoured custom, the names of two other candidates, somewhat less worthy in the estimation of the clergy for the episcopal dignity, were forwarded to Rome. Mr. Doyle's name was marked *dignissimus*, and those of the Very Rev. Drs. Prendergast and Aylmer *dignior* and *dignus*.

The three names having arrived in Rome, considerable gratification was felt and expressed by the Augustinian community there at the result of the election in Carlow.* Their Prior, the late Very Rev. John Rice, had been educated almost within the

* Three Augustinian Friars had already officiated as Bishops in this diocess. In 638, Aed Dubh, or Black Hugh, King of Leinster, resigned his sceptre and assumed

shadow of the Vatican, and he was known to possess considerable influence with Cardinals Litta, Gonsalvi, and other members of the Papal court. The late Dr. Kelly, Bishop of Richmond, and subsequently of Waterford, was one of those who had received their appointment as Prelates on Father Rice's recommendation. In 1835, he was appointed by the Pope Assistant-General of the Augustinian Order for Germany, and for all other countries outside of Italy. The good Friar was exceedingly delighted when he found the name of a brother heading the list of candidates for the See of Kildare, and he at once addressed a very affectionate letter of congratulation to Dr. Doyle, upon a fact so significant of his learning and worth. Mr. Rice concluded with an earnest assurance, that no exertion should be spared on his part, to induce the Sacred Congregation to select Mr. Doyle in preference to his two competitors.

The reply is characteristic and remarkable:

"VERY REV. DEAR SIR—I am very sensible of the warm expressions of esteem which your letter conveys, but you have greatly distressed me by the mode in which that affection has been displayed. Whether I may be elected Bishop of Kildare, or destined to spend and end my days in privacy, is a matter of perfect indifference to me. I am ready to accept of any responsibility which the Church in its wisdom may think me fitted to bear; but if I thought for a moment, that my elevation to the mitre was attributable to any irregular influence or exertions among my friends, I would resist to my last breath that burden, which should be 'dreaded by even the shoulders of an angel.' Nothing under heaven could induce me to grasp a crozier on such terms. Do, therefore, I pray you, relinquish the kindly-meant but most mistaken interference of which you advise me. Commit the entire matter to the paternal care of Him whom I so unworthily serve; leave my election or rejection altogether in the hands of his Holiness and the Sacred Congregation. If Providence sees that my elevation to the episcopal dignity would conduce to the welfare of His Church and of my own soul, He, no doubt, will guide and direct the successor of Peter to a fitting decision."

"A fitting decision" was at last made, as the following letter from Archbishop Troy announced:

"Dublin, 1st September, 1819.

"MY DEAR SIR—I hasten, with pleasure, to inform you that, on the 8th ult., his Holiness confirmed the election of the Sacred

the Augustinian habit in the Monastery of Kildare, of which he afterwards became Abbot and Bishop. Ossinger's "Bibliotheca Augustiniana," p. 303, records the appointment of Marcus Forstall to the Bishopric of Kildare in 1672; and "Ware's Bishops," p. 19, that of Robert de Aketon in 1366.

Congregation in your favour to the See of Kildare, and thereby not only gratified the wishes of your provincial Prelates and diocesan clergy, but likewise, I trust, advanced the interests of religion, by promoting a person of your exemplary conduct. Dr. Curtis was appointed to Armagh at the same time. We may expect the official documents or bulls for both in about a fortnight. They will regulate the time for the consecration of each. Meantime, accept my congratulations, and be assured of the respectful esteem with which I have the honour to remain,

"Your Lordship's faithful servant,

"✠ J. T. Troy."

It was necessary to procure a little money to support our new Prelate in his dignity, and on the following day we find him writing to Father Peter Doyle for "one hundred of the money you intend to lend me."

In the course of Dr. Doyle's examination before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1825, the circumstances attending his election to the See of Kildare transpired. Having been asked whether the Bishops were nominated in Ireland by the chapter or by the inferior clergy, he replied that "in no case have they been nominated or appointed by the chapter alone, but that in some instances they have been elected by chapters, and then recommended to the Pope by the Metropolitan and Suffragan Bishops of the province in which the vacancy existed. In other cases," he added, "they have been elected by all the serving clergy of the vacant diocess, and the person so elected has afterwards been recommended by the Bishops; for instance, I was recommended to the See of Rome by the Parish Priests of the diocess in which I live, and by the Metropolitan and all his Suffragans."

"*Q.* Do you mean the recommendation of the Metropolitan and all the Suffragans followed the recommendation by the Parish Priests? *A.* They happened in my case to be, as it were, simultaneous; the Metropolitan and Suffragans resolved to recommend me to the Pope, and this resolution they adopted and signed; but knowing that the clergy were about to assemble to elect a person, they kept the matter secret till such election did take place; the clergy assembled, and they also elected me; their instrument of election was placed in the hands of the Metropolitan, he transmitted it to Rome, with that of himself and Suffragans, and the appointment followed."

Travelling was slow in those days. The bulls for Dr. Doyle's consecration were not expected to arrive before October or November, and during this interval of anxiety and suspense, Dr. Doyle had many opportunities for reflecting on the extremely onerous

duties of a Bishop's life. The more he dwelt upon the subject the less reason he felt to rejoice in the dignity; but he was a man of firm nerve, and resolved to carry his cross manfully. The Spirit of Truth in the sacred Council of Trent declares, that the episcopal office is a burden to be dreaded even by an angel; and St. Bernard, in his "Treatise on Bishops," expresses himself not less strongly. All this Dr. Doyle felt; but "he submitted to a yoke which, had he rejected, he feared might oppose the will of Heaven." These were his own words in 1825. One of his brother professors having, a few months prior to the consecration, informed Dr. Doyle that the episcopal soutane and cope were being made for him, he exclaimed, "Would that it were my shroud they were preparing!"

Dr. Doyle continued to discharge the duties of a professor of theology for some time after he became Bishop elect. It was a labour of love, and whenever he thought of abandoning it for ever a sigh of regret escaped him. The farewell address of the students and his reply will be found No. 6 in the Appendix. Dr. Doyle's election having received the Papal assent on the 8th of September, a competent new professor was sought for. The following letters are addressed to the Very Rev. Mr. O'Connor, O.S.A., now the respected Bishop of Saldes. The Rev. Dr. M'Swiney who is alluded to became a distinguished divine, and was eventually appointed President of the Irish College at Paris:

"Carlow, 8th October, 1819.

"My dear O'Connor—The chair which I have hitherto occupied here being now vacant, our President is obliged to look out for a proper person to fill it. Mr. W. M'Swiney of your city, and formerly employed at the seminary there, has been recommended to him. We know nothing of his character unless from a friend of his own, who might be disposed to overrate his talents and other qualifications. I know how competent you are to judge of him, and am certain you will tell me what you think of him. Talents, learning, and piety are necessary for a person who would fill the situation to which he aspires. I hope to hear from you as soon as you possibly can write, as we will be obliged to agree with him, or procure some other, in a very short time.

"The election to the See of Kildare has been confirmed by his Holiness, and the bulls are expected in about eight days. They will regulate the time of the consecration, of which you will hear."

"Carlow, 26th October, 1819.

"I have not leisure to write you a long letter to thank you for the last you sent me by the Rev. Mr. M'Swiney, who answers the very favourable character you gave me of him.

"This is chiefly to inform you, that Sunday, the 14th of November next, is appointed by Dr. Troy for the consecration, and I hope you will grace it with your presence. I could not tell you how happy I will be at seeing you here. I suppose no other of your family would think of undertaking so long a journey for such a purpose; but if they did, they know how much pleasure their attendance would afford to,

"Dear O'Connor, yours and their faithful, humble servant,

"J. DOYLE."

By the same post, we find Dr. Doyle sending a similar invitation to all his relatives in Wexford.

As introductory to the following anecdote, it may be mentioned that the bulls for the consecration of Drs. Curtis and Doyle had just been conveyed from Rome by the Rev. J. Harrigan, O.S.D. The consecration of both Prelates took place in November, 1819. Dr. Curtis had been for forty years an eminent Professor of Theology in the University of Salamanca, and in his class were, at the same time, six Irish students, especially distinguished for piety, talent, and learning. A high Spanish dignitary having visited the college in 1790, was particularly struck by the demeanour of the Irish students, and broke out in a fervent prediction as to their future distinction in the Church. The prophecy was fulfilled. From 1809 until 1816, the Sees of Cashel, Dublin, Tuam, Ossory, Ardagh, and Clogher, were successively filled by the Rev. Messrs. Everard, Murray, Kelly, Marum, Magaurin, and Kernan. And last of all came, in 1819, the "Professor," Dr. Curtis, himself.

Some ecclesiastical arrangements demanded Dr. Doyle's presence in Dublin a fortnight or three weeks previous to his consecration. He proceeded to North Cumberland-street, the residence of Dr. Murray, Coadjutor Archbishop of Dublin. Dr. Murray happened to be particularly engaged when Dr. Doyle called, and the latter was requested by the servant to take a seat in an anteroom until his Grace should be at readiness to receive him. On entering the apartment, Dr. Doyle found another visitor in the person of a very aged and venerable-looking Priest. They had not previously been introduced, but the old man advanced as the Bishop elect of Kildare entered, and bowed with much continental *politesse*. His manners were so easy, that Dr. Doyle at once fell into familiar conversation with him. "They sometimes do strange things at Rome," said the old Priest. "Why, yes," replied the young Bishop elect; "it occasionally happens so. What last?"*

* A rescript from Rome, a short time previous, had filled nearly all the Irish prelates with terror. It emanated from Monsignor, afterwards Cardinal Quarantotti, who had the chief management of ecclesiastical affairs at Rome during the imprisonment of Pius VII by Napoleon. The rescript granted a veto to the English

"In nominating an old man with one foot in the grave, and a beardless boy, Bishops," said the old Priest, who was no other than Dr. Patrick Curtis, Archbishop elect of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland. "Ah!" replied Dr. Doyle, aptly quoting from Psalms ciii. and cxlviii., "God will not permit so good a man as you are to perish on the threshold of a grand primatial career. 'Your youth shall be renewed like the eagle's.' You in Armagh, and I in Kildare, are about to assume a sacred duty; and as it seems the will of Heaven to have it so, we may offer our hope and prayer that *both* may have the prudence to act upon the counsel of the Royal Psalmist, 'Let the *old* with the *younger* praise the name of the Lord: for His name alone is exalted."

Dr. Doyle, though unacquainted with the appearance of Dr. Curtis, was perfectly well aware of the good man's antecedents.

CHAPTER IV.

The Consecration—The Banquet—Illuminations and general jubilee—Station dinners—Reforms effected by Dr. Doyle—Remonstrances—Statutes of the diocess—Conferences revived—The Synod of 1614—Correspondence with the Vicars—Rev. Dr. Prendergast—More reforms—His labours to educate the people—Ribbonmen—His first public controversy—Letters—Lord Maryboro'—Pastoral on the Lent of 1820—Use of the discipline and hair shirt—Inactivity of previous Bishops—A *bon mot*—Confirmation neglected—Dr. Doyle pulls up a mass of arrears.

THE Rev. Mr. O'Connor, now Bishop of Saldes, in obedience to the kind invitation of his former preceptor, proceeded to Carlow College on the evening prior to the consecration. Dr. Doyle's servant informed him that his master was at prayer, and Mr. O'Connor was about to retire from the door, when the Bishop elect, recognizing his friend's voice, called upon him from the head of the stairs to come up. "I am delighted to see you," he said; "you find me just concluding a ten days' retreat in preparation for the solemn event of to-morrow." Dr. Doyle appeared a good deal exhausted, from excessive thought, fasting, and anxiety.

The consecration took place, with more than ordinary solemnity, in the old parish chapel of Carlow, on Sunday, the 14th of November, 1819. The venerable Archbishop Troy officiated, as-

government in the appointment of Catholic Bishops; but his Holiness having been remonstrated with on the subject, he annulled Quarantotti's somewhat officious act. Dr. Doyle's answer to "Laicus," in *The Dublin Evening Post* of the 21st of March, 1822, refers to this incident: "Quarantotti was not a faithful interpreter of the will of the Pope: his information on our discipline was very slender, and the Irish prelates were not at a loss as to the reception they were bound to give his mandate."

sisted by the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, the Most Rev. Dr. Everard, Archbishop of Cashel; the Right Rev. Dr. Marum, of Ossory, and the Right Rev. Dr. Walsh. Dr. Doyle was consecrated with strict attention to the order of the Latin rite for that purpose. An altar was prepared for the Bishop elect, containing, besides a crucifix, candlesticks, missal, and pontifical, two small loaves and two miniature casks of wine, richly set in gold and silver, to signify that the new Bishop should be hospitable to all. The assistant Bishops wore rochets, surplices, amices, stoles, copes, and white mitres. Dr. Doyle appeared in the robes of a Presbyter. The injunction of his Holiness having been read, the elect was sworn to be faithful to the Holy See; after which his solemn examination commenced, as commanded by the Fathers of the Church, and recommended by the apostle, who says, "Be not hasty in consecrating a man." The Fathers teach that he who is chosen for the rank of a Bishop must be most diligently examined, "with all Christian tenderness," concerning the Trinity, and interrogated upon the different titles and morals befitting episcopal government. With this view Dr. Troy, advancing, said—"Wilt thou, both in words and by example, teach the flock for whom thou art about to be ordained in that which thou understandest from Holy Scripture? *A.* I will. *Q.* Wilt thou reverently entertain, teach, and keep the traditions of the orthodox Fathers and the authoritative enactments of the Apostolic Chair? *A.* I will. *Q.* Wilt thou uniformly render to Peter, the blessed apostle, to whom was given by God the power of binding and loosening, and to His Vicar, Pius VII., and to his successors, being Bishops of Rome, faith, subjection, and obedience, according as the canons enjoin? *A.* I will. *Q.* Wilt thou, with God's assistance, preserve chastity and sobriety, and teach them? *A.* I will. *Q.* Wilt thou for evermore continue a bondsman in the affairs of God, and estranged from the employments of earth, and from base lucre, as far as human infirmity will permit? *A.* I will. *Q.* Wilt thou, for the namesake of the Lord, be kind of access and pitiful to the poor, to the stranger, and to all that are in need? *A.* I will.—All these and all other graces may the Lord confer upon thee, and may He guard and strengthen thee in all goodness. *A.* Amen."

The Bishop elect having been interrogated on the different articles of Catholic doctrine, the Trinity, and the Nicene Creed, was conducted by the assistant Bishops to Dr. Troy, whose hand he reverently kissed. Dr. Troy then proceeded with the Pontifical Mass until he reached the gradual, when the elect was conducted to his altar, stripped of the cope by acolytes, and dressed with the sandals, pectoral cross, flowing stole, tunic, dalmatic, chausible, and maniple. The consecrating Prelate, addressing Dr. Doyle,

said: "It is a Bishop's office to judge, to interpret Scripture, to consecrate, to ordain, to make oblation, to baptise, and to confirm." And addressing the assembled clergy, he said: "My dearest brethren, let us pray that in providence, for the good of the Church, the beneficent God may afford a plenteousness of His grace to this elect, through Christ our Lord." Here all the Bishops and Clergy knelt down. Dr. Doyle placed himself prostrate on his face, while the Litany of Saints was recited by the choir. Dr. Troy then took the Book of the Gospels, and silently placed it on the neck and shoulders of Dr. Doyle, who remained for some time in that position, to show that he undertook its duties, and was willing to bear the yoke and labours which it enjoins; the Bishops then touched his head, and the Archbishop prayed that he might receive the Holy Ghost, and that the "Lord would spill forth upon him His mighty worth in benediction." This was followed by the grand Preface, and the hymn *Veni Creator;* which being ended, Dr. Troy, mitred, proceeded to anoint with the sacramental chrism the elect, who knelt at his feet. The ceremony of blessing the crozier and episcopal ring followed. Touching the former, Dr. Troy said: "Receive the staff of the pastoral office, that thou mayest, in the correction of vice, temper punishment with mercy, and hold judgment without anger; that in cherishing virtue thou mayest console the affections of thy hearers, but in calmess of mind not surrender the severity of reproof." And "Receive this ring, by which is signified the pledge of affiance, to this end, that thou mayest guard without dishonour the house of God, which is the holy Church, bearing the ornament of unpolluted faith." The Mass having been resumed, the consecrator and consecrated partook of the same chalice. The mitre was then blessed, and placed on the head of the new Bishop, to be worn as a helmet of defence and salvation, "to the end that, having his forehead decorated and his head safely guarded by the power of both Testaments, he may appear terrible to the adversaries of the truth, and, by the grace God will bestow, may prove a valiant champion against them." The interesting ceremonial lasted for five hours. The congregation was large, and included many Protestants.

In the afternoon, a splendid entertainment, still remembered as "the consecration dinner," was given in the College. "Dr. Doyle," observes the Rev. Mr. Delany, "sat at the head of the table, and prefaced a large number of toasts with an eloquence, tact, and grace that surprised us. His manners assumed an ease and polish that had not before struck us. He seemed as though he had been brought up at a court, and not in cloisters or study halls." Archbishop Troy, rapidly descending into the vale of years,

was present. Dr. Doyle pronounced a brilliant eulogium upon him, and concluded by saying that, "through good report and evil report, he toiled for his religion and his country; he preached the law of God when he was almost left alone; and when destruction was falling upon his flock, he stood like Aaron between the living and the dead—'he prayed for the people, and the plague ceased.'"

Besides the Prelates, there were many members of the priesthood and of the Catholic *literati* present. Amongst the latter, Dr. Lanigan, ex-professor in the University of Pavia, the subsequently famous ecclesiastical historian, occupied a seat of honour. From a speech of Dr. Doyle's, the company learned for the first time, that Dr. Lanigan had been for several years engaged upon an ecclesiastical history of Ireland. "I have seen the manuscript of the work," added Dr. Doyle; "its research, comprehensiveness, and value are beyond praise, and I anxiously anticipate its appearance." And in a controversy with the Rev. Dr. Phelan, five years afterwards, he implores of him "to cast his eye over the valuable work of Dr. Lanigan—a work which, for extensive knowledge, deep research, and accurate criticism, surpasses, in my opinion, all that has ever been produced by the Established Church collectively in Ireland, Usher's labours alone excepted."

Dr. Doyle was eminently respected, and great joy pervaded Carlow and its vicinity. The unusual youth of the new Bishop no doubt fanned the enthusiasm. A great part of the town and the entire of the College were illuminated that night. The collegians had previously formed themselves into an amateur band, and the dawn of the following morning was gladdened by instrumental music and the pealing of joy-bells. That the subject of all this jubilee arose to his new and onerous labour with very different feelings, we have good reason to believe.

He held a levee at the College on Monday, the 15th of November. It consisted of Bishops, Priests, the neighbouring gentry, and various of his lay friends and relatives. Many of the Parish Priests of the extensive diocess had never before seen him, and they made no attempt to conceal their astonishment at beholding, in the person of their Bishop, so young a looking man. For a century previous, it was customary in the Irish Catholic Church to appoint only very experienced, and consequently very aged men to a Bishopric. Certain good-humoured members of the Priesthood present at the episcopal levee were seen to laugh clandestinely, as the contrast forcibly presented itself. One of Dr. Doyle's pupils, who happened to be in the room, and who had personal experience of his rigid sense of discipline, observing those chuckles, said drily, "Take care, my fine fellows, that the young Prelate does not make you laugh at the wrong side of your mouth."

As already mentioned, the Clergy of Kildare and Leighlin had long been accustomed to aged Bishops, who, through infirmity or inactivity, had permitted a relaxation of discipline gradually to grow. Many of the Parish Priests speculated in farming, and made money by it; others attended races; and not a few hunted. They ejaculated "Tally Ho!" as often as "*Dominus vobiscum.*" Their solemn black cloth and long clerical boots formed an unpleasant contrast to the gay scarlet coats and white "tops" of their lay companions. As moral and upright men they were unimpeachable; but in many instances an absence of religious zeal existed, which no one discerned with greater promptness, and deplored with deeper sorrow, than Dr. Doyle. His long residence at Carlow College, in the heart of the diocess, had furnished him with favourable opportunities for observing how ecclesiastical matters stood around, and as duty firmly indicated the young Bishop's path, his courage, upon being presented with the Papal bull, almost failed. A momentary exercise of his Christian and philosophic mind, however, convinced him that the interests of religion would be promoted by his elevation to the vacant see. He placed the mitre firmly upon his brow, and grasping the pastoral staff, began the herculean labour of reforming the habits of men who had grown old in their profession, and whose daily routine had long become to them a second nature. Those who were really acquainted with Dr. Doyle's amiable disposition, knew the struggle which it often cost him to assume, in the stern discharge of his duty, the terrors of an angry and authoritative judge. "With half a glance," says one who knew him well, "he could read a man's very soul, and no one could assume a look so full of scathing reproach and indignation. But then Dr. Doyle felt for the infirmities of human nature, and I have known him, when it may have been necessary to administer a stern rebuke, so overcome by the natural tenderness of his heart, that the hot tears would gush from his eyes."

It was, and is customary in some country parts of Ireland, where places of Catholic worship are comparatively few, and the small farmers and labourers necessarily much occupied, for the clergy to give "stations," at Christmas and Easter, in the houses of such respectable Catholic parishioners as reside at some distance from the chapel. Lest the word "station" should not be generally intelligible, we may observe that the pastors—anxious to give their flocks every facility to avail themselves of the sacraments of Eucharist and Penance, which, if neglected beyond twelve months, exposes the transgressor to excommunication—officiate at such places as we have described in the capacity of confessors, and dispensers of the mysteries and blessings of the Mass. The author has often seen not less than one hundred peasant men and

women collected on such occasions, and it is an edifying spectacle to observe the expression of true contrition which not unusually pervades the rude countenances of the assemblage. On Christmas Day and Easter Sunday, in the various chapels of the diocess, the Priest reads aloud after Mass a list of the various houses wherein stations will be held for the following month or six weeks. When every person's confession has been heard at the station, Mass is celebrated, and the Bread of Life administered to those whose true sorrow for past sin, and determination to amend, have rendered fit for absolution. As the Priest cannot officiate at the altar, nor penitents approach the Communion, unless previously fasting, breakfast is provided at the farmers' houses, as soon as the duties of the forenoon have been discharged; and at this the better order of the communicants attend. The Irish people are so hospitable that formerly they detained the Priest, with a circle of friends, to dinner; and as refusal to partake of the good cheer would have offended the worthy caterers, the clergy were often obliged to do ample justice to the meats and drinks provided. Such entertainments were often attended with great expense, and as a spirit of rivalry had grown up among the hosts and hostesses, it was easy to perceive that those social meetings had no beneficial tendency. Apart from other considerations, Dr. Doyle felt that it lowered the dignity and solemnity of the Sacrament of Penance for the repentant sinner to associate convivially with the dispensers of the sacred mysteries of God. This was one of the first abuses which the new Bishop resolved to suppress with a firm hand.

From appearing at places of public amusement or resort he prohibited the clergy altogether. Hunting and horse-racing came under this mandate; but at a subsequent period he so far relaxed it that the Pastor was permitted to attend a race in his own parish, with a view to the preservation of order among such of his flock as were present. The secret statutes of the diocess, written in Latin, add: "Let them not be present at public entertainments of the laity, unless some work of charity or some function of moment may require it; and when present under such circumstances, let them remember the words of the Apostle—'Be thou an example of the believers in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, in purity;' nor let them delay there longer than is necessary."

That the Priests' vestments and altar-cloths should always be scrupulously clean and neat, Dr. Doyle rigidly desired; and having found that this order was apathetically disregarded on some few occasions, he tore the chasuble, as will be seen, into a hundred ribbons. Inattention to minute liturgical detail had gradually spread; but Dr. Doyle exacted the most punctilious observance

of this great stimulus to religion. The full clerical uniform, too, which had fallen into disuse, he promptly restored. The Very Rev. Dr. Husenbeth, in his recently published Life of Monsignor Weedall, mentions (pp. 30, 31) that Catholic Priests, half a century ago, "almost all wore brown. The Rev. Joseph Berrington was the first to appear in a black coat, and he was blamed for needlessly exposing the clergy to insult and persecution. No splendid ceremonial was as yet attempted in Catholic Chapels. In those who are familiar with our grand Church services in those days, it will excite a smile and an exclamation of astonishment to be told that, at the first attempt to get up Benediction at Oscott, they could procure no better incense than a little resin, which Weedall, being sacristan, scraped out of some broken knife-handles in the kitchen! Little can Catholics who live in those days conceive of the state of things, even in the times which are here recorded, when we could hardly walk abroad without insult, when we said Mass chiefly in garret chapels, and were occasionally hooted, and had stones thrown after us, as it has happened even to the present writer."

Impressed with the warnings of the Scriptures, which proclaim that "the lips of Priests should keep knowledge, and that they should require the law from his mouth," Dr. Doyle lost no opportunity of increasing among his clergy the stores of ecclesiastical learning. Conferences of the clergy—that important pillar of ecclesiastical discipline—had completely fallen away since 1798, when a party of armed yeomanry dispersed a conference at Mountrath. The intruders felt persuaded that the Priests were engaged in plotting the downfall of the constitution, and bore off in triumph the various breviaries and theological catechisms of the assembled clergy. Since that day no attempt had been made to revive conferences in the diocess of Kildare and Leighlin until Dr. Doyle took the matter in hand, conjointly with many other arrears of discipline and duty. He never failed, when possible, to attend these conferences* in person, and to elucidate, by the teeming treasures of his erudition and experience, every abstruse subject proposed for the consideration of the clergy. In addition to the vast advantages of which conferences, as an aid and stimulus to the theologian, were productive, Dr. Doyle, in conformity with the views of Benedict XIV., ordained that every priest should have in his possession some work of moral theology, in which he might "very frequently, and, if possible, every day read attentively one little chapter at least; that being aided by this continual study he may be the better able to direct the consciences of the flock com-

* See Appendix No. VII. for some particulars regarding conferences.

mitted to him, for whose souls he is to render an account to the Lord in the day of judgment."

But of all the regulations which subsist to evidence his solicitude for securing and perpetuating to his people the blessings of a sanctified Priesthood, the revival of those holy exercises, of which we shall have occasion to speak fully hereafter, is perhaps the most important. We allude to spiritual retreats. It is not possible to imagine any practice so well calculated to preserve and augment in the priestly bosom that sacred flame of charity which should pervade every power of their being, and inspire as well as sanctify every movement of Christ's ministers, as a practice which, at regular stated intervals, withdraws them from the turmoil of all earthly things to commune with God in silence, solitude, and prayer—to put the solemn question to their souls, how they have executed their awful commission—to rekindle within their hearts the graces they have secured by the imposition of hands, and at the foot of the cross to implore mercy on themselves, on their flocks, and on mankind.

Knowing that "reformation cometh from the house of God," and that they who are first in dignity should be likewise first in virtue, he left no means unemployed for preserving his clergy from the slightest contact of anything which could possibly diminish the veneration of the people, or detract, in however small a degree, from the success of their pious and respective cares. From him no man found tolerance while a charge could be substantiated against him of any practice or act which might sully the immaculate lustre that should ever brighten round the anointed children of the sanctuary. From every Priest he demanded individual attention to, and rigorous fulfilment of all the various and difficult, and not unfrequently painful offices of their duty to the people. Dr. Doyle's constantly avowed desire that every Pastor should be a slave to his vocation, was received by the Priesthood with singular meekness; for, as we have heard some among them express it, could any one murmur at the regulations of a Pontiff who was ever ready himself to share the burden with his Priests, and foremost to toil at every labour to which he made it obligatory upon others to attend? Called to the episcopacy when the storm which had so long agitated religion was subsiding into calm, he saw no necessity for the further continuance of any impediment to the restoration of many wise and holy regulations, which religion, ever anxious for the sanctification of her ministers, had devised in days of primitive purity and fervour; and therefore, with his eye fixed steadily upon the canons of the universal Church, he laboured by every means within his reach to facilitate their observance, in substitution for the local customs of a less perfect discipline, which

the disasters of bygone days had sanctioned. Having already referred to some of these customs, there is no need to recapitulate them, but an idea of the source from whence they sprang may be formed by mentioning one circumstance very little known, illustrative of the sadly relaxed discipline which, in times of persecution, received episcopal toleration. In 1614, when the inhuman Chichester scourged the land, the Bishop of Kildare, with the other Prelates of the province, assembled at Kilkenny, and in a Council whose sessions continued from the 24th to the 27th of June, a code of rules for diocesan government and discipline was published. Opening with a synodical address, which, while replete with zealous pastoral solicitude, betrays, in language of thrilling eloquence, the alarm of the prelates at the perils that threatened every moment to hurry them to prison, exile, or the scaffold, this little volume furnishes a painfully interesting insight into the condition and religious practices of our Catholic forefathers. The first act of the Synod professes obedience to the Holy See, and submission to the various ordinances of the Council of Trent; but it deplores that, from the calamitous character of the times, it would be most hazardous to reduce every one of them to practice. The Council of 1614 seemed to regard the existence of a church or chapel as a luxury too great to hope for. As it was impossible that the Holy Sacrament could repose in a consecrated place with a light burning before it, as the canons prescribed, two particles only—or if possible one—were, by order of the Council, ordered to be preserved for Viaticum at the Priest's residence, lest it might be impossible to celebrate Mass without delay. The baptismal font was also to be kept at the Clergymen's lodgings. The Council further ordained that not only the most becoming localities for celebrating Mass should be selected, but diligent precautions used, by suspending sheets over and around the rude altar-stone, lest dust should mingle with the consecrated elements, or sudden gusts of wind displace any sacred particles. One candle at least should be kept burning during the Holy Sacrifice. But perhaps the most startling canon was one allowing laymen, in cases of necessity, to carry the Blessed Sacrament to dying persons. "The recipients, if priests," observes the statutes of 1614, "can administer it to themselves in the ordinary way, but if laymen they are not to touch the sacred Host with their hands, but may, after an act of sincere contrition, reverently lift it into their mouths with the tongue!" Many of the statutes of 1614 the archiepiscopal Church of Dublin, with its suffragans, Kildare, Ferns, and Ossory, re-enacted for nearly two centuries. The above constitutions had been of course long relinquished, but traces of re-

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laxed discipline in many minor details continued to exist for some years after Dr. Doyle's elevation to the episcopacy.

During Dr. Doyle's examination before Parliament in 1825, he was asked whether the number of Priests existing in his diocess were sufficient to enable them to give a sermon after Mass. "The Priests in my diocess," he replied, "are so strictly bound by the statutes of the diocess itself to give religious instruction, that, unless in a case of difficulty almost extreme, they cannot avoid giving such instruction; but yet, in general, it is given by them at great personal inconvenience, for many of them have to celebrate two Masses upon each Sunday, one of them at so late an hour as eleven or twelve o'clock. The Priest who thus celebrates two Masses is obliged to fast until the labour is ended, and often to ride some miles between one chapel and another. Having this heavy labour to perform, then, he is not often able, particularly if he be an old man or of a delicate constitution, to give so much instruction in public as I would wish. However, he must read either the epistle or the gospel of the day, or both, and give a short exposition of them; or if not of them, of a chapter of the common catechism, where the Christian duties are briefly laid down."

Dr. Doyle was one of those men whom God, in these latter days, would seem to have raised up with a view to restore much of the bright and original beauty of the Catholic Church. It is a fact well known to the student of ecclesiastical history, that the sun of piety went down, and the glory of the land became crushed out, and a night of whirlwinds, and desolation, and dismay, such as never elsewhere scourged the sins, or tried the fortitude of a Christian people, succeeded. We need not dwell upon the ravages committed by barbarism and anarchy against everything sacred, the malice of wholesale innovation, and all the distraction of discord and the fury of sanguinary persecution, which filled to the brim three centuries of woe. Nothing did this hurricane of death respect or spare of all that religion venerated. Her shrines were demolished, her altars overturned, and the stones of the sanctuary scattered. The dying echoes of these storms were still murmuring, and the marks of their ravages strewed around, notwithstanding the comparative tranquillity of sixty years, and the gentle efforts of successive Bishops to repair the ruin that had been wrought, when it pleased God to summon the illustrious man whose life we are chronicling to the pastoral care of the ancient diocess of Kildare and Leighlin, and to lend his powerful aid to the episcopacy of that day in their noble projects for the restoration of the Irish Church to its pristine splendour.

Dr. Doyle was a young man, and had not, like some of his

clergy, personal experience of the penal times to which we have referred. Had he felt in his own person the chill of that persecuting period, it is possible that some of his regulations would not have been so stringent; but the ice once broken, it became a source of general satisfaction that rules so dignified should be enacted and observed. Some old Priests, and even not a few of the junior clergy, who had traditionally imbibed the prejudices of an obsolete time, uttered a piteous remonstrance on the first promulgation of Dr. Doyle's reformatory arrangements. This mainly found expression through the Rural Deans or Vicars of the diocess, who were charged to enforce the rules; and Dr. Doyle replied to the remonstrances through the same medium. His Lordship's correspondence with the late Very Rev. John Dunne, P.P. of Portarlington, a trusted and influential Vicar, has been placed at our disposal. As explanatory of a passage in the following letter, it may be mentioned that Dr. Doyle had enumerated a class of sins which he denied to an ordinary Priest the power of absolving, and ordained that persons guilty of such offences could only be shrived by the episcopal hand, or by some Vicar to whom its authority might be specially delegated.

"Carlow, 25th December, 1819.

"VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR—After wishing you many returns of this holy time, and that each may bring with it to you an increase of grace and sanctity, I have to acknowledge the receipt of your very kind letter. Nothing could gratify me more than the freedom with which you communicate your anxiety respecting the regulations which the good of the diocess, and your own merits, have required that you should be appointed to enforce.

"When I published these regulations, I anticipated that their observance would be attended with some inconvenience to a few, for there is no change which does not produce inconvenience; nay, I expected more—that a few would feel discontented, and whisper their discontent to others; but knowing the zeal and piety of the great body of the clergy, I hoped (and indeed my hopes have not been disappointed) that they would cheerfully conform to regulations which are only transcripts of the Gospel or of the laws of the Church. I studiously avoided every innovation, and omitted many things which I wished to insert, lest our circumstances were not fitted for what otherwise would be desirable.

"I could wish sincerely you had noticed what regulations 'would render *many* sufferers on account of the *few*.' I should hope rather that there will be no sufferer, as nothing is prohibited but what is bad, or which has, at least, a tendency to evil, nothing enjoined but the laws of God and the Church; and if that be the

case, as I conceive it is, the ill-disposed alone will suffer, *lex posita est non justo, sed injusto.* What man with an ecclesiastical spirit will think it a grievance to instruct in the plain and simple manner prescribed? to observe decency in offering the Sacrifice? to administer the sacraments as the Church has ordained? to avoid simony, as it is declared by the organ of the Holy Ghost? to preserve the decency and decorum of a gentleman and a Priest, by abstaining from an excess of social freedom on the days when he is employed in bringing sinners to repentance? Or will a Priest suffer by avoiding those places, those occasions, those occupations which the Church, ten thousand times, has declared to be incompatible with our profession?

"As to reservations,* their being restored in some degree to what they were when our predecessors enacted them may cause some inconvenience, but that I have endeavoured to render as light as possible by vesting the fullest jurisdiction in you and the other Vicars. The study of an hour will make the observance of those reservations easy to all who sincerely wish to have discipline preserved or restored. But should there be any individual who feels himself aggrieved by any of them, let him state this grievance to me, and I shall be most happy to relax any particular regulation in his regard.

"The diocess, my dear sir, has a right to your services, and in rendering them to it you must be prepared to meet with trials and crosses; but having the law of God and the Church before you as a guide, you will by patience and perseverance surmount every obstacle. We must be prepared to serve God through good report and evil report, and whilst we endeavour to be all to all, we must not seek to please men, lest we would cease to be the servants of Christ. I could wish to bear alone all the trouble and anxiety annexed to an office which Providence has imposed on me (I fear) on account of my sins, but it is impossible for me to discharge its various duties without your assistance and that of your colleagues. Let us have but one spirit as we have but one end—soothe the discontented, reprove the disaffected, identify yourself with the laws intrusted to you, preach to the young and to the old obedience to the constituted authority, and in a little time these things which now excite your apprehension will have disappeared.

"With the exception of two days next week, I shall not be

* The reserved cases are eleven in number, and comprise—1. Murder; 2. Wilful procuring of abortion; 3. Cr. cl.; 4. Perjury; 5. Formal heresy; 6. Apostacy; 7. Communication in divine things with heretics; 8. Clandestine marriage, and in this reservation are comprehended the contracting parties, the minister, and the witnesses; 9. Solicitation to base crimes; 10. The offence of a Priest who may be present in theatres, or who, either publicly or privately, has been engaged in dances with females; 11. Burning.—*Statuta Diocœsana.*

from home till February next (G. W.), and will be truly gratified at seeing you here, and assuring you in person how sincerely I am

"Your faithful and humble servant in Christ,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

The wisdom of head and steadiness of hand with which Dr. Doyle devised and enforced his reformatory regulations triumphed. The Bishop's prognostications were fulfilled, and peevish remonstrances soon gave place to expressions of approbation and respect.

We have also had access to the papers of the late Very Rev. Dr. Prendergast, another worthy and trusted Vicar of the Bishop's. The following document, translated from the Latin, throws additional light on his state of mind and feeling during the first round of episcopal duty:

"WE, Fr. James Doyle, by the grace of God and the Apostolic See, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, to all witnessing these presents, eternal health in the Lord.

"The first burden of episcopal duty, to be dreaded by the shoulders of an angel, presses upon ours, in every respect, so unworthy to support it. We have brought all our care and anxious solicitude, that this truly fertile field of the Church should be so cultivated by us, that it may yield both good and plentiful fruit. Turning, therefore, our heart to the Lord, and taught by Him not to rely on our own counsel, but rather to seek assistance from our fellow-labourers, we have resolved to choose those eminent for their learning, spotless character, and standing, to assist us in the good work. As Moses, by God's command, selected the elders from Israel to govern and judge the people, whilst only the more weighty matters might be referred to him, in like manner we willingly appoint, for awhile, you, the Rev. Father M. Prendergast, in whose learning and piety, zeal and prudence, we have much confidence, as our Rural Dean and Vicar. We also create, ordain, and constitute you Master of Theological Conferences, and, besides, give you jurisdiction over the clergy and people in the parishes commonly called St. Mullin's, Graigue, Burris, Dunleckny, Leighlin, Myshall, and Clonegal, that you would hear each and every of their complaints, and adjust their disputes; that you scrutinize the manner and honesty of life of the clergy, and look after all other things having reference to the good of religion and the ecclesiastical state; and that you would, when necessary, offer advice or rebuke in those matters ordained, or immediately and faithfully lay them before us. We exhort and command all in the Lord that they would dutifully receive your judgment—or rather ours produced by you—as if proceeding from him who watches that he may render an account of their souls. We pray that you

may thus perform your important duty by an unfeigned charity, that the love of your neighbour and the hatred of vice, the desire of peace and the study of what is right, may be committed to you in everything. And if there be aught else, of right, to be granted to you, we again confirm it. From our heart we pray the God of peace and justice to assist you.—Given at Carlow, this 12th day December, in the year of our Lord 1819 (nineteen)."

A few of the older Parish Priests having died soon after Dr. Doyle became Bishop, he found that their parishes would, if respectively divided, admit of a more active and salutary exercise of clerical administration, while possessing sufficient emolument, and Dr. Doyle divided them accordingly. Certain ecclesiastical fees, hitherto optional in amount, he regulated by a fixed table. The government having long desired to pension the Catholic clergy, Dr. Doyle was examined before Parliament touching the sources and amount of their incomes. "By what authority," said Lord Binning, "are the fees upon the ceremonies of marriage and baptism regulated? *A.* Chiefly by usage, but they are sometimes defined by a statute made by the Bishop. For instance, in the diocess in which I reside, I found those contributions existing generally, but there was no uniform rule whereby they could be regulated, and I deemed it better for the poor, and also I thought I should best consult the character and interest of the clergy by reducing them in some degree to rule; I therefore regulated what they should be in most cases, and the manner in which they should be collected. And in order also to prevent anything like harsh treatment of the poor by the clergy, I prohibited, under pain of suspension, any clergyman from withholding his ministry from any person, rich or poor, on account of dues or emoluments, so that the office of the Priest must first be discharged, and then the individual gives what is prescribed by usage or by the letter of the statute." The Bishop was asked whether the amount of payment in his diocess was uniform: "There is a kind of scale," he replied, "because the poor man pays nothing, the man in better circumstances pays something, and the man whose condition is still more improved gives a little more." And when under examination in the House of Lords ten days later, a peer asked Dr. Doyle whether the rule he laid down was general in other diocesses. His reply was a qualified negative. "*Q.* Would you apply it in any case where the person was able to pay? *A.* Yes, I would, even there, because I think that money ought not to be a subject of dispute between the Priest and his parishioners at all. If a man be not generous enough to give a contribution to a Priest who labours for him, and has devoted his time and his talents to his service, I

should rather go without it, and live in peace: and that is the disposition I wish to impress upon the clergy under my care."*

A custom had long prevailed of raising contributions after the marriage ceremony, which Dr. Doyle now commanded should be free and spontaneous. From the statutes we perceive that the Bishop limited the dues to be paid by "those who with great labour and industry procure a subsistence," to 2*s*. 6*d*. for baptism, 20*s*. for solemnising matrimony, and 5*s*. for a marriage licence. "From those who appear to be in impoverished circumstances let nothing be exacted, but if they offer aught, it may be received. So far we have proceeded in defining the sum of the dues which may be exacted, but we do not, however, place limits to the munificence or piety of those who, of their own accord, wish to offer more." And again, instead of the old custom of collecting dues at stations, the Bishop earnestly exhorted the clergy to depute from each village one or two men of integrity, whose business it would be, after the feasts of Epiphany and our Lord's Ascension in each year, to collect the ordinary sums. But whenever this system seemed impracticable, the Bishop permitted that, as soon as the Priest had given thanks after Mass, he might invite the congregation to offer their accustomed dues on the altar.—"But," he added, "neither while the collections are being made, nor before nor after, let any individual be reproached or put to shame on account of the nonpayment of dues, lest our holy religion, or its mysteries, or its ministers, be deprived of suitable reverence; lest the faithful, especially those who are poor, be compelled to blush, or lest they altogether desert from the sacrament of reconciliation, or approach without suitable dispositions the Body of the Lord." And again: "Let him beware that he do not afflict with shame those who are labouring under poverty or oppressed with misery, by exacting money from them, lest the gospel seem to be sold, or Christ brought into reproach."

Dr. Doyle desired, at a later period, that there should be a complete cessation of the ancient custom of collecting corn at the houses of the faithful. "That custom, in these times and in this country, where Catholics live intermixed with those who are not Catholics, brings no small offence to many. We therefore earnestly desire that it may be substituted by another more suitable to the manner of this kingdom. Meantime we exhort in the Lord all the clergy, as well regulars as seculars, that they should procure such gains, not by themselves, but by some honest and decent servant deputed by them to this work."

The Society of Ribbonmen had, a few years previously, first

* The Examination of Dr. Doyle before the Select Committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons. London: Murray, 1825, pp. 329, 560.

sprung into vitality. Originally formed in the west of Ireland, it gradually worked its secret way and influence until the confines of Dr. Doyle's diocess were struck by it. Some acts of violence on person and property having been committed, the Bishop devoted several pages of his first Pastoral to an eloquent denunciation of the objects of the society. He concluded with a most argumentative dissuasive, which, though erudite and logical, was clothed in a simplicity of language that rendered it thoroughly intelligible to the masses. The appeal thus terminated: "Beloved brethren, we tell you in truth and sincerity that these associations are opposed to all your interests, both temporal and eternal; that the oath which unites them is illegal, sacrilegious, and unjust; that if observed, it would be a bond of iniquity; and that though it would be a crime to take it, it would be a still greater crime to observe it by word or deed; and hence we conjure you, by all that is dear to you, your family, your character, your country, and your religion, to avoid all connexion with these deluded men, and if any of you have been ensnared by them, to abandon their society, to repent for the sins you committed in joining them, and, like Paul, 'you will obtain mercy, because it was through ignorance you did evil.' But if there should be found amongst you any person who, disregarding these our salutary instructions and advice, and who would still continue to set at defiance the laws of God and the country, who would still continue to expose our good name to disgrace, our religion to obloquy, and these diocesses, with their peaceable inhabitants, to terror and taxation, let such persons take notice, and we hereby solemnly warn and admonish them, that we shall, in case they continue obstinate, resort to the severest chastisements which the power vested in us from above enables us to inflict."

Knowing the importance of religious confraternities as an auxiliary in promoting a wide-spread spirit of morality, Dr. Doyle, early in 1820, laid down a programme of action for these excellent societies, and shortly after formally inaugurated them. "As in heaven," he said, "there are many mansions, so amongst the servants of God destined to occupy them there are some more perfect than others, 'for the just man may be still more justified.'" Dr. Doyle recommended the union of many persons in confraternities, where mutual example, joint prayers, and frequenting of the sacraments at stated times, would assist all in the great work of their sanctification. The united prayers of religious congregations had often averted the anger of God from an offending people, and procured from Him signal marks of His bounty. Dr. Doyle inferred the advantage of such societies from the fact related in the Book of Genesis, "that if five just men could have been found" in a certain city, "it would have been spared;". and in the Book of

Numbers, where we are told that, "for the sake of Moses alone, the whole of the children of Israel were preserved from destruction." The Bishop required that persons desirous of entering the confraternity must have lived piously for a considerable time previous to their reception, made a general confession of their sins, and approached the communion at least once a month for an entire year previous to their reception. When thus prepared, they were to be received by the Bishop at his visitation. The members were to assist the Parish Priest at all times in instructing the ignorant, teaching catechism, reading aloud books of piety, preparing children for their first communion, and assisting sick persons to die in the Lord. If any member were found to frequent wakes, alehouses, and idle company, he should be forthwith excluded from the society. Having explained the extent of the indulgences granted to exemplary members of the confraternities, Dr. Doyle continued: "Indulgences are not a remission of sin, but of the temporal punishment which may be due to it, granted by the Church, either partially or in as plenary or full a manner as she can; and this kind of remission, first made by St. Paul to the incestuous Corinthian, by St. Cyprian and other Bishops in the times of persecution, has always, in various forms, been granted by the Church in favour of such penitents, and such only as laboured by their contrition and works of piety to atone, as far as they were able, for their sins. Indulgences are not granted to favour the indolent, but to support the weak—not to relax piety or insure forgiveness, but to aid our exertions and strengthen our hope."

Dr. Doyle observed that the formation, increase, and good demeanour of these societies would be to him not only a source of consolation, but also a criterion of the piety of the faithful in the several parishes of his diocess, and of the zeal and merit of their respective Pastors. He then laid down twelve rules for the establishment and organization of Book Societies. "These rules," concluded his Lordship, "are to be written in large characters, framed, and hung up in a conspicuous place in the chapel or sacristy, where all the members can have access to them." The Parliamentary Committee of 1825 asked Dr. Doyle whether any efforts had been made by him to convey moral and religious instruction. This elicited from the Bishop a reply of which the following is a part: "I have established in every parish within the two diocesses of which I have the care parochial libraries, which I have had stocked with books of religious and moral instruction exclusively. Those books are given out to heads of families upon their paying a penny a-week or a fortnight for the use of them: they are given to the poor gratis. When a man has read one of those books he returns it to the librarian upon the Sunday; he then

gets another, and thus every class of people in the diocess are instructed in their moral, social, and religious duties."

This project proved eminently successful. Fed with intellectual food, the minds of the peasantry expanded. The Bishop infused a new tone and vigour into them. The apothegm "knowledge is power" was never more clearly illustrated. Gathering wisdom, the reflective portion of the people shunned sin as the worst species of folly. Dance-houses, wakes, and other midnight orgies almost entirely ceased to scandalize pious persons. Temperance societies sprung up, and a healthy spirit of morality gradually spread.

The education of the poor was one of the most earnest wishes implanted in Dr. Doyle's breast. In January, 1820, he published a letter, from which we cull a few extracts, in *The Carlow Post.* It is addressed to the Rev. Mr. Shea, in reply to a letter from that Priest requesting to be directed as to the line of conduct he should pursue in regard to some schools proposed to be established in his parish, and to which Mr. Grant had promised to contribute £200 a-year, provided the subscriptions reached to an equal sum: "I have always considered the education of the poor," he writes, "as an essential means of bettering their condition, and of promoting the peace of society and security of the state. I have long wished that it should become a national concern, and that the government would extend to it that patronage and support which it now seems anxious to bestow. But in a religious point of view, which is our principal concern, the advantages of education are incalculable. It enables the poor man to form a just estimate of the riches of God's mercy, and to pay to him the homage of profound adoration and reasonable obedience, which does not often enter into the unimproved mind. It also makes him competent, in a certain degree, to render an account, when necessary, 'of the hope that is in him.' The peasantry of this country also are found to abound in talent, and it is no small advantage to afford them an opportunity of cultivating it. Literature might become, in some measure, here, as it is in Scotland, the staple manufacture of the country, and add not only to her fame, as hitherto, but even to her improvement and wealth. It seems to me to promote all the social virtues, and on this score alone it deserves our entire support. The poor man who receives a religious education is generally obedient to the laws, and looks to the ranks and orders of society as an ark projected by the finger of God for the preservation of the species. When pressed by want he does not become turbulent nor disaffected, but rests satisfied with the dispensations of Providence. An educated man will not spend the fruits of his industry in the ale-house or tavern, but return home to enjoy the society of

his little family, to improve their minds by the lessons of his own experience, and to anticipate for them the profits and honours which others of their rank have attained. Much, indeed, of the miseries of our country could be traced to the ignorance of our people. Those religious feuds and dissensions which have hitherto been the reproach of Ireland have frequently arisen from it, and will probably be continued until the mass of the people are enlightened."

Dr. Doyle then went on to sanction the co-operation of Mr. Shea with the schools, "in such manner as is consistent with the faith and discipline of that Church of which you are a minister. The only education not an evil in itself, and which can promote the advantages I have stated, appears to me to be that which regards both the mind and heart, by uniting the religious with the literary improvement of the people. To give to a child a literary education, and send him forth when grown up to learn the principles of his religion, amidst the bustle of the world and the tumult of his passions, would be only to increase his capacity for doing evil without subjecting him to any effectual restraint, or furnishing him with any sufficient incitement to good; for if those persons who have been taught their religion from their infancy—who revere its maxims, obey its laws, submit their reason to the belief of its mysteries, and derive from it an habitual fear and love of future punishments and rewards, find it difficult to restrain their passions during the fervour of youth, what shall we suppose to be the state of those who are destitute of religious education?" Dr. Doyle proceeded to observe that "the first and most essential stipulation to make was, that the Priest should be allowed to visit these schools as often as he should deem necessary, in order to ascertain that the religious education of the children is attended to." Next, that the master must be a Roman Catholic; and, "with regard to the books of instruction to be used, you will adhere strictly to the established usage of our Church. Therefore declare explicitly to the gentlemen concerned that no books shall be introduced for the use of the Catholic children which are not approved by their Pastors. . . . If any books of a doubtful nature should be introduced hereafter send a copy of them to me, and be regulated by the opinion which I will give you." Dr. Doyle prohibited all reading of the Scriptures without note or comment by the children, but told Mr. Shea that he might agree to have a lesson or lessons of the Douay Bible read each day for the Catholic children by the master who teaches them their catechism. Dr. Doyle explained the doctrine of the Church on this point, which is nearly identical in substance with the letter to Mr. M'Ghee, printed in the Appendix to this work. He thus con-

cluded: "If unhappily, from some cause which I cannot foresee, your offers of co-operation should be slighted, you will use all the influence you possess to prevent your parishioners from contributing to the establishment of schools from which religious instruction would be excluded. In fine, you will on this occasion, as at all times, endeavour if possible to have peace with all men."

The philantrophic, philosophic, and thoroughly Christian tone of this letter ought, one would think, to have protected the writer from animadversion. The reverse, however, was the fact. The Rev. Mr. Caldwell, a Protestant clergyman, flung into the columns of the local newspaper an illiberal and discourteous missive. Dr. Doyle's reply formed his debut as a public controvertist. We see in the following the first glitter of the sword emerging from its scabbard: "I had hoped that my letter would not give offence to any one, and that the opinions expressed in it would not call forth strictures, even from those who are fond of disputing. I have been disappointed, and as I am 'a debtor alike to the wise and to the unwise,' I shall explain, even for Mr. Caldwell, these passages which are noticed by him in your paper of to-day." And this he did. "But why, let me ask, in the name of peace, does Mr. Caldwell bring forward a note of the Rhemish Testament, published in 1633, to disturb the repose of the nineteenth century? Does he not know how that edition of the Testament was never approved of at Rome, and that last year, when it was first brought into notice in this country, it was formally disclaimed by the Catholic laity and clergy? Does he not know it was written in bad times, when Protestants were burned in Rome and Roman Catholics in London? And why does he charge us with the civil laws of Catholic states, and pass unnoticed our own statute *de comburendo Heretico*, or for burning heretics, which was repealed during the last parliament only?

"I have thus briefly disposed of these minor subjects, that I might devote the greater part of my present letter to that which seems principally to occupy the mind of Mr. Caldwell, in common with all those who have thrown off the 'sweet yoke' of authority in matters of religion. He thinks it unreasonable that every person, of whatever age, sex, or condition, should not have free access to 'God's own word,' without notes explanatory of the passages which are hard to be understood, or authority to determine the meaning of what is doubtful. Certainly it would be better there should be no notes, than notes which teach error, as it would be better to have no authority than the authority of 'vain babblers, who desire to be teachers, understanding neither the things they say, nor whereof they affirm.' But our Church sanctions neither notes nor books which contain errors, and the authority she exer-

cises is not assumed nor usurped, for it is given to her pastors by Christ, who sent his apostles and their successors even to the end of the world, with 'all power to rule the Church of God.' . .

"Are not the common and statute laws of these realms the title by which we hold our properties and enjoy personal security? Are they not also our inalienable inheritance? And yet, who will affirm that any of us is exempt from the authority of our sovereign or his government, and who will fold over the volumes of our statutes, or search into the dictums of our judges to ascertain his rights when they are disputed—and if he did, who would attend to the sense he would assign to them? No; every subject must pay obedience to the constituted authorities, and when his rights are questioned he must go to the judges for the time being, and abide by their decision as to the meaning of the law which regulates his estate; and if this were not the case, we would possess no political or civil liberty—no security for our persons or properties. Thus, without the law, our natural rights would degenerate into anarchy, whilst their regulation produces civil liberty; and so with regard to the Scriptures. Wherever Christians use them without a due deference for the authority of the Church in the interpretation of them, a spiritual anarchy results similar to the confusion which is apparent in a revolutionary state. What, for example, can be more analogous to our radical and Spencean politicians than our Seekers and sectaries, down to the followers of the late Johanna Southcotte? Not so with the children of the Church, who have their faith defined by the authority appointed by Christ; they can read the Scriptures for their edification, with notes which will assist them in understanding the difficult parts. There are indeed some parts of the Scripture which the Church, after the example of the Synagogue, would not give into the hands of youth, such as passages in the lives of the patriarchs, some of the prophecies of Ezekiah, and the Canticle of Canticles. Her reverence for it also, and her anxiety to preserve it from abuse, would induce her to keep it out of the hands of children, either in or out of school. In a word, her discipline is not founded on an anxiety to domineer over the faithful, but to keep them from temptation; it is not hostile to the spirit of Christianity, but it is a prudent exercise of the authority vested in her by Christ; it is not opposed to institutions founded on the necessities of mankind and the will of all nations, but is conformable to them, and to the principles of our own constitution, the happy model of civil and political perfection."

The Bishop was so straitened for time, that he intrusted the further defence of his letter to Dr. Donovan, Professor of Rhetoric in Maynooth College:

"Carlow, 13th February, 1820.

"My dear Friend—It is almost five o'clock, and yet I must reply to your long-wished-for letter before I dinè, as I leave this on to-morrow morning for a few days, and wish rather to send you a short answer without delay than a long one after the lapse of a week. I must notice regularly the several interesting topics you write on, but by way of preface let me beg that if you must obtrude your good manners where your friendship should appear, you will in future write *Lordship* but once in each page. I am truly happy at your appointment. I congratulate the College, Dr. Crotty, and yourself on it. I am satisfied that I myself will derive much advantage from it, in the improvement of the young men of this diocess who will attend your lectures on eloquence. Pray, labour quietly and strenuously to correct the bad taste which has long prevailed with many of your house in that necessary branch of knowledge.

"The defence of my letter could not fall into better hands than yours, for, if we might compare small things to great, I could say to you, as Paul to Junius, '*Consuntus es meam doctrinam propositum institutionem;*' and hence you could explain my mind when it could not be ascertained otherwise. I did require as an *essential condition* that the Catholic catechism should be taught in the school, and that the master who would teach it should alone read the Douay Testament for the children. This concession I shall continue to make cheerfully.

"I am glad you approve of my diocesan regulations; some of them were misunderstood in the county Kildare; others proved an inconvenience to a few—hence a feeling of displeasure, which, however, is rapidly subsiding there. The meeting you wish for will be holden. I obtained last year from the commissioners an exemption for our Convent in Carlow from taxes."

And on the 23rd of March, 1820, Dr. Doyle writes: "I received your letter in due time, but could scarcely find leisure to reply to it till now. Our controversy here is still going on. Mr. Caldwell has engaged the assistance of one of the Fellows of T.C.D. as an auxiliary, and between them they have written a very virulent letter, which from the pressure of business could not be replied to as yet; but when our publication appears it will insure a triumph."

Dr. Doyle had indeed little leisure for controversy. In addition to other episcopal anxieties and labours he surveyed the numerous chapels of the diocess, and found them, with some few exceptions, in a state of wretched and often degrading disrepair. As a preliminary to correcting this evil, he opened a correspon-

dence with most of the landlords on the subject. We select one letter from Mr. W. W. Pole, afterwards Lord Maryborough, brother of the Duke of Wellington. He is chiefly remembered in connexion with a circular letter issued by him, when Irish Secretary, to every sheriff and magistrate throughout Ireland, requiring them to arrest all persons connected, either actively or passively, in electing Catholic delegates. The following note, dated the 7th April, 1820, records an example worthy of imitation:

"Mr. Wellesley Pole presents his compliments to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare, and in reply to his communication respecting the chapel at Ballyfin, begs to observe that it stands on Mr. Wellesley Pole's estate rent free, and that the Priest has also a few acres of land for which he does not pay rent. It has always been Mr. Wellesley Pole's practice to give every possible indulgence to his Roman Catholic tenants, and he has never made any distinction between them and his Protestant tenantry. Under these circumstances he does not think it desirable to make any change. If the chapel of Ballyfin is to be put into repair, Mr. Wellesley Pole has no objection to subscribing for that purpose."

Some weeks in advance of the gloomy season of Lent, which had now set in, Dr. Doyle published a Pastoral upon its observances and design: "The virtues of penance and mortification," he said, "which Christians are especially obliged to practise in Lent, have at all times been necessary to reconcile the sinner with his offended God. 'Be converted to me,' saith the Lord to the sinners of Israel, 'with all your heart, in fasting, and in weeping, and in mourning;' and 'who knoweth,' adds the Prophet, 'but he will return and forgive.' (*Joel*, ii. 12.)" Dr. Doyle reminded his flock that this salutary practice is equally necessary to preserve the innocence of the saints, and procure for them the graces of which they are in need. Moses fasted and prayed for forty days, that he might deserve to be a mediator between God and his people, and to receive the tables of the law. Elias did so, and was favoured by the special protection of heaven. David and the other prophets used to "clothe themselves in sackcloth," and "humble their souls by fasting." The Baptist, who was more than a prophet, was clothed with camel's hair, wore a girdle about his loins, and lived on locusts and wild honey. The Son of God himself, when he came to atone for the sins of the world, and "to give us an example that we might walk in his footsteps," retired to a desert and fasted forty days—nay, he commenced his heavenly mission by saying to his followers, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." (*Matt.* iv. 17.) "His gospel, my beloved brethren, is founded on penance, and his doctrine and his example

enforce nothing more frequently—nothing more earnestly than self-denial and mortification. To be his followers, as we profess to be, we must, like St. Paul, 'mortify the flesh with its vices and concupiscences'—'we must chastise the body and bring it in subjection to the spirit,' for 'if we live according to the flesh we will die; but if by the spirit we mortify the deeds of the flesh, we will live'—in a word, 'we must be crucified to the world, and the world crucified to us.' (*Gal.* vi. 14.)"

This able and learned exposition of the practice and origin of penitential exercises, of which we have given a mere idea, was attended with very beneficial effects. We have seen it stated that persons of the diocess, not of the Catholic Church, who had previously smiled contemptuously whenever the word "Lent" was named in their hearing, now became penetrated with a sense of its necessity, and reverently perused Dr. Doyle's instructions upon the subject. The table of fasts and abstinences in "The Book of Common Prayer," which they had so long been in the habit of passing over as an obsolete absurdity, was now carefully studied and not unfrequently observed. By producing copious Scriptural authorities for every assertion advanced, Dr. Doyle, in this as in many other instances, completely disarmed criticism, and struck down prejudice from the root.

The Lenten regulations to be observed throughout the diocess of Kildare and Leighlin in 1820 would now-a-days be regarded as exceedingly rigid. But the Bishop made an exception in the case of "sick or convalescent persons, those who live chiefly by alms, and servants who cannot conveniently go fasting."

Dr. Doyle, to the fullest extent, practised what he preached. A venerable member of the Augustinian Order, who resided for years under the same roof with him, assures us that he is confident Dr. Doyle used "the discipline" at some periods. The use of the discipline and hair shirt, however, is not among the rules of the order. So far from being obligatory, severe bodily chastisement is forbidden, unless the spiritual adviser of the Priest who desires to use it gives consent. If he seems of a delicate constitution permission is withheld. But so violent is the religious zeal of some that they often greatly exceed the license which may have been yielded to their extreme piety. Our informant has occasionally known some Friars to lacerate themselves and bleed profusely; and when the reader learns that the lash of the discipline is sometimes furnished with sharp particles of tin, it will fail to surprise that effects so serious should too often occur. The same gifted dignitary assures us, that at some convents he has seen a sackcloth girth studded with sharp fragments of wire. Friars who are actively engaged upon the mission do not often

resort to this terrible indulgence of an ascetic zeal; but it is perfectly canonical and usual to impose it as a penance whenever the constitutions of the order may have been culpably violated. The usual period for the performance of solitary self-chastisement is on Friday afternoons, but especially on Good Friday.

Early in 1820 the Bishop commenced the arduous duties of a general visitation of his extensive diocess. He administered confirmation to thousands, and held various conferences with his clergy. It had long been the custom with Irish Bishops, when a parish became vacant to appoint a Pastor by the mere formula of a letter inducting them into the benefice. But Dr. Doyle, as soon as he became Bishop, revived a practice earnestly inculcated by the Council of Trent, which consisted in making the new Parish Priest repeat a solemn profession of faith, together with an oath binding himself to observe the canons of the Church and the statutes of the diocess.

If Dr. Doyle had not an Augean stable to cleanse, he had a well-nigh insurmountable arrear of hard work to master. Various circumstances had combined to render the rule of his predecessors inactive. The Right Rev. Dr. Keeffe, who died in 1787, had passed through the close of that dreary night of persecution, when a Catholic Priest dare hardly raise his head in public, or celebrate Mass unless by stealth. The Rev. Daniel Delany, P.P. of Tullow, succeeded him, and became a Prelate of great piety. But his energies were almost exclusively directed to the grand scheme of establishing, on a firm basis, the Catholic College of Carlow. He altogether neglected to hold conferences with his clergy, and procrastinated to such an extent that years rolled over without any attempt to administer, with regularity, the sacrament of confirmation. Dr. Delany at length determined upon turning over a new leaf. He sometimes published a long list of parishes wherein he intended to hold visitations for the forthcoming year; but when the advertised time arrived it invariably found the Bishop either confined to his room by gout, or perhaps on a visit with the patriot Peer, Cloncurry, or the Right Rev. Dr. Moylan of Cork. Bishop Delany was noted for his fund of wit and anecdote, and when a Professor, with the Rev. Alban Butler, at Douay, it was said of him that no one else had ever succeeded in making the solemn biographer of the saints laugh.* Dr. Moylan idolized Dr. Delany, and the Bishop of Kildare was often for three months on a visit with his Right Rev. brother of Cork.

* Some of his *bon mots* have been preserved with a reverence to which they are hardly entitled. The officers of the Scotch or Scots Greys, who happened to be quartered in the neighbourhood, were once invited by the Bishop to meet some of the aged Professors from Maynooth at dinner. "Gentlemen," he said, addressing the old Priests, "allow me to introduce the Irish Greys to the Scotch Greys."

To Dr. Delany the diocess is indebted for the foundation of two excellent monastic schools in Tullow and Mountrath. Both localities were intensely anti-Catholic, and abounded in professional proselytizers. In establishing these seminaries Dr. Delany has been said to have attained the key of the Protestant position in the diocess. But although a most energetic promoter of secular and ecclesiastical education, he was somewhat dilatory in performing the various arduous duties of episcopal life. Passionately fond of the society of intellectual and sincere friends, he often forgot, in the fascination of their presence, to execute some long-advertised visitation. He at last became quite infirm, and as few Priests of that day could be found able and willing to grasp a crozier, it may be supposed that the aid of a Coadjutor Bishop was not always practicable. Even the services of a Vicar-General were unknown to the diocess during the administration of Dr. Delany.

We have already seen how, on the death of this prelate in 1814, the clergy, having assembled to postulate for a successor, pronounced as *dignissimus* the Rev. Dr. Murphy, a clergyman of great ability, but who, upon being presented with the Papal bulls, declined to accept the responsibility. Old Father Michael Corcoran, P.P. of Kildare, was accordingly selected in default of better. Weakened by repeated attacks of illness, he could not muster sufficient energy to be more than casually useful. The discipline of the diocess became still more relaxed under the administration of this pious but inactive prelate; and Dr. Doyle, who resided in Carlow during the four years of its duration, saw with pain the imperfections we have noticed. When we know Dr. Doyle's rigid sense of duty, his strength of mind and courageousness of resolution in accepting the government of the diocess may be duly estimated.

One of the first parishes in which Dr. Doyle had decided upon holding confirmation was Portarlington, then containing a population of 9,000 Catholics. For nearly twenty years there had been no confirmation administered here. Upon arriving at the old chapel on the appointed day, Dr. Doyle found a large concourse of people assembled outside, while within its walls there was not room for a pin to drop.

The Parish Priest had long been blind and infirm, and did not appear; the curate, therefore, took his place. "Where are the children?" said Dr. Doyle. "Good God! can these persons stand in need of confirmation?" The Priest's affirmative brought a tear into the Bishop's eye. He surveyed the surging sea of heads around him, white as the foam of the ocean. There were few present under sixty years of age, and some had reached four-score.

The expression of devotion in the countenances of the poor people severely tested our prelate's sensibility. He knew that their exclusion from the light of the Holy Ghost had not been through their own fault, and he struggled hard to suppress the emotions which filled him.

"Some of these old people can hardly know their catechism," said Dr. Doyle, "and I fear I would not be justified in confirming them." "My Lord," replied the curate, "you must only take for granted, on my assurance, that their faith is sound. I am well acquainted with their religious sentiments." Dr. Doyle turned to an old woman, not less than eighty, and asked her if she knew the Apostles' Creed and *Salve Regina*. She replied in the affirmative, and repeated them with such accuracy and devotion, that the Bishop seemed quite pleased, and forthwith prepared for a general administration of the sacrament. Eighteen hundred people were confirmed that day. Dr. Doyle, at the close, preached a touching exhortation, and announced that, in a few months, he would hold a visitation at Emo, a village belonging to the same parish. So great were the numbers in attendance, that no church could hold them. At the Priest's request, Lord Portarlington threw open Emo Park for the occasion, and, beneath a monster marquee, Dr. Doyle administered confirmation on that day to thirteen hundred persons.

From the then curate of Portarlington we have gathered these details. The scene may be regarded as a random sample of what widely took place elsewhere. Dr. Doyle's labours continued unceasing. He had to pull up an overwhelming accumulation of neglected duty, and he laboured more in a few years than half-a-dozen prelates of ordinary zeal could accomplish in a lifetime. "James," he said, long afterwards, to the Rev. Mr. Delany, "you know not what I suffered in mind. My brain was bursting with the myriad dictates of duty which crowded into it."

CHAPTER V.

The Spiritual Retreat—Letter to Father Peter—Sir H. Parnell—The first Visitation—Letters—"Where the carcase is, there the vultures will be also"—Poverty of an Irish Catholic Bishopric—An accident—Cases of conscience—Dr. Anglade and Dr. Doyle—More reforms effected—How to manage an agricultural P.P.—Correspondence with the Vicars—His system of Church government—Dr. Doyle and the Jesuits—Letters to his kinsfolk—The Bishop at the shrine of St. Bridget—Extracts from his great Pastoral for 1821.

SPIRITUAL retreats had, since the Reformation, fallen into disuse in Ireland, and although a few attempts had been made at Maynooth, from 1795, to restore that invaluable piece of ecclesiastical discipline, yet no vigorous effort to work it out, on a comprehensive scale, took place until Dr. Doyle, in July, 1820, applied his shoulder to the wheel. One thousand Priests, and nearly every prelate in Ireland, assembled at Carlow by his invitation. He conducted the retreat unaided, and preached three times each day for a week. "These sermons," says the Rev. Mr. Delany, "were of an extraordinarily impressive character. We never heard anything to equal them before or since. The duties of the ecclesiastical state were never so eloquently and so effectively expounded. His frequent application and exposition of the most intricate texts of Scripture amazed and delighted us: we thought he was inspired. I saw the venerable Archbishop Troy weep like a child, and raise his hands in thanksgiving. At the conclusion of the retreat he wept again, and kissed his coadjutor with more than a brother's affection."

"Nearly forty years have elapsed," observes another Priest, "but my recollection of all that Dr. Doyle said and did upon that occasion is fresh and vivid. He laboured like a giant, and with the zeal of an apostle. There he stood, like some commanding archangel, raising and depressing the thousand hearts which hung fondly on his words. I can never forget that tall, majestic figure pointing the way to heaven with an arm which seemed as though it could have wielded thunderbolts—nor the lofty serenity of countenance, so eloquent of reproach one minute and so radiant of hope the next. It seemed as if by an act of his will a torrent of grace miraculously descended from heaven, and, by the same mediating agency, was dispensed around. It was a glorious spectacle in its aspect and results. The fruit was of no ephemeral growth or continuance, but celestially enduring. To this day I profit by a recollection of that salutary retreat."

A trifling accident occurred in one of Dr. Doyle's most impassioned appeals, which, as it illustrates the violent zeal which moved him, may perhaps be recorded here. He preached from

the altar, and in expatiating upon the crime of sacerdotal levity, he pointed to the tabernacle with tears in his eyes and an expression of the most poignant reproach: "The Lamb that is outraged," he exclaimed, "reposes meekly here;" and forgetting that he stood so near the tabernacle, the Bishop flung back his arm, to indicate the spot, with a force that crushed in the gilded door of the sanctum.

"For the ten days that the retreat lasted," observes the Rev. Dr. O'Connell, "Dr. Doyle knew no rest. His soul was on fire in the sacred cause. He was determined to reform widely. His falcon eye sparkled with zeal. The powers of his intellect were applied to the good work with telling effect. At the close of one of his most impassioned exhortations, he knelt down on a *prie dieu* immediately before me. The vigorous workings of his mind, and the intense earnestness of purpose within, affected even the outward man. Big drops of perspiration stood upon his neck, and his rochet was almost saturated."

Dr. Doyle alludes to this retreat in the following letter to his half-brother, Father Peter Doyle. It was chiefly written to acknowledge a suggestion made to erect a new church in Carlow. The underlining of the words "*in stone*" are according to the original, and would seem to convey a presentiment of the imperishable writings which afterwards immortalized him:

"Carlow, 15th July, 1820.

"My dear Sir—I this moment arrived here, after an absence of a fortnight in the county Kildare and Queen's County. I had long settled my plan of building on the site you mention: that is the only monument *in stone* I intend to leave after me. I am now going to prepare for our two retreats; the first begins on Monday. Drs. Troy, Hamill, Blake—all the most respectable clergy of Dublin, some from Meath, and all our own Priests, attend this week. I am left alone to instruct, but trust in God who is the strength of the weak. When these are ended I must go to each of our five conferences, and confirm in a few parishes, and then, about the middle of August, will go to you, if I live, and am able to travel. I had a letter from Sir H. Parnell; he thinks our general question will not come on this session, and we directed him to present our petition only in the event of that failing, so both must stand over till next year. He has, at my suggestion, interfered with the government respecting the Education Society, as mention of their bible sytem could not be made in Parliament without prejudicing our cause: he has hopes that our views will be met. Mr. England of Cork, and Kelly, professor at Kilkenny, are appointed to two sees in America."

Although Dr. Doyle laboured in the vineyard of his diocess with a religious zeal which St. Paul hardly surpassed, he also discharged, like St. Paul, his duty as a politician. Sir H. Parnell, afterwards Lord Congleton, who resolutely opposed the Union in the Irish Parliament, and acquired for himself, by this and other services, a name historically dear to Ireland, writes:

"Emo Park, 31st March, 1820.

"My Lord—Having closed my election with so triumphant a majority, I lose no time in returning your Lordship my warmest thanks for the very powerful support you gave, by expressing, so warmly and so decidedly, your opinions to your clergy.

"I shall never forget the services which they have rendered, by resisting with such promptness, unanimity, and effect the outcry which was raised against me, on account of the new election law.—I have, &c.

"H. Parnell."

"We will not disguise from you," observed Dr. Doyle, on the completion of his first general visitation, "that if we have found consolation in the zeal of many of those who share with us the pastoral solicitude; if, in many places, the piety manifested by you have filled our hearts with gratitude to heaven; if your devoted attachment to that faith which, once delivered to the saints, has been preserved to us by a special Providence, filled us with the liveliest hope of your future improvement in virtue—yet God did not permit that our joy should be full. The many wants of the numerous people whom He has confided to us, the small number of our fellow-labourers, which the want of a competent support does not permit us to increase; the public scandals of which we have occasionally heard; the distress of the poor which we have witnessed; the weight of our own ministry, and the number and extent of the duties imposed on us, have often filled our hearts with bitterness, and caused us to appear before you with fear and trembling. Yet our confidence has not abated; we have no reliance on ourselves, but trusting in Him who has promised to be 'with us to the end,' we hope, that for the sake of our fathers, he will pour out of his spirit upon us, and preserve to this ancient and once illustrious portion of his inheritance, that piety and fidelity which have hitherto distinguished it."

Onerously occupied as the Bishop constantly was, he contrived, nevertheless, to find time for a full and frequent correspondence with his old friends. Of this, much has unfortunately perished with the individuals to whom it was addressed. Among those who had sought Mr. Doyle's spiritual guidance when Professor of Theology, was a young and interesting girl named N——. Stimu-

lated by the warmth of his piety, her religious ardour became gradually more and more decided, and she at last entered, as a novice, the Presentation Convent of Carlow. Here she remained for a year, winning the love and respect of her pious associates. At the expiration of that period, Miss N—— proceeded to one of the branch convents in Cork, and Dr. Doyle took leave of her with a parent's regret. His letters to the young nun have been preserved. The true Christian philosophy of the following is very characteristic of its writer.

"Carlow, 30th November, 1820.

"My dear Mary—Though I have not written to you since your departure from Carlow, I have not ceased to feel the liveliest interest for whatever regarded your welfare, and was frequently gratified by the pleasing accounts I receive from your sisters here, as also from the worthy patron of your destined residence, of the happiness you enjoy, and of the satisfaction you afford to those with whom you live; indeed, I anticipated as much, knowing that nature had favoured you with an equanimity and meekness of disposition, which, when improved by the divine grace, fits a person better than any other qualities for a conventual life. These dispositions, however, are a gift from that 'Father of lights from whom every good gift descends,' and should be a source of unceasing thanksgiving on your part. You ought also to bear in mind, constantly, that nature may produce in you many works which might seem to be the fruit of grace, and therefore that your virtue may be less perfect than it appears, whilst others, who have to combat with unruly passions, are often more pleasing in the sight of God than in that of men; and likewise, that if we have received much either from nature or grace, much also will be required of us. Indeed I do hope most confidently that you will be a faithful servant in the house of God—knowing and loving him in all things; for that, as Moses has said, 'is the whole man,' which means, that he has no other object in life than to know that the Lord is in all things, and all things in him—that he is to be loved in all things, and nothing to be loved but for his sake. It is this fidelity which supplants self, and makes not 'us to live, but Christ to live in us,' and having begun to live by this new life, we can increase in love, until it enlivens all our thoughts, words, and actions; by degrees it becomes inflamed, consumes whatever is earthly in us, and the dissolution of our frame follows, for it has discharged the purposes of its creation, and our spirit goes to be united to 'the God of the spirits of all flesh,' to be lost in him who fills the world. And then there is a new heaven and a new earth; the veil is removed and we see God as he is, and in him we see all things, for 'he containeth all things in himself;' we see

no darkness, for 'God is light, and in him there is no darkness.' We are always young, for we live in him 'who created the ages,' and who is 'the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever,' and who 'renews our youth like that of the eagle.' We are always happy, because we possess him who is infinitely perfect, who inebriated us with the fulness of His house, and makes us to drink of the torrent of His delights. But I find I have been almost treating you to a sermon: so difficult it is to lay aside old habits, that having often spoken with you on spiritual things, they naturally occur when conversing with you in writing. This is the only apology I will offer you, except that having nothing of a more interesting nature to fill my letter, I thought you would prefer a subject you are well acquainted with to a blank sheet.

"Your brother's health continues delicate; should he survive the winter and spring, 'tis probable the summer may restore him, which I would earnestly wish, if it were the will of God; for besides the great expectations I have formed of his future labours in the ministry, I have long entertained for him a very particular esteem; but should he be removed, we have reason to hope that he only goes before us to a better world. I would not mention what regards him in this manner to you, if I were not assured that you can receive all the dispositions of divine Providence, not only with resignation (for that is but a small degree of virtue), but with joy, for the 'just rejoice and are delighted with joy' at the works of God, and you, I hope, can imitate them at an humble distance.

"The sisters at the convent are well, and remember you with affection; their union, and piety, and good works, I hope, are increasing; I only fear sometimes that they are too comfortable, as privations are the best property of a convent, and therefore I am glad you are to be placed in a new one, which cannot abound except with sources of merit.

"If I knew your sisters in Cork I should salute them by name. I beg, through you, to be recommended to their prayers. Pray remember me very affectionately to my good friend the Rev. Mr. O'Connor, who, I hope, for your sake, continues his attention to you; indeed I am confident he does, as you are united by a similarity of dispositions, as well as by the profession of the same mode of life. If you see his Lordship, Dr. Murphy, present my best respects to him in the most acceptable way you can, and pray always, dear Mary, for him who with esteem and affection remains your humble servant in Christ,

"✠ J. Doyle."

Dr. Doyle alludes in the foregoing letter to the Presentation

Convent in Carlow. Whenever the ceremonial of professing a nun took place at this establishment, a very hospitable breakfast was generally prepared, to which the friends of the new sister, and many students from the College adjacent, had been in the habit of contributing to do justice. Dr. Doyle, as soon as he became Bishop, expressed himself averse to the students partaking of any hospitality provided by the good ladies on such occasions. Anxious to uphold conventual discipline to the uttermost, he issued no formal prohibition of the custom, but made no disguise of his views. At the profession of a nun, shortly after his consecration, Dr. Doyle was pacing the hall to and fro reading his Breviary, when about a dozen students began to drop in. The savoury effluvia of some well-dressed beefsteaks diffused itself throughout the hall, and a dozen lips were smacked as the nostrils above them inhaled the grateful odour. Dr. Doyle watched the passing throng with a stern aspect, and at length inquired, "Pray, how many more of you are coming?" "Only two, my Lord," was the reply. "Where the carcase is," continued the Bishop, in his most sarcastic tone, "there the vultures will be also." Thenceforward, whenever the profession of a nun took place, he generally addressed the students with, "Gentlemen, as soon as the ceremonies have concluded, you will please retire to 'your refectory.'"

Our young prelate soon found that the course of an Irish Catholic Bishop is not the road to riches. It was evidently not a bishopric of this character for which, as Mr. Thackeray reminds us, a clergyman paid £5,000 in ready money down. Writing to his niece on the 23rd of October, Dr. Doyle says: "On my return here this morning, I found your welcome letter, and hasten to reply to it, as I set off to-morrow to the county Kildare for some days. My life is one of perpetual motion, or at least unceasing activity, and I expect little or no rest at this side of the grave; but the will of God must be done, and whatever it requires from us we should yield with a good grace. You are singularly fortunate in not suffering more from the depression of the times. Will it surprise you that I am very much affected by them, so as to be poorer than I have been since I came to Carlow, and though I am a strict economist, I can scarcely avoid increasing my debts. I have but one boy and two maids; they use or waste more than I can afford, so, contrary to my intention, I have been obliged to write to Mrs. Dillon to send me little Mary to take care of what I cannot attend to myself, and in order that I may be able to dismiss one of my maids. I dare say she will give me a preference, and that you will be deprived of her assistance; but I know you will not feel that a grievance if you think I or the little girl may be served by it, though, as to her part, I verily believe it would be

better for her to be under your protection than mine." Little Mary was a relation of the Bishop's.

Dr. Doyle's "life of perpetual motion" was occasionally marked by some awkward trips and *contre-temps*. In December, 1820, as we gather from another letter to his niece, he met with an accident which had well-nigh been attended with fatal consequences: "I hasten to remove your anxiety about my arm, which has been improving rapidly since Tuesday last. The inflammation has entirely left it, the swelling has greatly decreased, and not more than half-an-inch of the wound is unhealed. The doctor says I may safely say Mass on Christmas-day. I heard of poor Father Murphy's death, and regretted it most sincerely, as his worth was not unknown even here; but it is happy for him to have gone to receive the reward of his labours. I believe your nuns there are destined to suffer in every way; but poverty is no injury to a convent. I was a good deal affected at the account you give me of your late alarming illness, and most sincerely do I thank the Almighty God, 'who bringeth down to death, and leadeth back therefrom,' for having restored you to your family and friends. You will, I am confident, feel grateful for His protection; and though life is but a burden, and the dissolution of our bodies only a preparation for a glorious resurrection, yet it may be useful to you to continue longer here, as I have no doubt you will make your time available for the best purposes—doing the will of God, opening your purse to the poor, to the indigent, to the widow and the orphan. My dear Mary, don't ever suppose that I am angry or displeased with you. I don't recollect that I have ever been so, and I know you too well to change my opinion of you now."

Dr. Doyle had by this time acquired the reputation of a great casuist. Spiritual directors, and even Bishops, constantly consulted him on cases of conscience which had been submitted to them. The Most Rev. Dr. Leahy tells us that there are preserved, in the archiepiscopal archives at Cashel, several opinions of Dr. Doyle on matters of conscience. Archbishops Laphen and Slattery would seem to have occasionally sought his advice, although a prelate of a perfectly distinct province. Sir Robert Peel once said that it was impossible to understand canon law properly without an extensive acquaintance with civil law. Dr. Doyle was a master of both. Writing to the Rev. Dr. Donovan, professor of rhetoric in Maynooth, at this period, he observes: "Pray, let me know what opinion your professors of moral theology teach with regard to the obligation of bankrupts and those who compound, in case they afterwards acquire property? I fear they differ from me on those important points." Dr. Donovan's reply elicited the following letter from the Bishop:

"My dear Friend—I find, as I suspected, that Mr. Anglade's opinion is opposed to mine on the subject of bankruptcy. I long since considered all the reasons stated by you in support of his opinion, with some others, but they could never induce me to come to the conclusion he teaches. I believe he has mistaken the spirit of our laws from the general tenor of them, particularly with regard to 'prescription' and 'limitation.' I infer there is no code in Europe which is so tender of disturbing natural rights, so that when it interferes with those rights, it does so just as far as is necessary for the promotion of industry, but no farther; as the natural obligation of giving to every man his own, even to an equality, is the principle which our bankrupt laws limit—the necessity of acquitting the conscience of the bankrupt, as well as of securing him from an action, must be clearly ascertained before we can be entitled to infringe on the natural principle. The right of the creditor is fixed and certain, resting on a law of nature, and it rests with the advocate of the debtor to prove that the surrender of this right to the extent mentioned is necessary; this must be clearly and unequivocally proved before the certain right can be disturbed. We might apply to the case of the creditor when we discuss the necessity of freeing the conscience of the debtor—'*Milior est conditio possidentis.*' Now it may be that industry is sufficiently protected, even in this mercantile country, by refusing an action to the creditor against the bankrupt, for thus the latter may support his family in their ordinary way, keep in his hands what capital he wants, may speculate as far as is prudent, and, as the law supposes every man to be honest, if he be so, he will exert additional energy in his endeavours to indemnify those who suffered by his misfortunes. That this is the spirit of the bankrupt laws we may infer by analogy from the statute of limitations, which refuses an action after a certain term of years, if a debt has not been demanded within them. And here no person ever thought the debtor was acquitted in *foro in tomo*. Further, our laws permit an action to be taken against a man possessed of property who had availed himself more than once of the bankrupt laws, thus showing that they would limit the natural principle as little as possible, for where a second bankruptcy begets even a suspicion of fraud or neglect in the subject, the laws withdraw from him even the protection which the limitation act affords, and will not even protect his industry by refusing an action to the prejudice of natural equity.

"Judge Baily has declared somewhere—and though I have searched some of my law books I could not find it—"that though the laws in question secure the debtor from a prison, no honest man will think himself discharged from the obligation of paying

his debts when he comes to have it in his power.' Do we not see this principle of equity, so accordant with the good feelings of men, induce the heirs of tenants for life to discharge the debts contracted by their parents, which they certainly are not bound to discharge; and are we to limit this principle beyond what we can prove to be necessary? Now it is a serious matter to teach in your house an opinion directly opposed to all the canonists and all the divines of Europe. I have never read one upon the subject of Mr. Anglade's opinion, and I could enumerate I don't know how many who teach the contrary. I thought of copying for you our doctrine as taught at Coimbra, with the reasons on which it rests; but as Mr. A. admits the world to be against him I think it useless to quote authorities. What he thinks with regard to compositions is just as much opposed to my opinion as the other. I must have this matter submitted to the consideration of the board, or if necessary transmitted to Rome. I would much rather, however, that Mr. A. would re-consider it, and you may recommend that to him without mentioning my intentions as stated to you. I hope to be in Clongowes about the 16th of April—might you not see me there? I will be nearer to you the following week, but scarcely hope to have an hour to spend with you. This legal question has taken up all my space, and more time than I could spare. When we meet we shall make up for all our omissions. Give my best compliments to Dr. Crotty, and to each of the Professors.

"✠ J. Doyle."

The foregoing letter affords an interesting evidence of that passionate love for justice which blazed in the heart of Dr. Doyle, until quenched by death. His hatred of injustice was strong to loathing, and innumerable are the records in which both sentiments have found vigorous and eloquent expression. "When I consider," he writes in his fourth letter "On the State of Ireland," "that justice, whether in a nation or in an individual, is a fixed disposition of the will to give to every man his due, even to the last farthing, to distribute impartially the honours and emoluments, as well as the burthens of the state; to apportion punishment to crime, and rewards to virtuous actions, without distinction or exception of persons—when I consider this great principle, emanating from Him who is the fountain of all justice, existing before the gospel, with the gospel, and to last to eternity; when I view it thus, and compare it with what is called by its name in Ireland, a thrill of horror pervades my blood, because we are all hastening to Him who will judge us in justice, and weigh all our actions in the scale of the sanctuary."

The Rev. Dr. Francis Anglade, who figures so prominently in Dr. Doyle's letter to Dr. Donovan, was a highly distinguished Fellow of Sorbonne, and filled, for many years, the chairs of Moral Theology and Philosophy at Maynooth. He may be said to have been the last of the eminent men who, after the revolution had overturned the universities of France, emigrated to Ireland, in order to assist in preparing for the National Catholic College, then recently founded, a course of ecclesiastical study and discipline suited to the circumstances of the country and time. He died, April, 1834, a few weeks previous to the death of Dr. Doyle. His death, like his life, was full of piety, and both will be long remembered in Maynooth. The above theological point was not the only one in which Drs. Doyle and Anglade disagreed. The reader will find, in our narrative of the events of June, 1824, a fact illustrative of this assertion.

We have already enumerated some of the regulations which Dr. Doyle introduced, on being entrusted with the ecclesiastical government of Kildare and Leighlin. Others remain to be noticed. He entirely prohibited every Priest from bequeathing to friends or relatives any property which they might have acquired by their office. He has been known to forbid the celebration of a "month's memory" for a wealthy Priest who had violated the statutes of the diocess in this particular. His regulation was, that all property realized by the altar should finally go to ecclesiastical or charitable purposes.

Dr. Doyle strictly limited the Parish Priests of his diocess to fourteen acres of land. Several of them had previously farmed ten times that amount of ground. A clergyman, who shall be nameless, had long taken his place among the agriculturists of the County ——. As a man of integrity and rectitude he was blameless. He contrived to discharge some amount of duty; but he gave a considerable portion of his time to secular pursuits. Dr. Doyle waited upon the Pastor, and unequivocally apprised him of his determination. "You must give up the farm," he said. "My lord," replied the Priest, "when this occupation does not interfere, to any serious extent, with my duties, surely it is innocent." "It is impossible," replied the Bishop, "that you can both serve the altar and drive the plough. Was it for this you received the imposition of hands? Both priest and farmer you cannot be. You cannot serve both God and mammon. Choose between them. I give you a week to consider. *Vos Presbyteri in populo Dei et ex vobis pendet anima illorum.*"

The Bishop was punctually with the Priest at the end of seven days. The latter had an imperfect knowledge of Dr. Doyle's decision of character. He did not think that his lordship had

been quite serious, and gave the matter very little thought during the interim. Dr. Doyle, accompanied by a young clergyman, entered the incumbent's parlour: "Well, Sir," he began, "what is your determination? Lest you may have decided adversely to my views, I have brought a zealous person with me, whom I shall appoint to discharge the duties for which you were ordained!" The Parish Priest could hardly believe his senses; but perceiving that a crisis was at hand, and that no time should be lost, renounced from that moment all connexion with the farm. He subsequently became one of the most zealous and efficient Priests in the diocess.

The Rev. Daniel —— was another Priest who had evinced a passion for agricultural pursuits. Though not, by any means, a bad sort of man, he was much more a pastor of sheep than of souls. His brother acted as his coadjutor in the parish. When requested by Dr. Doyle to abandon the farm, Father Dan is said to have replied, pointing to his Curate, "Sure if I look after the temporals, the spirituals are fully attended to by Father Tom!"

The admonition which Dr. Doyle addressed to him was most impressive. He reminded him that it hath pleased the mysterious providence of God to leave the eternal destinies of men dependent, in a great measure, on the exertions of their fellow-men; that the Almighty selected men to be, under Him, the guardians and saviours of their kind, so that St. Paul fears not to style them the assistants and coadjutors of God! "What a glorious dignity!" he added. "It elevates the Pastor to the highest office which man or angel can fill, for it associates him in the same great object which brought the Messiah from his throne to the gibbet of the cross; it makes him the co-partner with God in the most exalted of all his divine works—the salvation of man. 'The lips of the Priest,' says Malachy, 'shall keep knowledge, and they shall seek the law at his mouth, because he is the angel of the Lord of hosts!' What does St. Chrysostom say?—'When Christ comes to judge the living and the dead, the Pastor must give an account, as it were by name, for every individual confided to his care.' Oh! what a tremendous responsibility, and how utterly unconscious you seem of its solemnity and weight."

Dr. Doyle was asked by the Parliamentary Committee who examined him, in 1825, how many parishes were in his diocess, and how the appointment to each was arranged? To the first query he replied, "Forty-two," and to the last—"When a parish becomes vacant, if it be a place where we wish a man of experience, and information, and pious habits of life to reside, and that we have not a person of this description amongst the curates, we take him from some other parish where he has shown himself to be possessed of those qualities, and we appoint him to the vacant

living; but if it be a parish where a person not specially gifted is suitable, we take from amongst the curates some man who has laboured for several years, and whose morals have been good, and who has a capacity for giving instruction in public, and place him there: But if a curate should at any time have been immoral, or not be capable of preaching, we leave him in the rank of curate all his lifetime." *Q.* "You mentioned that, in filling up vacancies in parishes, the bishops selected those of their diocess whom they thought the most deserving; do you mean to say they never go out of the diocess to select?" *A.* "They have a power of doing so, but I have not known any case wherein they have exercised that power; I should not consider myself at liberty to go out of the diocess where I live, because the clergymen officiating within the diocess consider, and I also consider, that they have a right to such livings as may happen to become vacant; so that to bring in a stranger, and exclude them, would in my mind be unjust."

Dr. Doyle was asked the rather silly question, whether any efforts had been made by him to convey moral and religious instruction to his Roman Catholic brethren. "I have not ceased," he replied, "during the few years I have been Bishop, to promote education of every kind, but particularly of a religious kind; for this purpose I have frequently required of the clergy to seek to raise contributions amongst the people, for the purpose of building schools and assisting to pay schoolmasters, where the peasantry were not able to pay them for educating their children. I have sometimes, upon the death of a Parish Priest, kept the parish vacant for some time, and have taken into my own hands what of the dues could be spared after supporting the assistant-Priest, and applied those sums for the building of schools."

Dr. Doyle found the large ecclesiastical flock of his diocess, with one or two exceptions, meek and docile. One clergyman gave him great trouble, however. He petulantly disregarded all discipline, and acted exactly as the caprice of the moment moved him. He was old enough, he said, to be the Bishop's father, and could not understand the high tone of dictation which he assumed. In vain Dr. Doyle reminded him of the exhortation of the martyr Ignatius, as far back as the second age of the Church: "It is incumbent on you not to conduct yourselves towards your Bishop with levity or arrogance on account of his youthfulness." The Bishop was at length constrained to consult his vicars, how best to grapple with this wayward spirit. The Very Rev. John Dunne suggested, that to elicit from him a written apologetic explanation might soften the harsh aspect of matters. The Priest's reply would seem to have been characteristically flippant, as may be inferred from the following letter.

"Carlow, 22nd March, 1821.

"My dear Sir—Poor Mr. ——'s defence is what I apprehended it would be—very defective. His faults, in this instance, are the effects of his temper more than of the malice of his heart, but his conduct is not the less, on that account, an outrage on the gospel. I am at a loss how to manage him; he is unfitted by nature for any office which has charge of souls. I have consulted two of our vicars here on his case; I expect to be in Dublin on Sunday next, and will talk to Drs. Troy and Murray about it on Monday, and when I have the benefit of their advice, I would be glad, if it were not too inconvenient for you, to see you at James'-street Chapel-house on Tuesday, at twelve o'clock, that we may devise what ought to be said or done on the subject. A decision on a matter of this sort is of much importance; to see and know these things, and not to punish them, would make me an accomplice in the evil; to punish them as they deserve, weakens essentially the pastoral authority throughout the entire diocess, and gives a pretext to the evil-minded to malign the Priests and insult religion. May God forgive those who bring such evil upon His Church!

"I see from the tenor of your remarks upon the poor singing-master's business, that you are uneasy lest I would be too credulous, and hence be too often imposed on by knaves. Probably you are very right, but I wish I could furnish you with a list of all I disbelieve, of all the communications I commit to the flames without any notice, of all the prevarications I elicit, and you would begin to think that every knave does not succeed with me. But indeed, my dear friend, whilst conscious rectitude compels you to feel indignation at the misrepresentation of an unworthy individual, you may be assured that such individuals are a sort of necessary evil, to bring to light real and substantial wrongs which would otherwise be buried in silence, and which are often redressed, to the great advantage of the Pastor and the flock; for a Priest has no greater enemy to his temporal and spiritual good than a Bishop who suffers him to proceed in doing wrong; and as far as you and I are concerned, pray do not doubt the sincerity with which I have often expressed my entire confidence in your prudence, and piety, and justice."

Dr. Doyle went to Dublin at this period, on very particular business, as the reader will presently see. Besides preaching at St. James' and other churches, he had to take a leading part in the deliberations of the Prelates and Clergy, on the subject of a Catholic Relief Bill then before Parliament. On 30th March, 1821, Dr. Doyle writes to the Vicar: "Circumstanced as we are at present, I must defer doing anything in Mr. ——'s business,

until we meet at the distribution of Holy Oils. Should you see him, you may inform him of what I think on the subject, and perhaps an alteration might occur to him or you, which would spare him and me the pain which even a temporary suspension from his office would give to us both."

The Jesuits of Clongowes Wood College were surprised at this period to receive a letter from Dr. Doyle, forbidding them, under pain of incurring his displeasure, to hear the confessions of any person who did not come provided with a letter of permission from the pastor of his own parish. Every flock contains some black sheep which require skilful management on the pastor's part; and Dr. Doyle probably thought, that if absolution were withheld from certain individuals by the Priest of their own parish, until a marked reformation of life should be observable, they might, by hypocritical lip-promises, but without any substantial amendment, induce the Jesuits to regard and pronounce them in a state of grace—a proceeding possibly tending to lessen the just authority of their own pastors over them. The Jesuits, moreover, had obtained the reputation of being very lenient spiritual directors. Dr. Doyle, owing to having received theological instruction mainly from continental professors, had adopted some strong opinions in favour of what is technically called "rigorism." The Gallican Church, although claiming peculiar ecclesiastical liberties, was notorious for its rigid sense of discipline. Indeed to such an extent was it carried, that one of the French universities taught, at no remote period, that the sacraments should be refused to every person who did not hear High Mass and a sermon on every Sunday and holiday.

The Rev. Dr. Kenny and his brethren at Clongowes expressed themselves much piqued at the receipt of Dr. Doyle's mandate. Dr. Kenny was one of the astutest theologians of his day. "His rectilinear forehead is strongly indented," wrote Sheil, "satire sits upon his thin lips, and a livid hue is spread over a quadrangular face, the sunken cheeks of which exhibit the united effects of monastic abstinence and profound meditation." "I should like to know," said Dr. Kenny, "to what canon Dr. Doyle can refer me, in justification of this capricious mandate." "My Lord," wrote Dr. Kenny, "I will accept no such conditions. I have not hitherto heard many penitents—I shall hear fewer for the time to come." The Order of Jesuits had more than once tasted the bitters of ecclesiastical as well as civil despotism, and they imagined that the present act was an attempt to revive the former in a milder form. It is not to be denied that the secular clergy had regarded their arrival and settlement in the diocess with an eye of jealousy, and the Bishop may have imbibed, unconsciously, the atmosphere of prejudice by which he was surrounded.

The Rev. Dr. Esmonde, S.J., undertook to remonstrate with Dr. Doyle on the subject. "Few know him better than I do," said Dr. Esmonde. "Though generally believed to be headstrong, the fact is that when proper evidence is adduced no one modifies his opinion with more candour or humility." He retired to his room, and addressed the Bishop by letter. "I beg leave, in the first place," he wrote, "in compliance with the instructions of our Superior, Dr. Kenny, to resign into your Lordship's hands the faculties by which the Jesuits at Clongowes have officiated as Priests, since the year 1819." Dr. Esmonde enumerated some reasons in support of the belief that Dr. Doyle's order was uncanonical, and concluded with a passage from Benedict XIV., which pronounced as non-obligatory a prohibition of this character. "And now, my Lord," proceeded the Jesuit, "I hope that you will not quote the Neapolitan Church historian to me. I am aware he was much read in Portugal when your Lordship was prosecuting your studies there; but his authority has now deservedly sunk. Do not let your reason be influenced by the brother-in-law of the Portuguese minister Pombal, who aimed the first blow at the Society of Jesus. There is, at all events, one thing certain," added Dr. Esmonde. "In case my arguments may have induced your Lordship to modify your views, no one need fear that you will feel that pain which is sure to pierce little minds when avowing an altered opinion." The Bishop replied in a few days. "My dear Rev. Friend—Since I received your letter I have read it more than once, and the result has been a conviction that you are in the right. I have written to Dr. Kenny on the subject, but lest there should be any misapprehension, I hereby annul my late order." This reply was worthy of Dr. Doyle. He used to say that Fenelon never appeared so great as when retracting his unfounded opinions in the Cathedral of Cambray.

When on one of his visitations, about this time, Dr. Doyle visited the Protestant Cathedral of Kildare, within which is enclosed an altar or shrine appertaining to St. Bridget. He flung himself on his knees before it, and poured forth a volume of prayer. A Priest who accompanied him was a little surprised to see his Bishop praying in a Protestant church, and as soon as he had risen said, "Well, my Lord, are you much the better of that?" Dr. Doyle's reply has not been preserved, but we find in the following letter to his niece some allusion to the circumstance:

"Carlow, 5th February, 1821.

Since I wrote to you last I have been in Kildare to celebrate the festival of our holy Patroness St. Bridget, the monuments of whose eminent sanctity are still preserved there, not only in the

ruins of her ancient monastery, but in the traditions and hearts of the faithful. I felt myself inspired with more than usual devotion at visiting her shrine, imploring her protection, and recommending myself, the clergy, and people to her intercession with God. There is no comfort like that which religion affords, at least to those who have laboured to separate themselves from the world. I wish that you who are engaged with it may always 'use it as if you used it not,' knowing 'that the figure of this world passeth away.' Many thanks for the servant, who, being elderly, very religious, and a total stranger to Carlow, is likely to answer me very well. She can get through all the business of my house unaided, and can easily do so until my fortune increases, and the calls on it diminish, which will probably be a very distant period. But I have no great inclination for expense, and still less for hoarding money." A kinswoman of the Bishop's—no very great favourite with him—is next alluded to: "So the wrath of our friend has evaporated! I should not like to have encountered her as you did—not that I heed her silly conduct, but I am distressed at witnessing ebullitions of rage and folly, and afflicted when I see a stubborn and ignorant pride break down all the bounds of decorum, sense, and charity. I have laboured unceasingly to correct that woman, chiefly for her soul's sake, but I was never able even to stem the torrent of her passion. Such people never see more than one side of a question, and make no allowance for those with whom they happen to disagree." He had another kinswoman, now descending in the vale of years, whose disposition may be gathered from the following pregnant passages: "She possesses many very excellent qualities. I hope that whatever time the Almighty may allow her to remain on earth will be well employed. Her life has been filled with strife and contention, and she ought often to 'go over her years in the bitterness of her soul.' Tell her to read frequently the table of sins, and then reflect on her past life, and with God's grace she will discover many things in it to excite her fears and sorrow, and although she may hope to have obtained pardon already, she should pray to God 'to wash her still more from her iniquities, and to cleanse her from her sins.' My prayers are unceasingly employed for you all, as yours, I hope, are for me. Our affection for one another would be worse than useless if it were not enlivened by the charity of God. His hand should unite us here, and be the centre of our union hereafter, if by our own malice we are not doomed to an eternal separation from him."

Shortly previous to the Lent of 1821, Dr. Doyle saluted with "health and benediction" the laity of his diocesses. He observed that a few months only had elapsed since he completed his first general visitation, and being unable to enjoy any rest

from the sleepless solicitude he felt for their eternal interests, he employed a portion of the time that he was absent from them in preparing such instructions as a more intimate knowledge of their situation, wants, and dispositions than he heretofore possessed enabled him to make. In urging his flock to repentance, he explained that this sorrow should not consist in outward show; it must penetrate the heart—for, as that is the seat of passion, "whence evil thoughts, adulteries, and murders proceed," so it should be the seat of that repentance by which alone these crimes can be effaced. It is not, however, in the power of the sinner to repent as he ought, unless induced to do so by the grace of God; but as the Lord is rich in mercy, he generally bestows, even upon his enemies, those graces by which they are enabled to call on him in the language of the Prophet, "Convert us to thee, O Lord, and we will be converted." The Bishop then went on to say that great should be their gratitude to that Father of mercy who had selected them before the foundation of the world to be holy and without stain in his sight; that he so loved them as to give up for their redemption his only Son, who not only washed us from our sins in his own blood, but when we had crucified him again to ourselves—by making our bodies, which are his members, the slaves of wicked passions—prepared for us the venerable sacrament of reconciliation, wherein he cleanses us anew from our iniquities. A most elaborate exposition of this sacrament followed. If he inculcated its advantages and recommended constant recourse to it, he also pointed out the danger to which some persons expose themselves, who, abusing the Divine goodness, pervert the remedy intended for their cure. Such persons, like Esau, may seek with tears for the blessing of their Father, and will not receive it; or, like Antiochus, may cry in vain for mercy—"They will call to me, saith the Lord, and I will not hear, and I will laugh at their destruction." But if Dr. Doyle found it his duty to fulminate terrors one minute, the natural tenderness of his heart immediately led him to relieve the effect, the next, by holding out hope to the penitent sinner. "Hasten to return to your God; he is a patient Master who does not reject the contrition of his servant—an indulgent Father, 'who receives with gladness the child who had been lost and returns, who had been dead and is brought to life;' only cast yourselves at the feet of his minister, confess to him your sins with a troubled heart and a firm purpose of amendment, and whilst he absolves you here on earth, the record of your guilt will be blotted out in heaven. This sacrament is another tree of life planted in the land of banishment; its root is bitter, but its fruit is sweet. If it be said of some sins that they will not be forgiven, it is not on account of their enormity, as no

malice of man can equal the mercy and power of God, but because, as St. Augustine observes, they exclude by their nature that humility which induces the sinner to sue for pardon. We would not, however, attain the object which we have proposed to ourselves," the Bishop went on, "by treating thus generally of this sacrament, if we did not also descend to a particular exposition of the different parts of which it is composed." But for this we must refer the reader to the Pastoral itself. In the course of the exposition Dr. Doyle said that our sorrow for sin should be great in proportion to our guilt—"greater indeed than sorrow of any other kind." It may be said that he expressed himself too strongly in this passage. Man is naturally prone to evil, and an unconsciously formed apathy, most difficult to shake off thoroughly, too often conceals from his heart the enormity of sin, and the outrage it constitutes in the sight of God. To reflect on his transgressions when approaching the sacrament of penance, and feel but one pang of regret for having committed them, with a firm purpose of amendment, and a resolution to satisfy his injured neighbour, and faithfully to perform the penance imposed, is, according to most theologians, sufficient to secure the consolations of this sacrament. A genuine gush of contrition is allowed to be of rare occurrence. That deadness to the enormity of sin which often clouds human perception generally proves a source of greater affliction to the penitent than most other considerations. Conscious of the existence of this wretched apathy, yet unable to shake it off, a person, in extreme trouble, once sought the counsel of Dr. Kinsella, whose name will be found of frequent occurrence in this memoir: "I have spent two days," he said, "vainly trying to arouse in my breast the tumult of heartfelt contrition." Dr. Kinsella surveyed the care-worn penitent. "You are truly sorry," he said "that you are not sorry." "Heaven knows that I am," was the reply. "Well, the feeling you allude to goes a considerable way in satisfying God. He who is cold ought not on that account to keep from the fire." The man went away comforted, and ever after an easy flow of contrition soothed and sanctified his confessions.

"This sensible sorrow," Dr. Doyle went on, "which is so much to be desired, may well be excited by looking at all our offences together; but though this general view is salutary, it is just and almost necessary that we should reflect on each of them separately, consider with fear and trembling their special malice, and detest them with that holy hatred which the Holy Ghost inspires. Thus we will imitate David in thinking over all his years in the bitterness of his soul, and insure to ourselves that pardon which is promised to the impious man who does penance for *all*

his iniquities. (*Ez.* xviii. 28.)" Dr. Doyle dwelt on the danger of continuing attached to some favourite vice, though every other should be abandoned; he pronounced confession to be the very citadel of Christianity, which its enemies have never ceased to assail; he urged children to frequent it from an early age, when the admonitions of the Priest would be calculated to make a deep impression on their tender minds; and bemoaned the blindness of those who undergo the rigours of penance without tasting of its fruits—convert, by their own weakness or malice, the bread of life into a stone—and receive, in place of pardon, the sentence of their condemnation.

Dr. Doyle's able exposition of this sacrament, which filled thirty closely printed pages, accomplished the most beneficial effects. Many of the peasantry, although, as a body, generally impressed with strong devotional feelings, had too long been in the habit of going to confession at Christmas and Easter, in accordance with established custom, and who considered that, in merely enumerating their sins, they fulfilled the obligation. Dr. Doyle's luminous and voluminous exposition threw a bright and a broad light on the subject. Couched in simple but forcible language, it riveted the attention of the thousands who heard it read from the altar or the pulpit. Many of them stood, for the first time in their lives, deeply impressed with the awful solemnity of the sacrament of reconciliation; they trembled lest they should have profaned it on previous occasions, and mentally vowed that, then and there, they would begin to approach it with the dispositions which their Bishop had so impressively laid down.

The next point to which the Bishop directed their attention was the obligation they were under of receiving the holy communion; but he treated this great subject so austerely and comprehensively, that we feel the difficulty and delicacy of attempting to epitomize his brilliant exposition.

The Bishop, in conclusion, deemed it advisable to admonish his flock regarding illegal associations which had sprung up in the diocess. "The progress of this baneful system has been weak and slow; but as the spirit of wickedness is persevering, so also should our efforts be to counteract it; and as it still presses on the borders of these diocesses, we will expose to you anew its deformity and danger, and repeat our most earnest exhortations that you may continue to repel it with the horror it deserves." He zealously inculcated obedience to the laws, and left no argument unemployed which could have the slightest effect in arresting the Ribbon confederacy. Dr. Doyle had known several instances of generosity among landed proprietors and employers, but a more enlarged experience convinced him, afterwards, that such instances

were unhappily rare. In reperusing this Pastoral several years after, Dr. Doyle passed his pen in condemnation through the following paragraph: "Where is the landlord amongst you who is an oppressor? Where is the employer who is not humane? When have you been sick, and they have not relieved you? When have you been naked, and they have not covered you? When have you been hungry, and they have not fed you? When have you been houseless, and they have not sheltered you? And if you could point out exceptions, are they not rare as the stars that fall from heaven?" This memorable Pastoral, including an appendix, occupied sixty-eight closely printed pages.

CHAPTER VI.

Gradual relaxation of the Penal Code, and the influences which led to it—Suppression of the Catholic Committee and the Catholic Board—Despondent apathy of the Catholic body—Death of Grattan—Plunket's Relief Bill of 1821—Interesting correspondence between Dr. Doyle and Sir H. Parnell—The Resolutions of the Catholic Diocesses of Dublin, Limerick, Clonfert, Waterford, and Ossory—Conflicting views—R. L. Sheil—Hostility of Dr. Milner—Uneasy mitres—Correspondence with Lords Donoughmore and Holland—Sydney Smith—Lords Grenville and Eldon—The Duke of York—The Protestant Prelates reject the Catholic Bill from the Lords—Dr. Bathurst an exception—The Catholic Primate Curtis appointed to his See through the influence of the British Crown—His letter to Lord Castlereagh.

ON the 3rd of October, 1691, the memorable Treaty of Limerick was signed. By that instrument the "faith and honour" of the English crown were pledged, that the properties and liberties of the Catholic people should receive equal legal protection as those of Protestant subjects. The deliberate violation of this treaty by Act of Parliament is well known. To a few of the penal laws we have already referred. The tardy progress of their relaxation and the influences which led to it shall now claim our attention.

From 1759, when Messrs. O'Conor, Curry, and Wyse craved, for the first time, in the name of their oppressed Catholic countrymen, a boon of relief, however small, we find no more encouraging response returned than a haughty refusal or the silence of contempt. In 1775, America demanded justice from England, but the application was declined. A hundred thousand swords started from their scabbards at the refusal. Lord Cornwallis, alarmed, withdrew; and having successively taken up position at Roxburgh, Winter Hill, and Boston, was at last dislodged by a spirited bombardment, and compelled to seek safety on the waves of the Atlantic. It was now too late to conciliate. The last remnant of

the British arms, after a gallant resistance, surrendered to Washington on the banks of the Chesapeake.

Fatal experience preached a lesson to Great Britain. She would seem to have seen, at last, the wise policy of conciliation. Many high Protestant families, from a long indulgence in extravagance, had tumbled, with their prestige, to the ground. Incumbered estates sapped the strength of the land, and a pauper aristocracy daily multiplied; while, on the other hand, Catholics of high descent, driven by the Penal Laws to embark in business, amassed large fortunes, and as their importance grew in proportion to their opulence, Popish petitions were now, for the first time, listened to with respect. The Penal Code was so far relaxed in 1778, that Catholics became entitled to exercise almost the same power and control over their property as Protestants. They might now take leases for 999 years, and enjoy estates left or transferred to them by will or otherwise; but "the law was not to extend to Protestants becoming Papists, or educating their children in the Popish religion." The Catholics gratefully thanked the legislature for this act of grace, and petitioned for a further instalment of the debt of "justice to Ireland." "In 1782," said O'Connell, "England stood alone in a contest with the greatest power in the world—the combined fleets of her enemies rode triumphant and unopposed in the British Channel. Accordingly the Penal Code was once again relaxed—conciliated Ireland poured 20,000 seamen and active landsmen into the British navy, enabled Rodney to pursue the French fleet to the West Indies, crushed the naval power of the enemy, and saved not only the colonies, but also the honour of the British crown." "Ireland is in strength," exclaimed Grattan on the 22nd of February, 1782. "She has acquired that strength by the weakness of Britain, for Ireland was saved when America was lost. When England conquered, Ireland was coerced; when she was defeated, Ireland was relieved!"

Catholics might now open schools and educate their youth, and freehold property for lives became accessible to them. Ten years followed of great and increasing prosperity to Ireland, "but they were years of prosperity and power in England," remarked O'Connell, "and there was no occasion to conciliate or court the Catholics of Ireland. Accordingly, no further advance was made in their emancipation." John Keogh, the old Catholic leader, in his account of the delegation of 1793, writes: "In 1791, twelve Catholic citizens obtained an audience of the secretary to the viceregal government, and presented to him a list of a part, and but a part, of the Penal Laws, entreating the interest and protection of government while they sought a removal of any one, though it should be the very smallest of our grievances. The secretary dis-

missed them without an answer. Repelled in this quarter, we prepared a brief but most humble petition to the legislature; but four millions of subjects could not get one member of parliament to present their petition to the House."

The language used by those who rejected the Catholic petition in 1793 is not unworthy of notice: "Sir James Cotter conceived a strong objection to that expression in the petition which appealed to the justice of Parliament. It was thus implied that some of their rights were withheld." Sir Boyle Roche let loose a torrent of Billingsgate. He pronounced those who had signed the petition to be "the rabble of the town, who came forward in a barefaced, impudent manner to dictate to Parliament, and that it ought to be rejected with indignation." Mr. Ogle said: "I never in my life was so much delighted as at the present moment. I glory in the principles which gentlemen have spoken. This will be a glorious night for the Protestants of Ireland." Mr. Browne, T.C.D., declared that he never had seen a Roman Catholic until he was sixteen years old, and that he then looked upon him as a phenomenon. Sir John de Blaquiere opposed the petition, declaring he would "not cherish hopes which he hoped never would be realized," but mentioned incidentally, as a curious fact, that in the parish where he himself resided there were 15,000 Roman Catholics, and himself the only Protestant! It is curious to find the subsequently liberal Sir Jonah Barrington saying that the Roman Catholics must never dare to expect such a concession as emancipation.

The higher order of Catholics sensitively shrank from participating in any appeal for redress, lest the very clanking of their chains should arouse those who had forged them to renewed vigilance and activity. Accustomed to capricious persecution, they trembled lest the recent relaxation of the Penal Code should be suddenly repealed, plunging them still deeper into the dark sea of oppression. The Catholic clergy not only held aloof, but deprecated any attempt to disturb the general apathy. It seemed but yesterday since the terrors of the gibbet had risen before them, and grimly forbade any exercise of their ministry. Long accustomed to celebrate and dispense the sacred mysteries by stealth, they submitted without a murmur to the scourge of the oppressor. Humbled and inert they bowed before him, and silently thanked heaven that his lashes fell fewer than erst they had done. Conscious that the brand of outlawry still marked their brow, and feeling as though their very existence was now, through some stretch of forbearance, connived at, they rarely showed themselves even in the public street. A painfully interesting instance of this fact has been cited by the Right Hon.

Thomas Wyse. "The pastor of one of the largest parishes in one of the principal towns in Ireland, had never been seen in the public promenade. For forty years he had lived in the utmost seclusion from Protestant eyes, shielding himself from persecution under his silence and obscurity. After the concessions of 1793, a friend induced him, for the first time, to visit the rest of the town. He appeared amongst his fellow-citizens as an intruder, and shrunk back to his retreat the moment he was allowed. Seldom did he appear on the walk afterwards, and it was always with the averted eyes and faltering step of a slave."

In 1792, John Keogh, Wolfe Tone, Thomas Braughall, and other zealous leaders of the Catholic cause, had so organised the popular masses, that a petition appeared, signed by three millions of names, praying for some share of the elective franchise, and that the legal professions might be opened to Catholics. It was not until after considerable delay and difficulty that one member could be induced to move that this petition might be laid upon the table. The opponents of civil and religious liberty were promptly on their feet. Mr. Latouche declared that the memorial should be spurned from the House; and other honourable members having intemperately co-operated in expressing this sentiment, the northern Presbyterians earnestly remonstrated against conduct so narrow-minded and exasperating. It was this protest that Sir Boyle Roche called upon the House "to toss over the bar and kick into the lobby." Two hundred and three votes defeated the Irish Catholic petition of 1792. The British crown was then at peace, but ere the year had closed matters assumed a different aspect. The power and prestige of the young French Republic spread rapidly through Europe. The Presbyterians of the north, and ardent Catholics like Macnevin, became filled with the revolutionary spirit of the time. The heavy ordnance at Gemappe, as it mowed down the Austrians, was heard at St. James's. The Catholic leaders, warmed into activity, organised a system of delegation. Writs were issued to the electoral body. Every county and town of Ireland sent forth its member returned by the popular voice; and in December, 1792, a convention, representing the entire Catholic population, commenced its sittings, with all the forms of a legislative assembly. Hostilities were now declared by France against England. Once more the policy of conciliating Catholic Ireland appears to have been appreciated; and early in 1793 that legislature, which had a few months previously expelled the Catholic petition with indignation, now introduced and carried two bills, opening to Catholics the grand-jury box, the outer bar, the magisterial bench, the military mess-room, and the polling-booth.

The policy of the minister was now to detach Catholic wealth and intelligence from the revolutionary party; and his scheme succeeded. The Catholic aristocracy and influential mercantile classes united with the more moderate party; and that which would otherwise have been a revolution, became eventually a bloody chaos. Conciliation continued to be the policy for some time. .In 1793, a deputation from the Catholic body was twice closeted with the minister, and graciously received. But the Duke of York's successes in Holland, in 1793, and the memorable naval victories obtained by England over her Gallic enemy the year following, did not favour the continuance of this amicable demeanour. Among other hostile moves, the Catholic Convention was suppressed. In 1794, a strong seditious spirit sprung up. The Duke of Portland and his Whig friends, during the July of that year, entered into a coalition with Mr. Pitt, on condition that the entire management of Ireland should be committed to his Grace; and great was the bound of Catholic joy when the British Cabinet announced its determination of at once bringing forward the question of Emancipation.

In January, 1795, the benevolent viceroy, Lord Fitzwilliam, amidst the hearty plaudits of the people, laid down the basis of a wide and liberal administrative policy. Mr. Grattan had just brought forward the Relief Bill, when, in a moment of ministerial caprice, the good viceroy was recalled. Mr. Pitt raised his arm, and with one stroke dashed the cup from five millions of expectant lips. Lord Fitzwilliam besought the government to pause in its course, and cautioned them, with warmth, against igniting a flame which might spread into a general conflagration. His remonstrances went for nought; England possessed ample resources at this period; the ministerial policy was now to goad Ireland into revolt, with the ulterior object of snatching from her grasp, when prostrate from exhaustion and loss of blood, that Parliamentary Independence which in 1782 she had achieved. The maddening policy pursued by the Camden administration, and the effect of it, is well known.

On the first night of Chief Secretary Pelham's appearance in the House, Grattan, though with great misgivings, introduced the Catholic question. Mr. Pelham started to his feet, and declared that "what the Catholics sought was incompatible with the existence of a Constitution; and that he would plant his foot against any further concession, and never consent to recede one inch."

No wonder that the heart of the Catholic body should have sank within it. Their hopes hung like wet osiers. A partial rebellion at last burst forth, and was extinguished in blood. The Catholics became once more the dupes of their rulers. Finding it

impossible to bolster up the fatal principle of a legislative Union with the sophistry of hired pamphleteers, the Government at last proposed a tempting compromise: Agree to the Union, and Emancipation was theirs! Every available influence was set in motion to favour this delusion. Borough proprietors, members of Parliament, landlords, high officials—even the Catholic prelacy—were urged to promote the ministerial object. The newspapers were daily filled with resolutions, some in advocacy, others in utter condemnation of the Union. It was a great struggle between political virtue and foresight on the one hand, and profligacy and stupidity on the other. Bribery, intimidation, and corruption, accomplished much, but cajolery effected more. Many honest men were induced to lend their support to the Union, with the distinct understanding that a thorough act of Emancipation, and a radical alteration of the tithe system, would immediately succeed it. Several men who, through a mistaken feeling, had lent their aid to the Government in 1800, detailed, in after life, the circumstances under which they had been duped. The Knight of Kerry, at the Tralee hustings, in 1818, declared that "he had been induced to vote for the Union by the solemn pledge of the British Cabinet to attend to the rights and happiness of the Irish people. Lord Cornwallis had shown him a distinct promise, written and signed by Mr. Pitt, in which it was expressly and unconditionally stated that the Union should be followed by a total and unqualified Emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland, and by an entire and radical alteration of the tithe system, by substituting a different provision for the Established clergy."

Protestants and Catholics seem to have been equally deceived by Mr. Pitt. If Emancipation was promised to the latter, the former received an assurance that the Union would render Emancipation impossible. George III. participated in this impression, and in his published correspondence with Pitt, tells him that he consented to the Union, under the conviction that it would "shut the door" for ever against the Catholic claims.

Consummately cajoled, the Catholic body permitted the Union to pass into a law, without offering that resistance which would otherwise have utterly swamped it. When too late, they saw and bemoaned their credulity. The government having achieved their object, cast aside the scaling ladder by whose aid they had grasped it. A few members of the Cabinet would, no doubt, occasionally lead the Catholic body to believe that the frothy promise of Emancipation was not forgotten. Lord Redesdale, writing to Lord Eldon, in May, 1802, says: "Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh are both *pledged*, as they say, to the Catholics." Lord Cornwallis died soon after, and Lord Castlereagh, with charac-

teristic unscrupulosity, began from that moment to shuffle on the Catholic question. In 1810, on Mr. Grattan's motion in its favour, he daringly denied that any pledges had been given by him or Lord Cornwallis.

A few Catholic barristers co-operated in establishing a "Catholic Committee," but they were immediately tampered with by the Crown, and secretly pensioned. Other men, less corruptible, flung themselves into the gap thus made in their ranks, and led on the forlorn hope. The career of the Catholic Committee was short and ricketty. The barristers having been seduced from their adhesion, this association, thus deprived of legal advice and guidance, incautiously branched into a species of delegation, which subjected it to the penalties of Lord Clare's Convention Act. A proclamation annihilated the Committee in one day; Lord Fingal and other Catholic delegates were placed under arrest.

With hopes and spirits crushed, the Catholics rapidly sunk into a state of miserable supineness. O'Connell at last aroused them from their slumber, and with the scattered materials of the shattered Committee the Catholic Board was now formed. Wearied from long watching, and impatient for liberty, a large segment of the Catholic party, headed by Mr. Sheil, declared their willingness to give the Government a Veto in the appointment of Bishops, in return for the blessings of Emancipation. A warm controversy arose. The vetoists seceded, and the Catholic body became weakened by disunion. O'Connell, however, toiled with untiring energy, and at last succeeded in breathing strength and spirit into its all but paralysed limbs. But on the 3rd of January, 1814, all the powers of the Government were again let loose upon it, and the issue of the struggle may be guessed. The Catholic Board expired in gloom, and for years after no attempt was made to resuscitate it. It had received a mortal stab from the Viceroy, Lord Whitworth. "Every one," remarks Mr. Wyse, "seemed to have returned to a state of inertia, from which there existed little hope of effectually rousing them in future. The attempt had been made, and failed; the experiment was discouraging; the country seemed once more consigned over to irredeemable apathy."

An aggregate meeting was occasionally held, with a view to stimulate the activity of some parliamentary friends of the Catholics. On the 6th of June, 1815, O'Connell bitterly bemoaned that their old champion, Grattan, should have recently declined, on several occasions, to bring forward and discuss the Catholic question. "We are doomed by Mr. Grattan," said O'Connell, "to another year of slavery, and also without the poor pleasure of rattling our chains in the hearing of our oppressors." From Grattan's Life by his son, it appears that the great statesman

had not hastily arrived at this conclusion. He consulted the friends of the Catholics in England. "I own I am in dread," said Wilberforce, "under all the circumstances of the time and case—with reason or without it—we should divide far weaker than in the last session, and consequently should lose ground instead of obtaining any benefit."

The Catholics and their friends had rarely before been filled with intenser despondency. Their cause appeared retrograding, instead of advancing. Henry Grattan, in the meantime, died, and the country became bathed in silent tears; but William Conyngham Plunket promptly flung himself into the saddle of the great leader, and fought with earnestness for the Catholic cause.

Having, by a rare amount of persuasive eloquence and logic, cleared away many obstacles, and won a wide circle of adherents to his standard, Mr. Plunket at length, in the spring of 1821, felt the pulse of the nation, and decided on bringing forward a bill for Catholic relief. Although subject to such securities as would tend to calm the scruples and the fears of Protestants, many exemplary divines of the Catholic Church could see no substantial objection to the bill, if slightly modified in certain clauses. Amongst this moderate party, Dr. Doyle stood foremost. For ten years he had anxiously watched the furtive efforts made by his co-religionists to enlist the sympathies of the legislature. Having hoped against hope for many a day, he began at last to view the cause with feelings akin to a settled despair.

Dr. Doyle received the news with joy. He glanced his penetrating eye over Mr. Plunket's bill, found that "the securities" had more sound than substance in them, and instead of indignantly rejecting these clauses altogether, as others did, he exerted his intellect and influence to modify and smooth them.

To judge the events of past times by the tone and posture of the present would be unjustifiable, fallacious, and absurd. Dr. Doyle guided his onerous course through a trying and persecuting period, which required no ordinary amount of tact. In justice to him, we have deemed it right to take a retrospective glance at the position of Irish affairs long anterior to 1821, in order that the good Bishop's memory, and his conduct at that juncture, may be protected from the flippant expression of hastily formed opinion, in which some persons of our own time might, in the absence of such evidence, be apt to indulge. A great man's course must, to a considerable extent, be shaped according to the spirit and circumstance of the time in which he lives; and there are probably few so unreasonable as to drag Dr. Doyle from an obsolete period, deposit him in the present, and judge his policy as though it were

at this very moment being exercised. Were history to pronounce sentence upon conduct and character according to this fashion, its pages would mislead instead of instructing us.

In January, 1821, the Catholic Prelates prepared an humble memorial and statement of their grievances, which they entrusted to the care of Sir Henry Parnell for presentation to the Legislature. Dr. Doyle, on the 26th of February, 1821, writes: "My dear Sir Henry—I have just returned from Dublin, where I saw the prelates who signed the petition now in your hands. They are not without hope that a bill of relief in some shape or other will pass this session, in which case they rely on you to have a clause introduced enacting the subject-matter of their prayer. Should their hopes, however, not be realized, they beg you may proceed as you intend; but if the bill you would introduce be considered a private one, and, therefore, attended with the usual expense of about £500, they request that you may communicate with me previous to bringing it forward, as it might prove a serious inconvenience to them to incur such an expense."

In March following, Mr. Plunket brought forward his Catholic Relief Bill. Owing to the wonderful tact of that eminent lawyer, the bill was received with greater favour than many zealous friends to the Catholic cause had anticipated. Although Dr. Doyle had not as yet seen the document, its substance and bearings were well known to him.

The following letter is the first of a large and valuable collection which has been kindly placed at our disposal by the late Lord Congleton's literary executor, the Hon. Henry Parnell:

"Carlow, 12th March, 1821.

"My dear Sir Henry—There can be no doubt but it is more prudent to exclude the objects of *our* petition from Mr. Plunket's bill, than to endanger, in any degree, the success of it, and this idea had occurred to ourselves, from the time we became acquainted with the mode of proceeding adopted by our friends. Whatever may be the fate of the measure, we are fully satisfied that you will not omit any favourable opportunity of attending to our interests; and we do expect, as our views with regard to education are known in the House, and not disapproved of, that some assistance will be given to us in the course of the session. We collected from the reports of the debate on Mr. Fitzgerald's motion that Mr. Grant intended to introduce some measure with regard to education; and if so, no occasion could be more favourable to our views, if he thought proper to sanction them. I could not convey to you an idea of the satisfaction which the late decision of the House of Commons gave here to all parties.

I have been speaking with some of the most respectable persons in this country, who were hitherto opposed to every concession, and who seem now perfectly satisfied with emancipation on the terms alluded to by Mr. Plunket. Our people met here yesterday to request the support of our representatives on the second reading of the bill. On being consulted about it, I recommended them to do so, but could take no part in the proceedings myself until I should receive the copy of the bill which you were so kind as to promise to send me, and which I am anxiously expecting. I send you by this post an extract from some 'Pastoral Instructions' of mine, lately published here, which contain a brief but exact exposition of our doctrine on the subjects of oaths and allegiance, that in case any misrepresentation on these subjects should be made in the course of the approaching debate, you might, if you thought proper, refer to our doctrine as published by a Roman Catholic Prelate. Nothing can exceed the anxiety felt here on this subject of Emancipation; but whatever may be the issue of the present effort, there is no doubt but our friends have done us ample justice, and silenced, I hope for ever, that obloquy and clamour which have done us more injury than power and argument combined.—I remain, &c.,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

Some days later we find Sir Henry Parnell enclosing to Dr. Doyle copies of Mr. Plunket's bills, with a frank expression of personal opinion in inference to them. Sir Henry implored of the Irish Prelates not to allow petty objections, merely affecting a matter of discipline, to encumber, and finally overturn, so glorious an act of grace as Catholic Emancipation.

We shall endeavour to condense Mr. Plunket's bills, which, like most other legal documents, were immensely long-winded and full of repetitions. The first was a thorough Relief Bill, giving full eligibility, with the oath of allegiance so modified as to satisfy Catholic scruples, generally. The second, entitled "A Bill to regulate the intercourse between persons in holy orders with the See of Rome," contained the securities. It went on to declare: "Whereas it is expedient that such precautions should be taken with respect to persons to be appointed to exercise the functions of Bishop or Dean in the Roman Catholic Church, as that no person shall assume any part of such functions whose loyalty and peaceable conduct shall not have been previously ascertained, to the satisfaction of his Majesty." This was to have been decided by a board, consisting of Catholic Bishops (to be nominated by their own body), two privy councillors, and the Secretary of State as president; "no Commissioner to receive or be entitled to any salary, reward, fee, or gratuity for his attendance." The second

recital consisted of an oath to be taken by clergymen, declaratory that they will never concur in the appointment of any Catholic Bishop, Dean, or Vicar Apostolic, but such as they conscientiously deemed to be of unimpeachable loyalty and peaceable conduct. "And I do swear," it continued, "that I will not have any correspondence or communication with the See of Rome, tending, directly or indirectly, to overthrow or disturb the Protestant government, or the Protestant Church of Great Britain and Ireland as by law established; and that I will not communicate with the See of Rome, or with any other foreign ecclesiastical authority, on any matter which may interfere with the civil duty and allegiance which is due to his Majesty from all his subjects." For the ostensible purpose of allaying the fears of anti-Catholic prejudice, it was enacted that all bulls and rescripts from Rome should be submitted to the Board of Commissioners. For the non-observance of these requirements penalties were prescribed.

Dr. Doyle proceeded to Dublin with all the documents he could procure referring to the bills then before Parliament, and submitted them to the late Most Rev. Archbishops Troy and Murray. Dr. Keatinge, Bishop of Ferns; Dr. Hamill, Vicar-General of Dublin; and a large attendance of minor clergy, were likewise present at this interesting conference. All were regarded as divines of great piety, learning, and judgment. Aided by Dr. Doyle's penetrative tact, they carefully examined Mr. Plunket's bills; and, after a conference of two days, at length arrived at the conclusion which we find embodied in the following resolutions, passed at a "meeting of the Catholic Prelates and Clergy of the Archdiocess of Dublin," on the 26th of March, 1821:

"That they have read, with unmingled satisfaction, a bill, now in progress through Parliament, purporting to provide for the removal of the disqualifications under which his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects now labour.; and that they deem it a duty to declare that the oath of supremacy, as therein modified, may be taken by any Roman Catholic without violating, in the slightest degree, the principles of his religion.

"That having read another bill, in progress likewise through Parliament, and purporting to regulate the intercourse of persons in Holy Orders professing the Roman Catholic religion, they consider it an act of justice to the liberal framers of that bill, to declare their conviction that they were guided in the framing of it by no unkindly feeling towards the Roman Catholic Clergy—although it appears to them that were the said bill to be enacted, in its present shape, into a law, it would press upon their order, and upon the essential exercise of the Roman Catholic ministry, with great, unnecessary, and injurious severity.

"That the Roman Catholic clergy, having solemnly abjured all foreign authority or jurisdiction in civil matters within this realm—having, moreover, sworn allegiance to his Majesty, and proved their loyalty by a series of conduct which has been marked at different times with the approbation of his Majesty's government—they submit it to the candour of every unprejudiced man, whether it be just that their confidential communications with the spiritual head of their Church, on matters purely religious, should be laid open before persons of a different creed.

"That they read with the deepest concern the clause which purports to vest in the Crown an unlimited negative in the appointment of their Bishops. They humbly conceive that the assumption of such a right by persons of one religious persuasion to the nomination of the ministers of another has ever been considered as impeding the free exercise of religion, and invading the rights of conscience; and that on this principle is founded that wise clause, contained in the bill first mentioned, which provides that '*no person professing the Roman Catholic religion shall exercise any right of presentation to any ecclesiastical benefice whatsoever of the Established Church.*'

"That the Most Rev. Dr. Troy be requested to make known to the Earl of Donoughmore and the Right Hon. W. C. Plunket their conscientious uneasiness, as declared in their resolutions, and to communicate to them their most earnest prayer, that they will employ their powerful talents and influence in the Houses of which they are respectively members, to obtain from the justice and magnanimity of Parliament such modifications of the aforesaid bill, as shall not allow it to aggrieve the consciences of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects."

The meeting then adjourned until the following Wednesday, and Archbishop Troy having vacated the chair, Dr. Doyle was, with acclamation, called thereto.

From the diocess of Limerick resolutions appeared, couched in language of a far less conciliatory character. It was resolved by Bishop Tuohy and his clergy—"That one of the bills lately introduced by Mr. Plunket contains clauses to which no Catholic clergyman can conscientiously agree. That those clauses are unnecessary, vexatious, dangerous, and ultimately subversive of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland."

A meeting of the clergy of the archdiocess of Tuam was also held, and the clergy there declared—"That these bills contain clauses which are a manifest violation of the religious liberties of the subject, wholly incompatible with the safety and integrity of our faith and discipline, and if enforced by pains and penalties, must be considered a religious persecution." The view taken by

Dr. Marum, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory, perfectly concurred with that expressed by Dr. Doyle and the Archbishops of Dublin. Dr. Marum and his clergy, at a meeting held in the Catholic church of St. James, Kilkenny, endorsed every line of the resolutions drawn up by Dr. Doyle.

The resolutions of the Catholic Bishop of Clonfert and of his clergy, both secular and regular, took their tone likewise from the published sentiments of the province of Dublin. "They congratulated their fellow-countrymen on the near approach of that auspicious day, when a discerning and benevolent Legislature, moved by the due consideration of the peaceable dispositions and loyal conduct of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, have resolved to communicate to them the blessings of our happy constitution; and it was their unanimous opinion that the oath of supremacy, as now amended, may be conscientiously taken by any Roman Catholic." The resolutions of the diocess of Clonfert then proceeded to condemn, in temperate language, those clauses which Dr. Doyle and his colleagues of the province of Dublin had already indicated as objectionable.

On the 29th of March, the Catholic clergy of Waterford and Lismore assembled, and passed several uncompromising resolutions; while, as a set-off to it, an important meeting of the clergy of Dublin was held, Archbishop Troy in the chair, and passed some conciliatory and well-reasoned views. Of these *The Dublin Evening Post* of the day thus speaks: "They express their gratitude for the Relief Bill in its amended form, to which they see no objection; and with regard to the Security Bill, they state their objections to some of its provisions, and point out, at the same time, an easy mode of obviating the scruples of the conscientious, while it leaves the strength of the securities undiminished."

Meanwhile the laity of Dublin were neither silent nor inactive. At a meeting at Darcy's Hotel, Richard Lalor Sheil delivered a very eloquent speech, which, as it happens to have been overlooked by Mr. M'Cullagh in his "Memoirs of Sheil," and by Mr. M'Nevin in his "Collection of Sheil's Speeches," we will lay under contribution, as expressive of no small segment of public opinion in Ireland at the time of which we write:

"The Catholic Bill has passed the House of Commons. The mere statement of the fact bears with it more than any comment could convey. It is an epoch in the history of Ireland, and it may be regarded as the day of her great political regeneration. It is indeed a proof that the measure has been carried in the public opinion, that it has received the impartial assent of the British people, and that whatever temporary obstructions it may encounter, they must be speedily surmounted, through the opera-

tion of the common conviction of the nation's mind, that this gigantic limb of the empire should be unshackled and set free. You have not yet entered the constitution, but its gates have been thrown open amidst the acclamations of the empire, and they stand expanded before you. How great a debt do you owe to those who, with the thunder of their eloquence, have burst ponderous bars asunder, and flung them round on their unyielding hinges, rusted as they were by inveterate prejudices, till at last they have disclosed the great temple to the reception of a long excluded people? There are languages without a word for gratitude—if you do not express that cordial and enthusiastic sentiment upon such an event as this, a foreigner would be justified in imagining that you were without a phrase for the best and most pure of the human heart. But I perceive no hesitation in this assembly in the discharge of this noble and pleasurable duty. I need not enforce the obligations which you owe to Mackintosh, Newport, Canning, and Wilberforce who, in the comprehensiveness of his philanthropy, has at last embraced that injured people whose qualities he so tenderly appreciates, and whose name he cannot breathe without a sigh. These are our benefactors, and these men we are come to thank. But there is one person the eminence of whose services rises beyond all the other elevated names by which he is surrounded. It is to Mr. Plunket that we are most peculiarly indebted. He has borne away the suffrages of the empire, and, by a single bound of his vigorous mind, has reached a point of glory to which others, by the toil of years and with great talents, have not been able to attain. His masterly skill, his irresistible reasoning, his impassioned and cordial eloquence, have united the House of Commons in one acclamation in his praise. While he asserted the liberties, he added to the literary renown of Ireland. . . . It is far beyond the present generation that the advantages of this liberating measure will be felt. It opens prospects full of prosperity and peace, and gives a glorious insight into future time. Let us not blast those prospects—let it not be said that we have marred the freedom of Ireland. We have long asked for liberty, and it is now offered to us; Ireland has long stretched out her supplicating hand for the precious chalice that seemed to mock her favoured lip—it is now presented to her; and will she, in a paroxysm of her delirium, dash it to the earth? This is the very crisis of our fate, and it is the duty of every man to stand up in the vindication of his country; we have done so—and not I trust in vain."

Dr. Doyle, writing to the late Rev. John Dunne on vicariate business, 30th March, 1821, says: "Since I saw you I was deputed by Dr. Murray to go to London; but on yesterday his

Grace Dr. Troy received some communications from England, which induced us to change our intentions." The following confidential letter to Sir Henry Parnell, written on the same day, is much more communicative. It is dated from the late Archbishop Murray's house :

"Dublin, 41 Cumberland-street, 30th March, 1821.

"My dear Sir Henry—I wished ere this to acknowledge your kindness in sending me copies of the several bills relating to our affairs now before Parliament, as also the honour you did me by communicating the decision of the House of Commons on the second reading ; but I thought it better not to write than to withhold from you my sentiments on the second bill, and these I did not wish to express unless in concert with my colleagues. You have seen *our* resolutions. We wished to couch them in conciliatory language, and yet not to disguise our sentiments. In this country they have given pretty general satisfaction ; but unhappily in some of the provinces a harsher spirit has appeared. Dr. Milner is labouring against us in London, assisted by Mr. Hayes, and if they should find auxiliaries in this country, our cause is not only lost this session, but probably will make no progress for several years to come. A petition, very numerously signed by the clergy, was adopted here at our meeting, founded on our resolutions, but with an additional clause offering as a security to Government that the Secretary of State should have the power of excluding, as expressed in the bill, provided he were obliged by law to assign a *specific* cause for so doing, and a provision made whereby the justice of such cause so assigned could be legally tried, and, if proved false, that the appointment should be proceeded with, without further let or hindrance. This petition was confided to Dr. Murray and to me, that we might take it to London, and have it presented by Lord Donoughmore ; but since the petition was entrusted to us we have seen so many symptoms of disunion in our body, that we did not think it advisable to suggest anything else to our friends, lest our conduct might be faulted by some of our brethren. Should the bill finally pass the Commons, a meeting of the Catholic Prelates will be held here before it can have made much progress in the Lords, and something definitive on our side will be arranged. If such a meeting takes place, their tone will be conciliatory ; but as to an arrangement which would give the crown influence in the appointment of Bishops, I am confident we will not agree to it. I have troubled you too long with our affairs, in which you have been so generous as to take a deeper interest than almost any other. We feel our many obligations to you, and hope we will ever be sensible of them.—I have, &c.

"✠ J. Doyle."

Dr. Doyle speaks of the hostility of Bishop Milner. The English Catholic Hierarchy possessed eight Vicars-Apostolic at this period. Seven of that number signed in favour of the Emancipation Bill of 1821. Dr. Milner not only withheld his signature, but took an adverse part. The conduct of this eminent Divine on the present and previous occasions exhibits the very difficult character of the times in which he and Dr. Doyle were cast. Dr. Milner some years before had been violently assailed by O'Connell as a Vetoist, and censured as such by the Irish Catholic Board. In 1821, Dr. Milner branded Mr. Plunket's bills as vetoistic, notwithstanding Mr. Plunket's declaration that the friends of the Catholic claims had abandoned the old veto propositions.

Dr. Doyle in the foregoing letter, also alludes to the violent hostility of the Rev. Richard Hayes. A long petition was presented by Mr. Hume to the House of Commons from this distinguished Priest. It is dated "4, Chapter House Court, St. Paul's, London, 15th of March, 1821." One paragraph will serve to convey an idea of its tone. "He, therefore, on his own behalf, and on that of his brother Catholics, most fervently prays your Honorable House to reject said Bill, intituled, 'A Bill to provide for the removal of the disqualifications under which his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects now labour,' as nugatory for the attainment of its professed object, calculated to introduce equivocation, mental reservation, and perjury, in the awful act of swearing; and, instead, as it proposes, of putting an end to religious jealousies, tending to excite division in the Catholic body, and to exasperate their religious and conscientious feelings to such a pitch as might unfortunately endanger the public peace and tranquillity of the country." The Rev. Richard Hayes had proceeded, a short time previous, to Rome, as a delegate of the Irish Catholics, in order to oppose the Veto which seemed so imminent from 1799, when the Prelates had unqualifiedly agreed to it, but afterwards retracted their sanction. Mr. Hayes writes: "On the 9th of January 1816, I obtained another audience of the Pope, for nearly an hour, during which I urged every argument against this obnoxious innovation. His Holiness seemed much alarmed for the state of the Irish Catholics, and expressed an apprehension that they would be subjected to new persecutions if he did not yield, in some measure, to the desires of the British government on this head." This paragraph was extensively published, and when Dr. Doyle saw that the Pope was afraid he should have to concede the obnoxious Veto, the Bishop may have felt, that in tolerating what was merely a faint approach to the Veto, he was saving the Irish Church from a much heavier incubus, which the Sovereign Pontiff, by his own admission, might be obliged, ere long, to sanction.

Cardinal Wiseman, in his "Recollections of the last Four Popes," writes (p. 139): "For three hundred years there had not existed such friendly relations between the Holy See and the Crown of Great Britain as under Pius VII." His minister, Cardinal Consalvi, professed a most conciliatory policy. Some account of the Rescript from Rome, in 1814, conceding to the British Government an absolute and unqualified veto, will be found *ante*, p. 93. The manner in which Mr. Hayes was uniformly received in Rome was not calculated to diminish the fears of the Anti-Vetoists. He was expelled from the Eternal City by order of the ecclesiastical authorities; and, in a published letter from the Pope, his officiousness was condemned in painfully severe terms.

It would be difficult to imagine a period of more intense excitement than the crisis we are describing. Discord rent society and severed the bonds of friendship; disunion weakened the power of the Church and of the people. In Dublin, as we have seen, meetings were held cordially thanking the Legislature for the proffered relief; while in Cork and Limerick, the measure received the most violent denunciation. On 3rd April, an aggregate meeting was held at a chapel in Cork. Some able speeches were delivered, but, according to *The Southern Reporter* of the day, when a distinguished orator "moved to thank Mr. Plunket, Sir John Newport, Sir Henry Parnell, and the other friends of Catholic freedom, an amendment was proposed, that there should be a round of groans given for these personages, which was carried with a burst of sound that shook the altar and the edifice." On the other hand, a most furious, skilfully organized, and fatal assault on Roman Catholicism, and the bill to set it politically free, was warmly followed up by the Protestant clergy and people of England. "Your petitioners," observed the Parsons, "consider it their bounden duty to repeat their most serious apprehensions of the dangers which will accrue to the civil and religious interests of the Protestant part of the community, should the proposed measures terminate in the repeal of those statutes to which, under Almighty God, the Protestant Church of these realms has been indebted for the mild ascendancy it has hitherto maintained." They further declared: "It is not consistent with sound policy to remove the legal restrictions imposed on the Roman Catholics by the wisdom of our ancestors, as such removal would materially affect the sense and spirit of the oath of supremacy, unless it could be shown that a change had taken place in the tenets of Popery, or unless it were manifestly impossible for the complainants to offer such securities, as should render their principles consistent with the establishment of a Protestant Church and State."

The above may be regarded as a mere random specimen of the myriad throng of petitions which pressed forward in hostility. A glance at the proceedings in the Lords, on the 15th of April, will serve to convey an idea of the number of influential appeals of this character, which shook and finally upset the liberal intentions of the legislature.

It may truly be said, that Dr. Doyle and his brother Bishops in Dublin, who were exerting their influence to have all the clauses of the bill so modified as to allay the scruples of the conscientious, had a most difficult card to play. Beckoned onward by the sweet words of Sheil on the one hand, and chilled by such grim prognostications as we have recorded, on the other, their mitres crowned uneasy brains by day, and their pillows supported restless heads by night. As students of ecclesiastical history they could not but be aware, that the Church has always endeavoured so far to accommodate its discipline to the spirit and circumstances of the time, as not to infringe the dogmatic or moral law. "We have the option of modifying one part of our discipline," they no doubt soliloquised, "or consign our poor countrymen and co-religionists, perhaps for ever, to political slavery and degradation. The gates of the constitution at last lie open before them. Shall we erect a barricade to intercept their progress through?"

Nearly every one of that long series of Catholic diocesan resolutions, to which we have already referred, concluded with a declaration, that as the correspondence of the Irish Catholic Church with Rome was of a purely spiritual nature, and frequently involving inviolable secrecy, it was hurtful to propose, and vain to expect, that the Church would submit it to any lay tribunal. We shall presently see, that an important element of that feeling of irritation which this and other clauses of the bill engendered, was based upon a misapprehension.

The Dublin Evening Post was at this time, and for long before, the accredited organ of the Irish Catholics. Its always well-informed London Correspondent, in a letter, dated the 31st of March, observes, after praising the Dublin resolutions for their moderation and candour, that several alterations in the bill "are spoken of as likely to be adopted by the Lords, in order to meet the wishes so temperately and constitutionally expressed in the Dublin resolutions. The Irish members friendly to the Catholics are making every effort, by private communications with the leading managers of the bill, to have the oath to be taken by the Priests wholly omitted. It is said there will be only one commission for both countries, of which two will be Irish Catholic Bishops, and two English Catholic Bishops. The provisions about the intercourse with the See of Rome appear not to have been correctly

understood in Dublin, *as no writings, relating wholly to matters of conscience or requiring secrecy, are to be disclosed.* The general opinion is, that the Lords are but little disposed to place any value in the ecclesiastical securities."

Touching these "securities," Mr. Plunket observed, on the 16th March, 1821, that in some of the provisions of his bill he was providing theoretical remedies for theoretical dangers. Although there was no practical evil to be guarded against, there was yet that sort of apprehension upon which the Protestant mind had a right to be satisfied. The object of the oath for Catholic clergymen was to satisfy the state, that their intercourse with the See of Rome would be confined to ecclesiastical matters. At this period, some very unfounded opinions existed among many Protestants, respecting the disposition and power of the Pope. They imagined that his Holiness was perpetually intriguing to depose monarchs and undermine civil institutions.

Many wise intellects were of opinion, that the so-called "securities" in the relief bill of 1821, would very soon have become a dead-letter. We cannot forget the threatened suppression of all conventual communities in Ireland, which, with other loud-sounding "securities," introduced to allay the first fever of disappointed intolerance, were linked by Sir Robert Peel to the Emancipation Bill of 1829. It is the law of Great Britain and Ireland, at this moment, that Jesuits and members of other religious orders may be banished from the kingdom, and that "it is expedient to make provision for their gradual suppression and final prohibition" within these realms.*

Dr. Doyle's correspondent, the Rev. Sydney Smith, showed, in his own happy but eccentric manner, the folly of attaching any importance to the commission: "Can my Lord Bathurst be ignorant—can any man who has the slightest knowledge of Ireland be ignorant, that the portmanteau which sets out every quarter for

* See the 28th and 29th sections of the Emancipation Act of 1829. It goes on to say: "Every Jesuit, and every member of any other religious order, community, or society of the Church of Rome, bound by monastic or religious vows, who at the time of the commencement of this act shall be within the United Kingdom, shall, within six calendar months after the commencement of this act, deliver to the Clerk of the Peace of the county or place where such persons shall reside, or to his deputy, a notice or statement in the form, and containing the particulars required to be set forth in the schedule to this act annexed." The act then provides that this is to be enrolled and registered in the records of the county, and a copy sent to the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary; and any person failing to do this is to be liable to a fine of fifty pounds a-month for his neglect. "Sec. 29. And be it further enacted, That if any Jesuit, or member of any such religious order, community, or society, as aforesaid, shall, after the commencement of this act, come into this realm, he shall be deemed and taken to be guilty of a *misdemeanour*, and being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be sentenced and ordered to be banished from the United Kingdom for the term of his natural life."

Rome, and returns from it, is a heap of ecclesiastical matters, which have no more to do with the safety of the country than they have to do with the safety of the moon; and which, but for the respect to individual feelings, might all be published at Charing-cross? Mrs. Flanagan, intimidated by stomach complaints, wants a dispensation for eating flesh. Cornelius O'Bowel has intermarried by accident with his grandmother, and finding that she is really his grandmother, his conscience is uneasy. Three or four schools, full of little boys, have been cursed for going to hear a Methodist preacher. Bargains for shirts and toe-nails of deceased saints—surplices and trencher-caps blessed by the Pope. These are the fruits of the double allegiance—the objects of our incredible fear, and the cause of our incredible folly. There is not a syllable which goes to or comes from the Court of Rome, which, by the judicious expenditure of sixpence in the year, would not be open to the examination of every member of the Cabinet."

As some of Dr. Doyle's replies to the queries put to him by the Parliamentary Committee, in 1825, throw light upon his policy and acts in 1821, we subjoin them. Dr. Doyle was asked if it would be possible that any arrangement could be made, enabling the Crown to examine the Bulls and Rescripts sent from the Court of Rome to Ireland. "I know," replied Dr. Doyle, "that in 1821, when a Bill, regulating this matter, was introduced into Parliament, some strong objections were raised to it in Ireland. At that time I had very little experience in those things; however, the opinion which I did entertain then was, that the subjection of this correspondence to a Board was not a matter to be objected to; because I thought if things were arranged amicably between the Catholics of Ireland and the British Government, that one of the Bishops in Ireland, probably—or if not, a Nuncio sent from Rome—would be placed in Ireland or in London, authorised to transact the routine business which is carried on between the Court of Rome and us; and therefore I thought that this bill would be a dead-letter; but if the Government should entertain any jealousy whatever of the correspondence which passes between Rome and us, I, for my part, and I can only speak as an individual, might have no objection whatever, that all the letters and communications which should pass between the Court of Rome and me, should be subjected to the inspection of any ecclesiastics whom the Government might think proper to name."

Q. "Do you mean ecclesiastics of the Roman Catholic religion?"—*A.* "I assure the Committee, I should not care who were to compose the Board: if they were all laymen—if they were all Secretaries of State. I have never received any communication

from Rome, nor ever will receive any, which I would hesitate to exhibit upon any of the public places of London, so that, upon that matter, I, as an individual, feel perfectly indifferent: however, I do not say that the other Catholic Prelates think as I do about it."

Dr. Doyle added on this occasion that no arguments, however plausible, or proposed compromise, however tempting, could by possibility induce him to concede a regular veto to the Crown.

The London correspondent of the *Dublin Evening Post* was well informed in saying, that the objectionable clauses in the bill of 1821 would probably be much softened by the Lords. Dr. Doyle spared no pains, by the exercise of his influence orally, and in confidential personal correspondence, to effect an essential modification in the provisions of the bill. Lord Donoughmore, who had charge of it in the Lords, writes: "I can venture to assure you, that the friends of the measure expect to be enabled to make such important amendments in the bill, as to relieve this act of grace from some of those provisions which seem at present to press upon that most justly respected class of men—and against whom no just ground of suspicion could have ever existed at any time—the Roman Catholic Clergy."

Lord Holland says: "Accept my best thanks for your valuable communication. Such conciliatory resolutions are very likely to promote the great cause of justice and religious liberty, on this side of the water; and if in the interval, which elapses between this and the second reading in the House of Lords, more instances of a disposition to accommodate any difference in the detail of the measure should occur, I should not be surprised at more than one doubtful vote being reconciled to the bill. The enemies of all concession, or rather of any act of justice at all, are active in their endeavours to represent the Irish Catholics as dissatisfied with every part of the bill."

We will now resume Dr. Doyle's correspondence with Sir Henry Parnell. The high opinion entertained, even thus early, of the young Bishop, by his episcopal brethren, is evidenced in the fact of constituting him their organ of communication. Several meetings of the Peers who were friendly to the Catholic claims, had been held at the Marquis of Lansdowne's residence, for the purpose of considering how far it was practicable to modify the clauses. Their deliberations had good effect.

The bill was now "amended," but it received still further modification. It is remarkable that every alteration suggested by Dr. Doyle, in the following letter, was forthwith made in the bill by Lord Grenville:

"Carlow, 6th April, 1821.

"My dear Sir Henry—I have again to express my most grateful acknowledgments to you for the copy of 'the bill as amended,' and your two letters which accompanied it. The omission of the oath as contemplated by Lord Grenville, and the change wrought by circumstances in his Lordship's mind are no doubt of great importance, but the object or advantage of the amendment relating to the commissioners we do not clearly perceive. Whether there be one or two boards does not seem to us material, but we are very apprehensive that the ecclesiastical members of that which is intended should be selected from the English Catholic clergy, would be likely to excite jealousy and distrust in this country, as our people have but little confidence in their brethren of England, and the attendance of Irish Prelates in London as Commissioners would be difficult, if not impracticable. The amendment suggested with regard to the person to be appointed to the office of Bishop or Dean would, I am confident, if substantially adopted, satisfy those of our body whose opinions have most weight in the country; but the differences on other matters to which I alluded in my last are by no means lessened since I wrote you. The scruples of some of the Prelates and Clergy with regard to the oath of allegiance cannot, I fear, be removed while the disclaimer of the Pope's authority is confined to matters 'of religious belief,' as they think that this expression goes to disclaim his authority on some matters of a religious nature, which could not be correctly understood as included in the words 'religious belief.' If, therefore, Lord Grenville would be so condescending as to substitute for 'in matters of religious belief,' the words 'in religious concerns,' or 'in matters of a religious nature,' such change would go far to satisfy the scruples of many well-meaning persons. I beg also to say that the admission of the Pope's authority which is found in the preamble is excluded by the terms of the oath; for as by the laws of this realm the King is the head of the Church, and that his authority as supreme ordinary is mixed up with and united to that of his Bishops in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and as these courts decide not only on matters of discipline, but also on heresy, blasphemy, &c., hence it has been inferred that by the terms of the oath we admit the authority of the King and his Court, in matters even of religious belief, to the exclusion of that of the Pope; whereas we can disclaim the latter only as far as the civil or temporal authority of his Majesty or that of his Courts is concerned.

"We, who approved of the oath, understood differently, and were of opinion, that as the authority of the Pope in matters of religious belief was freely admitted in the preamble, the oath

should be interpreted by it, so that by swearing to pay to his Majesty and to his courts the obedience which is due to them by all his subjects, we did not thereby infringe on the authority of the Pope, so far as it was before admitted.

"We are still decidedly of opinion that our reasoning is just, and I feel pain at troubling you with such a dry discussion, but yet hope that, having done so much for us, you will not be unwilling to represent these causes of disunion, however frivolous they may appear, to Lord Grenville, and beg of his Lordship, for the sake of peace, to devise in his wisdom some amendment, either in the preamble or in the oath, or in both, which will extend the disclaimer of the Pope's authority to religious concerns, or to matters of a religious nature, and limit our promise of obedience to his Majesty and his courts to the civil or temporal effects of his or their authority. [Here some further modifications are suggested, which, unless the bill were reprinted *in extenso*, would be unintelligible.] If Lord Grenville should think proper to attend to these suggestions, it is almost certain his bill would satisfy those who now appear to be so dissatisfied with it.

"It is useless for me to apologize for giving you so much trouble. The great interests at stake, and your own goodness, must plead for me.—I am, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

The amendments suggested by Dr. Doyle were all made in the bill.

On the day that he despatched this letter to Sir Henry Parnell, he presided at a meeting of his clergy in Carlow, with a view to promote the Catholic cause. Dr. Doyle having vacated the chair, the Very Rev. Dr. Prendergast, V.G., was called thereto, when the following resolution passed unanimously: "That the warmest thanks of this meeting are due, and are hereby given, to our worthy prelate, for his promptitude in assembling the clergy on this momentous occasion, for his dignified conduct in the chair, and for his zealous efforts on all occasions in the cause of religion."

All this while Dr. Doyle's labours in the confessional, in the pulpit, and in the various duties of a zealous episcopate, were almost unceasing. He had just passed through an extraordinarily rigorous Lent, the unflinching leader of a long band of austere penitents, and the effects of his self-denial were but too painfully evident. Mentally torn with anxieties, beckoned onward by one influential party, and perplexed by a sudden whirlwind of antagonism from another, the young Bishop's health at last gave way, and for several days he remained grievously stricken by illness.

The Catholic Claims Bill, after much opposition, passed the Commons on the 2nd of April. The numbers for the third read-

ing, on a division of the House, were 216; against it, 197—majority, 19. The bill was carried up to the Lords by Sir John Newport, where the Earl of Donoughmore moved the first reading. His Lordship proposed that the bill should be printed, and read a second time on the following Tuesday. Lord Chancellor Eldon said that his opinion remained unaltered respecting the proposed end of the bill. He should resist it on the second reading, "on account of the danger with which it threatened the state;" and so he did. Perhaps in the entire annals of intolerance there is not upon record a more able and elaborate diatribe against Catholicism and its principles than this oration of Lord Eldon's. The attack was followed up on the 17th of April with vigour and asperity by the heir to the throne and by the Bishops of London, Oxford, Chester, and St. David's. The Bishop of London declared that he was "unwilling to concede a political power which might endanger the Protestant establishment. The Catholic Church had always aimed at universal dominion. Catholics ought to be excluded from all public trust and authority." The Earl of Liverpool opposed the bill on every ground. In the first place it far from gave satisfaction to the Catholics themselves. Lord Eldon asserted that the Bill, in point of fact, contained no securities whatever. But it may be said to have been the Bishops who turned the scale. One illustrious exception deserves to be recorded. Dr. Bathurst, Bishop of Norwich, a personal friend of Dr. Doyle's, had long given a zealous and consistent support to the Catholic claims. As Prelates cannot vote by proxy, he left a sick bed at the present conjuncture to perform what he considered a sacred duty.

Ere a report had reached Dublin of the proceedings in the Lords, Dr. Doyle addressed the following letter to Sir H. Parnell. "Coming events cast their shadows before," and our Bishop's ever active foresight saw but too plainly the probable result:

Carlow, 19th April, 1821.

"My dear Sir Henry—I have been prevented by illness from replying to your letters of the 10th and 14th instant, and the failure of the bill in the House of Lords (for we have no hope of its success) might render it unnecessary for me to trouble you at present, but that I wish to put you in possession of the substance of our proceedings in Dublin, which cannot well be collected from the petition we forwarded to Lord Donoughmore.

"We continued our deliberations for four days, but were not able to procure the unanimous assent of the meeting to a clause proposed to be inserted in the petition—*i. e.*, offering to the Government to agree to any arrangement which the Legislature might deem necessary to secure the loyalty of the Irish Prelates,

provided such arrangement were sanctioned by the head of our Church. In these circumstances, if the clause were inserted, some Prelates would refuse their signatures, protest against the petition, and the consequence would be meetings of the second order of our clergy and of the common people, where all the prejudices and passions of the most violent amongst them would prevail. We preferred, then, to adopt the petition, which you must have seen; and, to preserve peace and some degree of unanimity amongst ourselves.

"It was left to the discretion of Lord Donoughmore to present or withhold our petition previous to the second reading of the bill; and Dr. Troy no doubt communicated to him confidentially the true state of our circumstances. We have to regret the prejudices which still exist on both sides. Time, which has done so much, may continue to operate in our favour, though it often happens that a favourable moment once neglected does not return.

"We are fully convinced that if the Legislature will ever emancipate the Catholics, it must do so against the wishes and clamours of many individuals. I need not say how sensible we are of Lord Grenville's condescension, in attending to the suggestions you were so kind as to convey to him. Hoping that your efforts to serve us will be more successful at another time, I remain, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

Catholic hope for redress had never burned more dimly than when the fate of the Relief Bill became known in Ireland. Although Dr. Doyle well knew that Emancipation was the cause of truth and justice, and that the apothegm, *magna est veritas et prevalebit*, might be applied to it, he had, nevertheless, serious misgivings lest the favourable opportunity, now lost, might not return for a very considerable period. But, although Ireland groaned for eight years longer in penal chains, it can hardly be any source of regret, as matters have since turned out, that the Catholic bills did not pass in 1821. That the "securities" accompanying them would have become as dead a letter as the clauses of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill of 1851, or other apparently restrictive enactments to which we have already referred, is more than probable; but, nevertheless, all friends to the stern independence of the Church must rejoice that even a dead and powerless burthen does not now press upon it. We have no doubt that the dissentient Prelates at the Synod of 1821 overrated, in their zeal for religion, the dangers with which they imagined it was threatened. But even assuming that the main clause in question did not become a dead-letter—*i. e.*, a board to satisfy itself of the loyalty of the individual about to be raised to

a bishopric—it could hardly, if conducted as stipulated, damage the stability of the Irish Church, much less lead to its utter subversion, as many of the published resolutions at the time predicted.

Mr. Matthew O'Conor, an influential Catholic gentleman, author of "The Military Memoirs of the Irish Nation," publicly asserted, in 1815, that the obnoxious Veto was then virtually, but *sub rosa*, in existence, and that no Catholic Prelate had, for some years, been appointed in Ireland without the acquiescence of the British Crown. This sweeping assertion was, we believe, contradicted by the late Most Rev. Dr. Murray; but it is likely, nevertheless, that there may have been some instances which furnished grounds for an impression so fixed, and for an allegation so confident. That the late venerated Primate, Dr. Curtis, received his nomination to the Archbishopric of Armagh, in a great degree, through the influence of the British Government, was formerly whispered, but is now openly acknowledged. Dr. Curtis filled the office of President in the College of Salamanca when the Duke of Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, was prosecuting the Peninsular campaign, and some friendly aid and attention which the good Priest showed him at that critical period, led to the formation of a friendship which ever afterwards continued. Dr. Curtis had been the theological preceptor of Dr. Murray, and other eminent divines; and on the demise of Dr. O'Reilly in 1819, the Catholic Bishops, well knowing that a more practical Christian or a better theologian did not exist, unanimously postulated for him, with one exception. Pius VII., finding that no canonical impediment stood in the way, signed the bulls for the consecration of Dr. Curtis. An older prelate had not been appointed since St. Malachy O'Morchair ruled the Archdiocess of Armagh. When Dr. Curtis assumed the primatial reins of government, his age was seventy-three; and for twelve subsequent years he filled the See of Armagh. His conduct was such, throughout that period, as frequently to elicit, both from the Church and the laity, the warmest expressions of veneration. Patriotic without disaffection, but never a noisy patriot, Dr. Curtis was always prominent in preaching the necessity and extolling the blessings of civil and religious liberty, while his venerable appearance and remarkable fascination of manner conciliated all. He and Dr. Doyle were the first prelates to join the Catholic Association; Dr. Curtis cordially co-operated with it, as his interesting communication to that body on the 7th of November, 1824, shows; and his patriotic letters to the Duke of Wellington and to Lord Anglesey, in 1828, and the singularly good effect of them, are probably in the recollection of most readers.

In the recently published third series of the Castlereagh Papers, we find the following letter, revealing that the election of this excellent man to the Catholic primacy was mainly through the influence of the British Crown. Dr. Curtis, writing from Archbishop Murray's house to Lord Castlereagh, on the 22nd of September, 1819, goes on to say:

"In obedience to the dictates of duty and gratitude, I have the honour of informing your Lordship that I have just now received, from Rome, the authentic advice of my appointment by his Holiness to the Roman Catholic See of Armagh, and that the Papal brief for that purpose will be transmitted to me as soon as it can possibly be expedited. My consecration and instalment to that charge will, in consequence, be then performed in the parish Chapel of Drogheda, unless Government should think proper, in the mean time, to order the contrary—which I have no reason to think will be the case, as I should never have acquiesced in the election made of me by our Prelates, had not Government previously vouchsafed to grant its consent, and even approbation, to that measure, adding, by such condescension, a powerful stimulus to my already fixed resolution, to employ every exertion and influence in my power for promoting peace, concord, and a spirit of conciliation, rather than controversy, among all classes of people; and to impress on their minds a practical conviction of the impossibility of their being good Christians without having and showing a real love and respect for our august Sovereign and his government, with a due, efficient obedience to the laws. Permit me, my Lord, to return your lordship my unfeigned thanks for the kind wish you were pleased to express of seeing my promotion sanctioned."* From all this it may fairly be inferred that those who, in 1821, conscientiously shuddered at the thought of a board of Catholic Bishops and the Secretary of State satisfying themselves of the loyalty of the episcopal candidate, allowed their fears to overrate the danger of such a proceeding. We, of course, are not favourable to this principle of election, but in justice to Dr. Doyle and the other Prelates, now no more, who considered, in 1821, that a modification of the proposed vetoistic clause could not impair the strength of the Catholic Religion, or the principles

* The courtly tone of Dr. Curtis was in a great degree the result of habit. "Formed in a court," observes the newspaper, in recording his death, "his manners displayed all that affability and extreme courtesy for which he was remarkable." Dr. Curtis was much attached to the Court of Spain, and acted for many years as Chaplain to the Royal Family. The same record proceeds: "In the performance of the important duties of Archbishop his career was marked by all the virtues that adorn the episcopal character. His decision, emanating from a strong and perspicuous mind, gave general satisfaction to his clergy, while the laity had to lament that the exercise of his benevolence was only restrained by his limited income."

of the Prelate so nominated, it is right to adduce such evidence as tends to justify or explain their conduct, at a crisis when interests the most precious and dear may be said to have depended upon the policy they should pursue.

CHAPTER VII.

The Bishop's renewed activity—Education of the people—Letter to Sir H. Parnell—Bishop O'Keeffe's grave—The boarding-house at Bray—Letters to Father Peter Doyle—The address to the Marquis Wellesley, and his reply—The Catholic Bishops traduced—A paper war with Messrs. Hay and Finn—Domestic nomination—Remarkable Letter from the Duke of Wellington on the death of Archbishop Everard—The Duke offers a Protestant Bishopric to Dr. Curtis—Dr. Doyle's acquaintance and correspondence with Mariana—Visit of George IV. to Ireland—The cock-fight—Letters—Removal to Old Derrig—Tithes—Orangemen and Ribbonmen—Dr. Doyle's Pastoral against Secret Societies—Letter of thanks from Major Warburton—The Viceroy insulted.

THE patriot heart of Dr. Doyle became filled with gloom when the defeat of the Catholic question was announced; but he knew his duty to God and to the country too well to permit these feelings to merge into a despondent inactivity. No sooner, therefore, had the news been communicated by Sir Henry Parnell, than we find Dr. Doyle addressing the following letter to him on another subject near and dear to his heart—the education of the Irish people. The want of education he considered the source of almost all their crimes, and he regarded a sound system of popular instruction as the basis of that prosperity which he ardently longed to see them sharing. In endeavouring to establish the great desideratum, he toiled like a giant. But anxious as Dr. Doyle felt for the diffusion of knowledge, he was not less zealously opposed to the folly or malice of those who would set this great moral engine in motion without guards and checks to control and regulate it. As already seen, he steadily disapproved of converting the Bible, without note or comment, into a school-book. Apart from graver considerations, he felt that an irreverent familiarity with Holy Writ might lead to its degradation. It also cannot be forgotten that facts are recorded in the history of an exceedingly carnal people, which, to quote Sheil's words, "it can answer no useful purpose to bring within the cognizance of childhood, and from which modesty should instinctively turn away."

The Bishop was deeply anxious to see a sound and wise system of popular education introduced through the bounty of the crown. He indirectly pressed the subject unceasingly on the attention of the Legislature, and his labours in this direction had

no doubt great effect in weakening the strength of that hoary-headed slander, which had attributed to his Church the base policy of seeking to keep her followers in a state of mental twilight: "Next to the blessing of redemption," observed Dr. Doyle, "and the graces consequent upon it, there is no gift bestowed by God equal in value to a good education. Other advantages are enjoyed by the body—this belongs entirely to the spirit. Whatever is great, or good, or glorious in the works of men is the fruit of educated minds. Wars, conquests, commerce, all the arts of industry and peace, all the refinements of life, all the social and domestic virtues, all the refinements and delicacies of mutual intercourse; in a word, whatever is estimable amongst men owes its origin, increase, and perfection, to the exercise of those faculties whose improvement is the object of education. Religion herself loses half her beauty and influence when not attended or assisted by education; and her power, splendour, and majesty are never so exalted as when cultivated genius and refined taste become her heralds or her handmaids. Education draws forth the mind, improves its faculties, increases its resources, and, by exercise, strengthens and augments its powers. I consider it, therefore, of inestimable value; but, like gold, which is the instrument of human happiness, it is, and always must be, unequally distributed amongst men. Some will always be unable or unwilling to acquire it, others will expend it prodigally or pervert it to the worst ends, whilst the bulk of mankind will always be more or less excluded from its possession."

On the 22nd of April, 1821, Dr. Doyle communicated his views fully to Sir Henry Parnell:

"My dear Sir Henry—I had learned by the public papers, previous to the receipt of your letter, the painful though not unexpected issue of the bill. The account produced here a deep gloom; few persons speak of it, and the Catholics and Protestants seem equally disappointed. I fear the violent parties will resume their former acrimony, which, during the discussions in Parliament, seemed to have somewhat subsided, and which, had the bill been carried, we would never again witness.

"What you mention of the Lords, the personal friends of the King, as also your opinion respecting the addresses, I shall have communicated without any delay to some of the leading Catholics, but I think, in the present depressed state of the public mind, it would be very difficult to convene meetings, and still more difficult to silence those violent Catholics who affect to think we have nothing to hope for. Should the King come to Ireland, I am very confident the expressions of loyalty and attachment from the

Catholic body would be strong, general, and sincere; but something new and striking must occur to excite their feelings.

"With regard to the petition, it is left by us entirely to your discretion to present it at this time or not. We are so often *charged* with a *wish to acquire establishments* in the country, that I fear lest this unfounded imputation might prevail over the reasons we urge, and the necessities under which we and the poor of our communion labour. We were of opinion, and you seemed to think, that if certain clauses could be annexed to some other bill, embracing the objects of our petition, that it would be the least objectionable mode of effecting the good we have in view. . . .

"I have no documents before me, nor are there at present any in existence to show, with any degree of exactness, the state of education amongst the Catholics. I have just written to Dublin, desiring that a statement of it in that town be sent you. In the counties of Carlow, Kildare, and the Queen's County, very nearly all the Roman Catholic children attend school during the summer and autumn, are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, but their masters, in many instances, are extremely ignorant, their school-houses are mere huts, where the children are piled on each other, and the sexes promiscuously jumbled together. From the want of space, the Lancasterian plan, or that of Bell, cannot be introduced; and if there were space, we have not funds to buy forms, books, or to pay a master capable of instructing. In the winter months the children do not attend, generally from want of clothing, fire, and a dry school-house. In the *towns* of the counties referred to, the schools are better and more regularly attended, but the poor are usually very much neglected; and as in the schools established or assisted by the Kildare-street Society, the principle adopted in them of using the Bible as a school-book, and the master, who is generally a Protestant, undertaking to expound it, is sufficient to exclude Catholics—hence there is nothing left to assist the poor, unless where benevolent individuals contribute to provide them with education. Of these three counties, I may safely say that nine-tenths of the farmers' children, and all those of the better classes, receive education of a very imperfect kind, and imparted in a very defective way, by men, in most instances, incompetent to teach. The children of the poor in the country are entirely neglected; in the towns, many of them are left in absolute ignorance; others obtain some little knowledge of reading, and writing, and arithmetic; and I suppose, from a rough estimate made by myself last summer during my visitation, there may be between 12,000 and 15,000 Roman Catholic children in the three counties just mentioned who attend school during the summer months. These counties, I presume, might present an average view of the state of

Roman Catholic education throughout Leinster and Munster, excepting the great towns of Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick; but in Connaught (which I visited chiefly to ascertain the state of the peasantry) they are buried in destitution, filth, ignorance, and misery. I believe that in the north, below Drogheda, their state is not much better.—Ever affectionately yours,

"✠ J. Doyle."

Shortly after Dr. Doyle's elevation to the See of Kildare, he found the grave of one of his predecessors in a state of great and culpable neglect. The young Prelate having by this time practically tasted and tested the bitters of episcopal rule, resolved that the memory of one who had passed with consummate prudence and piety through times of great gloom and difficulty should be properly perpetuated. Dr. Doyle found the flat stone over Bishop O'Keeffe's grave broken in two pieces, and all record of the good man's name effaced. He speedily erected a new monument to his memory, with an inscription in Latin of which the following is a translation:

"Here is entombed J. L. F. O'Keeffe, who most piously governed the diocesses of Kildare and Leighlin for forty-six years. In addition to the many other services rendered by him to religion, he founded the College of Carlow for the education of Priests. He died a happy death, the 29th of July, 1787, being more than eighty years of age. Lest the shrine of so distinguished a predecessor should fall into oblivion, this monument was erected to his memory by J. K. L. in 1821. Amen."

Dr. O'Keeffe had assumed the pastoral charge of his diocess in 1741, when the Penal Laws were in the zenith of their strength, and the mysteries of the Catholic Church had necessarily to be dispensed in dripping caverns or mountain fastnesses. A Catholic Priest or Prelate, if recognized, ran some risk of being gibbeted. One Bishop, who returned from exile at the peril of his life in Queen Anne's reign, hired as a common shepherd on the uplands of Magilligan. This spirit of persecution and oppression lasted to a much later period than is generally supposed. The present venerable Bishop of Raphoe, Dr. M'Gettigan, remembers going with his father to hear Mass at the side of a mountain in midwinter, with the impending cliff protecting the worshippers from the inclemency of the weather, and when they were obliged to have two men stationed at the top of the hill watching, lest the Puritans should come down and wreak their vengeance upon them.

As the wonderful zeal and extent of Dr. Doyle's labours had debilitated his constitution, some relaxation became absolutely essential. In accordance, therefore, with the advice of an experi-

enced physician, he proceeded, in the autumn of 1821, to a pleasant and salubrious watering-place. A letter to the author, dated the 10th of August, 1857, from the Rev. Dr. Wills, M.R.I.A., author of the "Lives of Distinguished Irishmen," contains an interesting reference to Dr. Doyle at this period:

"My acquaintance with the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle was brief, though intimate and friendly while it lasted, and my recollection amounts to no more than a kindly impression left by very attractive manners by which all were conciliated, and highly intellectual conversation on a great variety of topics, in which there was the most entire freedom from any tinge of dogmatism or narrowness of opinion. It was very soon after he had been made a Bishop that he came to spend a summer month in Bray, at a boarding-house at which I was staying. We were all of a Church different from his, and of political opinions also more or less opposed; yet this rather trying test of character and temper did not in the least degree prevent the most kindly, cordial, and free intercourse with every one who possessed the good taste and information to join in the conversation in which he took a lead. He seemed to have a natural love of female society, and his conversation and manner were pleasing to accomplished and cultivated women. All were sorry when he left the house and society, to which he had contributed much of its best attractions. I never saw him after. He gave me a most kind invitation to visit him in Carlow, of which circumstances belonging to my own course in life made it impossible for me to avail myself, but which I often have recollected with regret. Men of his mould are not many, and one would not willingly miss one of so small a class."

There were a few women of whose intellect Dr. Doyle had a high opinion, but it must be confessed that, as regards the generality of the sex, he far from shared the views which Bentham, Godwin, and Condorcet have laboured so strongly to inculcate. The reader is referred to p. 62, where Dr. Doyle is found saying, that if we suffered ourselves to be governed by the feelings of women, we would no longer be capable of holding our place in society.

Dr. Doyle soon returned to Carlow, and applied himself with renewed activity to the extirpation of the Ribbon confederacy, which had shortly previous shown itself within his jurisdiction. He likewise found time to correspond with his family and friends. The following is addressed to Father Peter Doyle:

"Carlow, 3rd January, 1822.

"MY DEAR SIR—I received your last letter shortly after my return from Dublin, and I only reply to it on the eve of my going there again. Our new Viceroy has caused it to be intimated to us

that addresses, such as are presented to the King, would be acceptable to his Excellency, and should be received and answered in the same distinguished way. We could not (if we were so inclined) avoid going forward after this intimation. Our friends are of opinion we ought gladly establish ourselves in the high situation to which his Majesty raised us, and that our cultivating a good understanding with the Government may serve the interests of religion. I hope this may be the case, and though I don't like the parade of attending every new Viceroy on his arrival (which must now be done as a matter of course), yet I am glad that we are thus considered. I must be again in Dublin on the 27th instant, and remain till early in February. All my time is thus consumed, but when I am employed in one way God does not require of me to be otherwise engaged. My business at that time is to preach two sermons—one in public, to which I have been compelled by Dr. Murray and the governesses of a House of Refuge, to whom I am under several obligations, so I could not refuse them; the other sermon is for the profession of two nuns. When last in Dublin I drew up a memorial, which Dr. Troy and Lord Fingall presented to government, respecting the education of the poor. We know not what result it will have until the next session of parliament. All these affairs are of course entirely confined to a few, and you will keep them secret. I thought this time to write some instructions for the people, but had not leisure; that, and the Bible Society, and the Established Church would have given me ample employment, but I had not an hour to spare. I wish and pray for you many happy returns of this auspicious time, and an increase of every blessing."

On the following day he writes to acknowledge another letter from Father Peter: "Thanks to God, I was never better in health, and wish earnestly you were here with me, as I do sincerely think you would become like me in that respect. I wrote you yesterday, and gave you some account of myself and of my intended visit to Dublin to see our new Lord Lieutenant. Had you been more patient you would have heard from the newspapers that I was well, as of course they will notice our visit to the Castle. I send you £34 6*s*. 8½*d*, the balance of my account."

"The deputation of the Catholic Prelates who attended with the address," observes a paper of the day, "were received by the Lord Lieutenant in his closet, and treated with marked attention." The address went on to say, that the Prelates, participating in the universal gladness diffused through Ireland by Lord Wellesley's arrival, to administer the King's government in his native land, begged leave to offer their sincere congratulations. "They trust that their past conduct has conveyed to your Ex-

cellency a much better assurance than words can afford of their affectionate loyalty to their Sovereign, and steady obedience to those in authority under him. They deeply deplore those atrocities which have lately outraged all religion in some parts of the country. They feel it their duty now, and at all times, as ministers of the gospel, to resist the spirit of insubordination, to inculcate submission to the laws, and to preach peace and good will amongst men.

"With these sentiments, they most earnestly beseech the Almighty God, who hath given to your Excellency those great endowments by which you have been already enabled to render such mighty services to the State, so to direct and govern all your undertakings, that they may invariably conduce to the public good, that you may see Irishmen of all denominations united in the bonds of allegiance, Christian charity, and peace. So may your Excellency's public career continue prosperous, and your private hours be blessed with unfading happiness."

The Marquis Wellesley returned the following answer: "I receive your congratulations with the cordiality and respect due to your character, conduct, and sacred functions. The propriety of your past demeanour attracted the condescending notice of our most gracious Sovereign. Venerating his royal example, and obedient to his Majesty's instructions, I receive you here, with a full confidence in your principles of affectionate loyalty towards your King, and of steady obedience to the laws of the realm. The outrages committed in some districts of the country are abhorrent to the spirit and doctrine of every denomination of the Christian faith. Never did a period of time exist when the active exercise of your precepts and example was more necessary, to teach the people that dutiful obedience to the law is inculcated by their religion, and is essential to their present happiness and welfare. That your success may be equal to your honest zeal in the accomplishment of this salutary task, is my sincere wish and humble but earnest prayer. In me you will find a fixed disposition to administer the law to all his Majesty's faithful subjects of Ireland with a firm, but even and temperate hand. On the part of our Sovereign, and of the United Empire, I claim from all those subjects submission to lawful authority, as the first foundation of peace, concord, and social union."

Mr. Edward Hay, an able historian of the rebellion of '98, and for many years a very active person in Irish Catholic affairs, but whose overpowering fluency in letter-writing* involved him more

* Of Mr. Hay, Curran once caustically said: "He is a learned pig, who would run you down at any distance, and grunt you to death with the weight of his correspondence."

than once in difficulties, even with his own party, published in *The Dublin Evening Post* of the 26th and 29th of January, 1822, several columns expressive of his opinion on various ecclesiastical matters, but more especially on the much vexed question of Domestic Nomination. Mr. Hay contended that the election of Bishops should rest with Deans and Chapters exclusively. He warmly denounced episcopal interference in any political affairs whatever; and he set his face against Catholic Prelates having any communication, direct or indirect, with the Castle. This point was obviously levelled at the recent deputations to George IV. and to the Viceroy. He cited extracts from various letters both written to and by him, to show his consistent zeal in the Catholic cause, and the high estimation in which his vigilance and prudence had been uniformly held. He strongly censured those prelates who, in 1799, had sanctioned the Veto; and he trembled lest the opinions of Archbishops Everard and Murray should have been influenced by the wily and plausible statements of Mr. Cooke, under-secretary for Ireland at the time of the Union, and who, it was said, had been recently closeted with their Lordships. Finally, Mr. Hay, alluding to Dr. Doyle, insinuated that a member of the episcopal body had, in an Irish edition of an English work by Dr. Milner, so emasculated it, as to tell against the principle of Domestic Nomination by Dean and Chapter. It subsequently appeared, however, by a letter from the publisher, that no omissions had been made without the full concurrence of Dr. Milner.

About this period a nephew of Dr. Troy, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, received a lucrative appointment in the revenue. Mob orators were not diffident in coming forward to accuse the venerable father of the Irish prelacy, now in his eighty-third year, of intriguing with the Castle. The report was eagerly caught up and circulated. That Dr. Troy attended the Castle levees, with several other members of the episcopacy, could not be denied; but that the good man had ever unduly lent his influence to the Government, was a base and baseless calumny. In 1798, he ordered a pastoral—dissuasive from treasonable practices, to be read from the altar of every chapel in his diocess; and in this sense, but no other, Dr. Troy may have been "a Castle Bishop." The visit of George IV. to Ireland, in 1821, was regarded as the precursor of great political blessings. He was the first monarch who had visited Ireland in an avowed spirit of conciliation; and when the Catholic body called to mind that he was the friend and companion of Fox, Moira, and Wellesley, and the virtual husband of a Roman Catholic lady, their well-nigh extinguished hopes suddenly brightened again. The Catholic Bishops, including Dr. Troy, having waited upon the King, and read an address expressive

of hope and loyalty, were received by his Majesty in a manner singularly gracious, and, as they thought, most favourably ominous. Dr. Doyle observing that the conduct and motives of the venerable Archbishop and his brother Prelates had been misconstrued, felt himself impelled by a double sense of duty to vindicate their proceedings. Dr. Doyle had himself joined in the deputation to the throne, and it was of course important that conduct dictated by the purest motives should not be misrepresented or misunderstood. Dr. Doyle in after life was never a visitor at the Irish court, except on one or two public occasions, when he considered that the interests of the country would be promoted by his presence there.

As introductory to the following it may be mentioned, that in the struggle for Emancipation or in any popular effort for the redress of minor grievances, the Catholic aristocracy, with perhaps one illustrious exception, were always the most lethargic in lending the sanction of their countenance or the aid of their influence.

Dr. Doyle's reply to Mr. Hay appeared in the *Dublin Evening Post* of the day: "Why have men in power mistaken the cause of our miseries and the means that would remedy them? Is it that they did not inquire, or that it was not their intention to better the condition of the country? This may have been the case with some, others may have been intent on upholding a foreign ascendancy, others, again, only anxious to forward some specific object; but there have been great and good men at the head of affairs in Ireland, who were prevented from promoting her interests only because they were deceived by misrepresentations and misled by a faction. Had the Catholic Prelates free access to the present Government, they, better than any others, could create there a just confidence in a loyal people—could expose their wants, suggest the means of relieving them, and unmask the designs of those men who have no love of country, and who calumniate only that they may oppress with impunity."

[Mr. Hay had quoted Burke against "Catholic Bishops meddling with the Castle."]

"Would Burke regret to see honest men interfere as mediators between an angry government and an afflicted people—to see some kind of an aristocracy filling that chasm which separates the head of the state from the great mass of its members? No; he loved Ireland too much, and he knew better than any other man the necessity of different classes in society. He knew there was little or no sympathy between the aristocracy and the people of this country, and that without it, or some substitute for it, Ireland could not be free or happy.

"From the days of Constantine to the present there has been

no monarch in a Christian state to whom the Prelates of the Church have not had access; nor were they all 'larks at the mercy of hawks!' Look to the Justinian Code—to the capitularies of Charlemagne and of his successors—the laws of Britain previous and subsequent to the Conquest—these were partly framed by Prelates, or passed with their concurrence, and they were these laws which humanized mankind and prepared the way for the perfection of society.

"But I would pass over the numberless Prelates whose wisdom and piety, like an ægis, protected alternately the throne and people, and I would refer only to an Ambrose, an Augustine, a Borromeo, or De Sales, and ask confidently—did their connexion with their respective governments serve or injure the interests of religion and of the state? But Catholic Prelates, if admitted to the Castle, will become its dupes. How, then—have churchmen changed their nature? have they lost the prudence of the serpent, and retained only the simplicity of the dove? . . . . I am clearly of opinion there is not one Catholic Prelate in Ireland who, through ambition or personal consideration, would be anxious ever to hold communication with the Government. But these motives are now imputed to them, and a clamour is sought to be raised which has its origin in prejudice, shortsightedness, or in those levelling principles, which, aiming at liberty, destroy that order which produces it."

Mr. Hay declared that according to report a conclave, similar to that which sanctioned the Veto in 1799, was contemplated on the approaching meeting of the Trustees of Maynooth College. J. K. L. goes on to say: "Why put forth a report with an evil meaning attached to it, and create a prejudice against virtuous men, at a time when their character and influence is of the utmost consequence to the peace of the country? Is every great interest of ours to be sacrificed at the shrine of Dean and Chapter? Is the last stay upon the passions of a deluded and exasperated peasantry to be weakened at this moment, because, forsooth, a report prevails? This is not wisdom, nor is there any justice in it. There is no conclave to be held; there is no scheme on foot; there is no plan for the subversion of the rights of the second order of the Clergy to be devised or matured. Is it not strange that the Prelates are the only persons suspected of a design to circumvent and betray their own brethren? Are they, who are best acquainted with the virtues of their own Clergy, the only men who would traffic on their rights? And are those of the second order so insensible to what regards themselves, and, as Mr. Hay supposes, the essential interests of religion, as to remain silent and unmoved at this would-be awful crisis? Strange infatuation!

Many efforts have been made for years past to detach the Clergy from their Prelates; but 'they are of the seed of those men who saved Israel,' and they cannot be seduced from the right way. . . . . But, a report prevails, and a dead witness is cited to prove that 'the See of Rome was favourable to domestic nomination by Dean and Chapter, and that the delegates of the Irish Bishops opposed it.' Who can refute this report—who can interrogate a dead man? Is it thus the multitude is to be deluded, and grave characters vilified? . . . . . Mr. Hay does not spare the dead; he illustrates the admirable qualities of his domestic plan, by references to the lives of two deceased Prelates, and a host of living ones. The piety of our fathers watered the graves of the dead with the tears of the willow, or protected them with the shade of the cypress. But some of their children have not inherited their sentiments. The late Bishop of Waterford was a bad writer, and not highly gifted with common sense; but he might be left to rest in peace. Dr. Ryan still less deserved to be censured. And why refer to living Prelates? Those named are supposed to be fit for the situation which they fill; and if their election reflect any credit on the Clergy who were concerned in it, the Prelates are entitled at least to an equal share, and this is known to the writer even better than to Mr. Hay.

"Those who are most interested in the future mode of electing Bishops in Ireland are well aware that the manner of settling it does not depend on the Prelates, but chiefly on the See of Rome. Mr. Hay, who has already opened a correspondence with that court, and convinced them, no doubt, that he is a better judge of this subject than any other individual whatsoever, on account of his superior information, can still continue to favour them with his lights; so may the Catholic Board; so may you, Mr. Editor; and so can every individual in the British dominions who is disposed to take the trouble of doing so. Why, then, clamour against the Prelates, as if they alone were not to be permitted to exercise their discretion on a matter which concerns them more than all others, as the heads of a Church which the Divine Spirit subjected to their rule, and the depositaries of a sacred trust committed to them, like the fire of the Temple to the prophet at the time of the captivity?"

J. K. L. proceeds to unfold these long-cherished views on the subject of domestic nomination which he was induced, in 1812, to suppress (see p. 42, *ante*): "But it is a species of impiety, almost, to hesitate as to the propriety of recommending election by Dean and Chapter. The writer of these few lines believes he has read and thought more on the subject than nine-tenths of

those who talk and write on it, and yet freely confesses, that though he would cheerfully sanction it as a means of settling our Church discipline, yet he doubts very much whether it be the best mode of providing Bishops for vacant sees. Indeed he is confident that it is not, unless it be greatly tempered and controlled by the authority of the Metropolitan and Suffragans. It is a matter ascertained, being recorded in the acts of councils, decrees of Popes, and history of the Church, that the mode of electing Bishops has varied as much, or even more than any other point of discipline. Originally they were appointed by the Apostles and their immediate successors, without any reference to Priests or people. The four great Patriarchs had afterwards a discretionary power to appoint Bishops within their respective jurisdictions—subject, however, to the control of the Pope, until the great schisms; and this power is still retained in the East with some modifications."

From Dr. Doyle's views, which were unfolded at considerable further length, we gather that he was not favourable to the election of Bishops by Dean and Chapter. In the middle and subsequent ages of the Church there was no mode of election so general, nor any in which the guilt of simony and the exertion of undue influence had more frequently occurred. The history of the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction, and the establishment of the Concordat between Francis I. and Leo X. in France, furnish instances of the evils attending elections by Dean and Chapter, which will always cause a wise man to hesitate long before he approves of a mode of election so liable to abuse: "The numberless bulls issued by different Popes to the several chapters having a right to election in Germany, up to the present time, furnish, in their details, abundant proofs that the inconveniences attending this mode of election are not confined to any age or country, but grow out of the system; whilst, on the other hand, there are few instances on record of an unworthy Prelate having been chosen by the concurrent votes of the Bishops of any province. To quote elections that have taken place in this country as a proof of the advantages of vesting this right in Deans and Chapters, is not a good argument, for our Chapters hitherto have had no right even of postulation—they can only recommend, and they know that if they elect an unworthy person, the Bishops of the province will not concur with them, and therefore their recommendation would not be likely to succeed." Dr. Doyle proceeded: "A stronger reason is found in the very nature of a corporation, which always degenerates. Have we any public body in this country which continued pure? Is the Parliament so? Is it the same as in the reign of Anne or the first Georges? Are corpora-

tions of towns so? Look to Dublin or Armagh. Are the Chapters of cathedrals or collegiate churches so? But we should not unveil the sanctuary. No; there is no corporation which has continued pure, and the Chapters in this country would not be less liable to infirmity than other bodies similarly constituted. If riches did not corrupt them, it is to be feared that influence would, and influence of the worst description—local influence. Every man aspiring to the office of Bishop would pay his court to the electors; his friends would be equally active; the great men of the parish would be engaged; favours would be conferred and returned; simony would prevail to a great extent in time, and if the clergy of a diocess were over-relaxed, or a majority of them, how would the election of a man disposed to overlook the faults of others be prevented? . . . . I would add some observations on the evils necessarily attending all popular elections, however narrow the basis, but I think it more advisable to omit them—'*incedo per ignes suppositos cineri dolosæ.*'"

Mr. Hay and Mr. Moore, M.P., were of opinion that the interference of the Irish Catholic Bishops with the King of France, in January, 1818, for the purpose of recovering their collegiate establishments in that country, was to be lamented. "And by whom is it to be lamented? By those French infidels, or by their abettors, who for five-and-twenty years added the plunder of these establishments to the robbery and devestation of everything sacred and valuable in Europe. They had some cause to lament an interference which went to rescue from them a remnant of the property of our ancestors, consecrated to the upholding of the faith in this country during the times of persecution. But for an Irishman and a Catholic to lament it—that indeed is surprising. Did those families who inherit a right to present to burses in these colleges complain of it? Did they lament it? Quite the reverse—they rejoiced at it; they knew, and every person informed on the subject knows, that the greater part of these foundations was purely ecclesiastical, and that the guardianship of the entire was vested by the acts of foundation in the Irish Bishops, or in the Archbishop of Paris; that its exclusive destination, with a few trivial exceptions, was for the support of missionaries for this country, to be ordained and employed, according to the necessities of this Church, by the Irish Bishops. And yet their interference with regard to these establishments is to be lamented! What infatuation! The Catholic Bishops are obliged to provide missionaries, but are not to interfere with the colleges where these are to be maintained and educated; they are to govern the Church, but they are not entitled to settle those rules or that discipline by which that Church is to be governed. No; an Oza can lay his hand

to the ark, but they are not to touch it! A Core, Dathan, or Abiran may call in question their authority, and seek to usurp it, but they are not to be avenged! How strange, and how preposterous, and how impious it is, to seek to set aside the Prelates of the Church from the management of their own affairs, or to misrepresent them in the discharge of their exclusive duties! There is, however, a fund of good sense in the country, which will always shield these unobtrusive men from the attacks of the silly or malevolent; nor will they be deterred from discharging the duties which Providence has imposed on them by clamour or misrepresentation."

When it is remembered that all Dr. Doyle's celebrated letters, under the famous signature of "J. K. L.," appeared for the first time in *The Dublin Evening Post*, the concluding sentence of the first is curious: "Excuse the length of this letter, Mr. Editor; it is the first with which I have ever troubled you, *and I hope it may be also the last.*"

Poor Mr. Hay was altogether unprepared for a reply so ample, conclusive, and influential. He was determined "to die game," however, and therefore promptly responded with "a logical retort." "I beg leave," he wrote, "to suggest to your serious consideration whether it be just or equitable you should admit an anonymous writer to your columns in reply to a publication with a real signature. When a fictitious and hidden character is put in competition with an open and a real one, the worst passions of the human heart are thus excited, which are apt to verify the maxim, *Suppressio veri et suggestio falsi.*"

The late Mr. Thomas Finn of Carlow, a noted piece of heavy literary artillery, now came to the rescue. He had formerly been a newspaper editor, and could throw off letters and leaders by the yard. With an old grudge at heart against Dr. Doyle, and an insatiable desire to figure in print, it may be supposed that he did not let the present opportunity pass without presenting the public with a fluent and flippant evidence of both. Accordingly, under the specious pretence of vindicating the rights of the second order of the clergy, Mr. Finn, behind the pseudonyme of "Laicus," discharged four mortal columns of brevier at J. K. L. Garnished with a smattering of theology, a sprig of logic, and a few waifs and strays of canon law, his letter passed muster with some of the laity as a learned and able document. Beneath the analyzing pen of J. K. L., however, it soon fell to pieces.

By the 7th of March, Mr. Hay had recovered his self-possession and wonted epistolary power. Encouraged by the undaunted *aplomb* of Laicus, he replied at unprecedented length to Dr. Doyle. Amongst other digressive observations, he entered an indignant

protest against the continuance of any intimacy between Archbishop Troy and the Castle.

J.K.L.'s answer is dated the 11th of March. It occupies several columns of the newspaper, and goes on to say:

"I troubled you before with reluctance—I do it now with pain. The chief object of my former letter was to vindicate the character of men who, as it appeared to me, were undeservedly traduced; at present I only seek to rescue my own opinions from misrepresentation, and to counteract, as far as in my power, the evil effects which Mr. Hay's letter, and another signed 'Laicus,' might, if left unnoticed, produce in the public mind. . . . . Your correspondent states confidently that a union of civil and ecclesiastical power has always proved anything but a blessing to the governed; and, as a proof, he quotes Abbé Vertot's 'History of the Revolutions in Sweden,' and the separation of these powers in Catholic countries after the experience of centuries. I have read Gibbon's 'Decline and Fall,' and Volney's 'Ruins of Empires,' with the same feelings as 'Vertot's History.' It is like 'Fox's Martyrs,' a mere romance. His 'History of the Revolution of Portugal' is a tissue of falsehood, as I had the best opportunity of knowing. His book on the Roman commonwealth is alone, of all his works, worthy of perusal; and unless the authority of Gregoire, Abbé de Pradt, and Talleyrand, is adduced to support him, I am of opinion that Prelates will suffer but little from his testimony in the judgment of men of learning. . . . .

"The history of Magna Charta is quoted to prove that Prelates are the enemies of liberty, and never promote the interests of mankind. I blush at this misrepresentation, and hope sincerely it was not wilful. And yet it is difficult to suppose so; for of all the proofs furnished by history of the protection afforded to the liberties of mankind by the Catholic Prelates, there is scarcely one more illustrious than that recorded in the history of Magna Charta.

"The tyranny and folly of King John had persecuted the nobility and clergy; of the latter there were only three Prelates whom he did not compel to quit the kingdom. Bishop Langton produced the ancient Charter of British Rights; he conspired with the fourteen Barons to re-assert it. Almost the entire of the clergy who had returned from abroad and the nobility concurred with them, and, with the motto of 'God and the Church' upon their banners, they proceeded to compel the silly despot to sign that charter, of which the first and principal articles secure the rights and immunities of the Church. The Prelates who are said to support John in his opposition did not support him. They stood by him as faithful counsellors, to induce him to preserve his

crown and save his country from bloodshed, and to act as his ambassadors in conducting the treaty with those who were opposed to him. It is thus 'that Catholic Prelates have opposed liberty, and failed to promote the happiness of mankind!' 'The present, it is said, is 'an age of light and improvement, and the human mind cannot retrograde.' This is true, though there is much false light and a vast deal of superficial learning abroad; but yet there is, I hope, a sufficient stock of true wisdom remaining to bring men back to sound principles, and to those landmarks placed by their fathers, which they should never have removed."

J.K.L. then proceeded to refer to the calumnies on Dr. Troy, who, full of years and virtues, sank, a few months later, into the grave. Through life he dispensed large sums in charity, and at his death he had nothing to bequeath but his blessing. Moore's Diary contrasts "the two Archbishops who died lately—him of Armagh, whose income was £20,000 a-year, and who left £130,000 behind him, and Troy, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, whose annual income was £800, and who died worth about a tenpenny." Dr. Doyle writes: "The father of this venerable body may still continue to be taunted, as he descends into the vale of years, laden with merits and followed by the blessings of the Irish Church, but the voice of calumny will not disturb him. He will find abundant consolation in the love and respect of his faithful people—in the consciousness of his own integrity—in the recollection of the labours that he underwent and the good that he effected. He often resorted to the seat of power to save those who would reproach him. He was not popular for a time with those of his flock who were infatuated; but he has already received the homage due to his virtue from the most distinguished of the dead and of the living who thought evil of him, and if he looked to any other judge of his actions but the Lord, he would find amongst men all the virtuous and wise to applaud him. His integrity was never tempted by fear or favour, because it was known to be incorruptible."

J.K.L., having given his lay adversaries some vigorous lashes of sarcasm, resumed the discussion on Domestic Nomination. Paying them off in their own coin, he went on to say: "But as your correspondent is a lover of antiquity, and gives us an extract from Pope Hilarius to illustrate 'his principles and secure his footing,' another on the same subject from Pope Celestine, one of the predecessors of Hilarius, and whom your correspondent also quotes, cannot be unacceptable to him. 'The people,' says that Pope, 'ought to be directed, not followed; and it is our duty, when they are ignorant of what they should or should not do, to advise them, and not to agree with them.'—*Ep. 5 ad Epis: Apul, et Calab.*

"If the people of this country should wish at present to revive the ancient mode of electing Bishops at general assemblages of Priests and people, the Prelates would advise them to abandon such impracticable views, as little adapted to the age we live in as the ancient law of Tanistry or Gavel-kind is to the present state of inheritance and of property in Ireland."

J. K. L. complained that there had been a want of good faith in commenting on his letter. He did not wish to have Chapters abolished; but as these bodies were liable to be corrupted, he wished to have them tempered and controlled by the rights of the Metropolitan and Suffragans. He was anxious to preserve the obvious advantages of the right of election by Deans and Chapters; but he desired to have it guarded, lest it should degenerate.

On the 30th of March, Mr. Finn, under his pseudonyme of "Laicus," was once more in the field at the head, or rather at the foot of six mortal columns. He conducted the assault with vigour and ability; but the tone of his lucubration gave offence to many of his co-religionists. After various logical retorts, and ingenious shuffles, "Laicus" concluded: "'I cry you mercy,' Mr. Editor, for the unreasonable length of this letter, and I leave your author in peaceable possession of all he may have gained by resorting to personality rather than to argument." Mr. Finn, who resided at Carlow, had private differences with Dr. Doyle on the subject of a charitable bequest. He, moreover, had imbibed an early prejudice against Dr. Doyle, as the anecdote, p. 64, *ante*, shows. It may surprise some persons that Dr. Doyle should have stooped to notice his lucubrations. But Mr. Finn was a writer of considerable power, and Dr. Doyle feared that dangers might arise if such diatribes were permitted to riot unrefuted. The article entitled "The Painter Cut," for publishing which Watty Cox was heavily fined, imprisoned, and pilloried, was written by Mr. Finn. Throughout the rest of Dr. Doyle's life, this very eccentric genius was almost perpetually before the public, belauding him one day and villifying him the next. We shall have occasion to recur to Mr. Finn again; but, meanwhile, as an illustration of his uncertain humour, we may observe that he proposed the following very creditable resolution at the Carlow meeting, October 5th, 1826: "That the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle doth pre-eminently merit our gratitude and veneration. His numerous valuable publications, the fruits of deep research, persevering industry, and powerful talents, have deprived our adversaries of every pretext to retain us in bondage for religion's sake."

Mr. James O'Grady, LL.D., having read Mr. Finn's ingenious effusion, and the long lucubrations of Mr. Hay, on the same subject, suggested to Dr. Doyle the expediency of finally answering

them, but the Bishop laughed at the idea of wasting further time upon either the one or the other, and declared that life was too short to be employed in fighting shadows. Dr. O'Grady, accordingly, drew up a conclusive reply, signed "Verax Laicus," and sent it to the newspaper office for insertion. Mr. Hay chanced to hear of it, and believing Dr. Doyle to be the writer, repaired to Old Derrig to beg he would withdraw a document which referred to him in no very affable language.

The Most Rev. Dr. Everard, Archbishop of Cashel, died about this time. The names of several candidates were mentioned for the vacant See. Dr. Doyle warmly exerted himself in favour of his old friend Dr. Slattery, as the reader will perceive on referring back to p. 59—but these efforts were not then successful. We have since obtained access to the papers of the late Catholic Primate Curtis, which disclose, among other interesting matters, the very peculiar influences that led to the defeat of Dr. Doyle's exertions. The following letter is now published for the first time. Had it reached our hands at an earlier period, it would have appeared in the preceding chapter.

[*Confidential.*]

"London, 10th April, 1821.

"My dear Sir—I have just heard that Dr. Everard, the titular Archbishop of Cashel, is dead, and that he is lamented by all who had the honor of his acquaintance, and the welfare and happiness of their country at heart. At this important crisis it is very desirable, that the gentleman selected to succeed to Dr. Everard should have those moderate principles and temper which distinguished his predecessor—the general prevalence of which among the clergy of the Roman Catholic persuasion has been so advantageous and honorable to their reputation. I therefore take the liberty of an old friend to draw your attention to this important point, and to entreat you to exert your powerful influence, that the gentleman selected to succeed to Dr. Everard may be one likely, by the moderation of his principles and temper, to give general satisfaction. I hope that you are in good health; and that you will believe me always your most faithful servant,

"Wellington."

The Rev. Robert Laffan soon after received his appointment to the Catholic Archbishopric of Cashel. The policy and career of this pious prelate was moderate and undistinguished.

A remarkable intimacy existed between the Duke of Wellington and Dr. Curtis. The Duke once offered him an English Protestant Bishopric, with £6,000 per annum. Dr. Curtis replied that

if it were six million, instead of six thousand, he would not change his religion. The Duke seemed quite unprepared for such a reply. "As if £6000 a-year," said Dr. Curtis, as he told the anecdote, "would prove any attraction to an old man with one foot in the grave, and without a single tie to bind him to this world." This honorable repugnance to apostacy contrasts favorably with Dr. Coke's proposal to Lord Liverpool to desert the Methodist Congregation, of which he was pastor, if appointed Lord Bishop of Calcutta. See the Wilberforce Correspondence (ii. 256).

We shall now transcribe the first of a valuable series of letters from Dr. Doyle to Mariana, which have been kindly placed at our disposal by that lady. Beloved and respected by all, she has filled the office, for twenty-two years, of Reverend Mother, or Superioress, in an extensive conventual community and educational establishment. The favourite child of a Protestant Banker, she was brought up in strong Anglican tenets; but the prejudices which had been imbibed with her mother's milk, at last gave way to views of considerable liberality. "Even when a child," she writes, "the inconsistencies of the Protestant Catechism set me thinking. I found that the accusations from the Protestant pulpit were absolutely falsified by the conduct of my Catholic friends, and this was the happy foundation of all that arose afterwards." Soon after this decisive change in her opinions, Mariana was introduced to Dr. Doyle by Bishop Marum, at an evening party in Rutland Square. Mariana was so struck by Dr. Doyle's intellectual conversation, that she sat next him the whole evening, fondly but reverently listening to the words which flowed in euphonious diction from his lips; and when he at last stood up to bid the host good night, he complained, in his own playful way, that she had made him lose his game of whist. Mariana's ingenuousness pleased him. "I amused him exceedingly," she writes, "by declaring that I *never* again could make a new friendship." "Of course," said J.K.L., "you will *keep* that resolution, having arrived at the wise and experienced age of twenty-two." Mariana's acquaintance with Dr. Doyle gradually ripened into a strong feeling of friendship. Every conversation with him attracted her still closer to the Church of which he was so bright an ornament, until, at last, the fair young convert's devotion reached its zenith, in a determination to abandon for ever a happy home, and join the Sisters of Charity. Of much personal attractiveness, and gifted with a naturally sparkling disposition, her accomplishments and talents were of the most varied and fascinating character. With a nerve of iron, Mariana tore herself from the adulation of those who had long courted her society, and in May, 1822, entered the chilling noviciate of the Order of Charity. In reference to this interesting

vocation, some of Griffin's beautiful lines might, not inapplicably, be quoted:

"She once was a lady of honor and wealth—
Bright glowed in her features the roses of health,
Her vesture was blended of silk and of gold,
And her motion shook perfume from every fold.
Joy revelled around her, love shone at her side,
And gay was her smile as the glance of a bride;
And light was her step, in the mirth-sounding hall,
When she heard of the daughters of Vincent de Paul.

"She felt in her spirit the summons of grace,
That called her to live for her suffering race;
And heedless of pleasure, of comfort, of home,
Rose quickly, like Mary, and answered, 'I come!'
She put from her person the trappings of pride,
And passed from her home with the joy of a bride,
Nor wept at the threshold as onward she moved,
For her heart was on fire in the cause it approved."

Dr. Doyle did not permit the inclemency of the harsh winter of 1822, or any other obstacle, to interrupt the course of his biennial visitations, of which a great part had formerly to be performed on foot. The Bishop's zeal in the cause of religion at this period well nigh proved fatal, as the sequel shows:

"Carlow, 13th February, 1822.

"My dear Friend—Since my arrival here on Friday last, I have been laid up with an inflammation, produced by the excessive cold I experienced travelling for several successive days in an open carriage. I had upwards of fifty ounces of blood taken from my arm at two bleedings, which, with some care, has quite restored me, thanks to God; and I am now enabled to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter. I could wish that the Sisters of Charity had extended that admirable virtue from which they so justly take their name, to their friends in the country, and exercised it even in my regard, for a more undeserving subject they could scarcely find, or one who, when stricken by illness, requires more the soothing care of religion to preserve him calm and tranquil, and united to the Source of charity in time of trial, however momentary and light. But they are better employed, and I would be well satisfied with one of their intended olives, that she might learn, with me, some of the inconveniences of the state she might be desirous of embracing.

"I had a letter from my friend, relating to the subject of our conversation. Put it away from your mind, that it may not help to agitate a heart already too susceptible of emotion. Do, my dear Mariana, 'look to the author and finisher of your faith,' who underwent the cross for your sake, and labour calmly but per-

severingly to seduce your thoughts from the consideration of these little crosses, and to direct them to heaven and to the bliss which is prepared for those who love the Lord—and, indeed, not so much to that bliss as to Him who bestows it, 'for what,' says David, 'is there for me in heaven but Him, and what but Him do I desire upon the earth?' I think you are right to hasten to the accomplishment of your designs, for suspense and preparation, to a mind like yours, would be very wasting; and the grace of God, which is bestowed according to the measure of the gift of Christ, accommodates itself to the natural dispositions of those to whom it is given. In you, therefore, it might be impatient of delay, for the soul is often inspired with a disposition to run to the embraces of Christ, like that which He felt in coming to be clothed with our infirmities, and which the Prophet illustrates by a fine comparison—'He exulted like a giant to run his course: from the highest heavens is his forthcoming.' The dispositions of each of your friends seem to be regulated for you by divine Providence, 'who, extending strongly from end to end, disposes all things sweetly,' and when He has ripened the harvest, the reaper should put in his sickle. You should not be an obstacle to yourself; the cares of your mind and the troubles of your heart will subside gradually; and should they not, they ought to be braved, for the kingdom of heaven is taken by violence, and the violent bear it away. But I don't recommend a war with the affections—above all, where a female is concerned. She should be soft and gentle, and disengage herself slowly and by degrees from her friends. Where, my dear Mary, could you find anything to fill your heart, which is so large—anything to satisfy it, whose affections are so strong? No; gratification would enlarge your desires, but not satisfy them; you could not concentrate them in the bosoms of your present or future friends; they would still agitate you—for 'a soul,' says St. Bernard, 'capable of enjoying God is not filled with anything less than God;' and St. Augustine exclaims, 'Thou hast made, O Lord, for thyself, and our heart is restless till it rests in thee.'"

Meanwhile a younger sister of Mariana's, attracted by her example, embraced the Catholic faith, and commenced her noviciate in the Presentation Convent, Kilkenny:

"Carlow, 3rd April, 1822.

"My dear Friend—I this morning received your very estimable letter. I feared that my last short and pithy note on the subject of my health had discouraged you from writing. If I did not expect to see you shortly, I would probably remind you about this time of your engagement to write to me occasionally; but you continue faithful to your promises, and 'those who are faithful in small things'——you know the rest. . . . .

"I hope your visit to your sister, in the Convent at Kilkenny, will not be attended with that pain you apprehend. These things are more alarming at a distance than when approached, for then they are stripped of the circumstances with which the fancy clothes them; and should it be necessary to call in the aid of religion to extricate oneself, the struggle is easy and the victory consoling. To love all things only for God is a duty—the first duty, not only of a Christian, but of every reasonable being; and 'he who loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me' is the sword which cuts the knot which the world, or an affection not circumcised by the knife of the Gospel, hath tied. I confess that if I did not recur to observation, and to what is said by all, I could not find anything within myself to give me a just idea of those weak and useless affections which interfere with the love of Christ; they are perhaps the only misery of human nature from which I have been greatly exempted, though I do hope the Almighty has not bereft me of strong affection. Do not think, however, that I cannot sympathize with you. I do, indeed; but am very confident you will yet laugh at your past weakness. I wish, my dear Mariana, you had often applied your acute and intelligent mind to the philosophy of our religion. I admire it only less than its heavenly Origin, and the unction of its love or grace. The whole frame and system of it is opposed, not only to the reputed wisdom of the world and its vices, but also to the folly of self-sufficient ignorance and youthful presumption. 'Know,' says Christ, 'that if the world hate you, it hated me before you,' and no wonder, for, 'as the heavens are raised above the earth, so are my ways above your ways, and my thoughts above your thoughts.' Fashionable youths are filled with passion, folly, nonsense—with the gabbling of pamphleteers; they worship sensuality, and esteem fine clothes, and drawing-rooms, and dogs, and horses, and all that is contemptible in nature; and they know not the thoughts nor the ways of infinite intelligence. Eternity, and justice, and judgment, and chastity are unknown to them. They bring God down from heaven, as Paul says, to accommodate his thoughts to theirs, and his ways to the ways of a perverse and besotted generation. But he will reject not only their folly, but even the prudence of the prudent and the wisdom of the wise, that no flesh may glory in his sight. Why you were impressed with the feelings of these men is because you are like all of us—a child of Adam, full of corruption like their own, which catches infection from them as touchwood catches fire; and therefore to be 'a new creature in Christ Jesus,' and to avoid the judgment which will come upon all the world, it is especially necessary for you 'to sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor, and follow Christ.'"

Dr. Doyle had recently seen much of the folly and foppery of the fashionable world. The visit of George IV., in 1821, had attracted to Dublin myriads of sporting squireens and sprigs of nobility. The heir-apparent to a peerage amused the Bishop by the earnestness and exactness with which he detailed the progress and upshot of a cock-fight: "but the attention of the company," observes Mariana, "was riveted on J. K. L., who, by casual questions, drew the youth out so completely, as to develop the extraordinary frivolity of one who really seemed to have some intellect, and had possessed every means of cultivating it." This young nobleman, after having exhausted himself by his energetic description of the ornithological combat, was in the act of retiring to dress for dinner, when Dr. Doyle called him back to say: "You have forgotten to tell us the precise length of the victor cock's tail." The young noble's eyes sparkled with renovated excitement, and was beginning to enter into an elaborate description of the appendage, when the loud laughter of the auditory showed him in what light his lecture was viewed. A person present who did not catch the joke, asked the Bishop afterwards what interest HE could possibly take in the length of the cock's tail. "None," he replied, "but I wished to see how far the inordinate passion of that fine young man had gone for trifling and silly amusement."

["The remaining portion of this letter," writes Mariana, "answers three questions: 1st. Why should persons whose conduct I despise, make any impression on me when they sneer at religion? 2nd. Is it true that all fasts are abolished in Portugal? 3rd. Is it not hard to believe that all out of the Church will be lost?"]

"The abstinence, not the fast, has been remitted, not abolished, in Portugal, for the purpose of keeping in the country the vast sums hitherto expended in purchasing fish from the English. This regulation has existed in Spain for forty years from the same cause, and is occasionally extended to other countries.

"To suppress some of the convents in Portugal is a good work, but, like as in France and Italy at present, a new generation of persons, truly religious, will spring up, and in a few years convents will be re-established. A few years in the life of the Church is not like so many in the life of a man. 'Without faith it is impossible to please God,' and 'whosoever does not obey the gospel will suffer punishment in hell for ever,' for there is no name given to men to be saved but that of Christ. Moral virtues find their reward in peace of mind and temporal blessings; they often indirectly merit the gift of faith and conversion, as in the case of Cornelius; and they exempt from many punishments even in hell to which wicked men are doomed; *but they can never justify*, for faith, and grace, and the observance of the laws of the

gospel are necessary. 'Whosoever offends in one is guilty of all.' Your taste is too refined to be pleased with some ceremonies as you see them; they often excite disgust; but what offends you or me edifies others, and religion is for the multitude—aye, and for the multitude not in Ireland, but throughout the earth, where the majority of men must be governed by the senses, especially in warm climates, where no religion could at all subsist without ceremonies. Adieu, my dear friend, my paper is out; my time is also expended, for I am very busy; but my patience is not trespassed on, and my affection for you is most sincere."

The following letter was written a few days prior to Mariana's retirement from the world. That a hard struggle raged between duty on the one hand, and the dictates of nature on the other, may be gathered.

It is said that the great difficulty a man finds is how to begin a letter, and with a woman how and when to finish it. Dr. Doyle would seem to have been no exception to the remark.

"Carlow, 16th May, 1822.

"My dear Friend—I received your letter on Tuesday morning, and though, for my own gratification and yours, I wished to reply to it without any delay, yet I have been so hurried until this moment, that I was obliged to trespass on your indulgence. And even now, when I have at last snatched a moment to devote to you, my mind is so distracted with the trifles which divide its attention and weaken its energies, that I scarcely know what to say.

"I wish it might serve to keep you from sorrowing, to think that I, whom you suppose to be gifted with more fortitude than yourself, am thus frequently incapable of exertion, and appear to myself like some wreck cast upon a beach, useless to its owner, and impossible to repair. We would and should despond in the conflict we labour to maintain against ourselves and the enemies of our virtue, if we were not comforted by Him 'who lives within us,' and who permits us to be cast down, but not so as to perish, rendering us perfect by reason of our infirmity; and in these circumstances, I know of nothing which serves so much to restore us to a better mode of thought and new exertion, as an abandonment of ourselves to Him, with an anxious desire of getting through this desert of life, of passing the ocean of immortality which separates us from the just, and arriving at the rest of the saints, and the possession of God, and of all the glory that encompasses Him. There is a confidence and strength arising from the attachment of the soul to Christ in His glory that surpasses all understanding, and gives, like the fruit of the Apocalypse, a foretaste of the torrent of pleasure which inebriates the saints; and

whilst this feeling prevails, the trifles which disturb us are disregarded. If you, my dear Mariana, in this short period of your distress, seek to leave the earth, and endeavour to ascend into heaven by your thoughts and desires, you may feel the attentions and disquietudes of your friends, but you will not be agitated—like the vessel at anchor, which is tossed by the wave, but not driven from her station. Your fears are always disproportioned to the difficulties you apprehend. Were you to remove anticipations and deal only with the evil of the day, you would suffer less, and seek to elude the thoughts which annoy you, by substituting for them the consolations which the spirit whispers to the heart. At chess, and I suppose you are a proficient at play, is it not by shifting and address you secure the victory, and why be less dexterous in deceiving and outwitting your invisible opponents? . . . The heart should never be fully dilated except to God: so the spouse in the Canticles desires the soul to place him 'as a seal upon her heart; and that nothing should enter or rest there but his image.' Why then do you talk of gratitude, my dear child? You are too grateful; I wish, and wish sincerely, you were less so to all human creatures—that your feelings of gratitude were directed only to God, who is 'a jealous God,' and your esteem or respect given to your friends, with so much of your affection as would not divide your heart; but you are young . . . . Believe me, my dear Mariana, with the most tender sentiments of esteem and affection, your most humble servant in Christ,

"✠ J. Doyle."

"P.S.—I have faithfully disposed of your compliments, and Miss G—— desires me to say everything I could collect to express her friendship and affection for you. How I wish to see you both saints!"

The latter allusion has reference to the convert lady spoken of (p. 72, *ante*), who had become a nun at the same time as her friend Mariana. Both are still living, venerable for their years and virtues. Writing to his niece on the 25th of May, 1822, the Bishop says: "Miss G—— and another friend of mine enter the Convent of the Sisters of Charity this day. You see I am laying the foundation of an establishment which I hope Providence may enable me to complete." And He did so. The Diocess of Kildare and Leighlin is studded with convents of the holiest and most useful character.

Dr. Doyle had resided in Carlow since his consecration, but, in the summer of 1822, he removed to the house and grounds known as Old Derrig, in the parish of Killeshin, Queen's County. This change of residence to another county might convey the im-

pression, to one not acquainted with the locality, that Dr. Doyle had removed to an inconvenient distance from the seat of his labours. Old Derrig, however, stands in a picturesque neighbourhood, within one Irish mile from the town of Carlow. An old, stone-roofed chapel and the remains of a round tower exist in its vicinity, as well as various ruins, which seem to be the foundations of the public buildings of an ancient town. The Bishop, in a letter to his niece, dated the 25th of May, 1822, refers, among other matters, to the new purchase: "I had heard of Mr. Redmond's death, and lamented it most sincerely as a public loss. How uncertain is this world, and what little sincerity it affords to those who even enjoy its comforts. His will shows him to have been a most excellent father, friend, husband, and Christian. May the Lord repay him mercy for the mercy he has shown, and glory for his attachment to our holy faith! I am leaving Carlow next month, having taken a house and thirteen acres of land a mile and a-half distant from it, in the beautiful country that lies beyond the river. The house, avenue, and garden are fine, and will enable me to indulge that love of solitude which has grown with me from my youth."

The oppressiveness of the Tithe Law at this period is evidenced by the following circumstances. In 1825, Dr. Doyle was asked by his noble interlocutors in the House of Lords what arrangement would render tithes less objectionable, considering that they were to be paid by a people chiefly engaged in tillage. He replied: "I think if the present Tithe Composition Bill were universally adopted, or a compulsory clause inserted, and the tithe levied by an acreable tax, that it would excite infinitely less discontent than exists at present. I may state one cause of that opinion to your Lordships. I hold myself about a dozen acres of land, which I employ in rearing a little hay for my horses, and feeding two or three cows for my household. I have one field of about three acres which ran to moss, and my steward told me it was necessary, for the purpose of rendering it useful, that it should be broken up. I hesitated long to do so, because I should thereby subject myself to a heavy tithe. If the matter were regulated by tax, that apprehension would not prevail in my mind, and I would not hesitate to improve my farm. I will mention another instance. I was walking with a farmer in one of his meadows which he had neglected to mow. I asked him why so much grass was left upon the surface. He stated that he left it there for his cattle to eat in the winter, for that if he had cut it and saved it for them, he would have been obliged to pay tithe."

We cannot wonder that the journals of the day should contain reiterated accounts of the popular excitement occasioned in Carlow

and elsewhere by this law, and the unrelenting despotism with which it was enforced. Few viewed the tithe system with feelings of stronger aversion than Dr. Doyle. "May our hatred of tithes be as lasting as our love of justice," he exclaimed on one occasion. But strong and deep-rooted as was this feeling within his breast, he knew the duties of a Christian Bishop too well to remain impassive while the people showed symptoms of an inclination to resist, with physical force, that despotic impost. The late Mr. Dunn of Ballinakill, when undergoing his Parliamentary examination, in 1824, was asked: *Q.* "Has not Dr. Doyle's effort to check the progress of insurrection been perfectly successful in the diocess over which he is the Catholic Bishop?" *A.* "I attribute much of our state of tranquillity and altogether putting down that insurrectionary spirit to his persevering exertions." *Q.* "When it began to show itself in one part of his diocess, how did he act?" *A.* "He met it at once." *Q.* "Did he do more than publish the address of which the Committee have heard?" *A.* "Yes: he made a special visitation of his diocess, and publicly exhorted the people—which has had the happiest effect."

Mountrath had long been periodically stained by Orange tumult and bloodshed; but, the sufferers were invariably on the popular side. The Parish Priest's house had been attacked, and shots fired at his person. The irritation of the people had gradually merged into an insurrectionary spirit, which was soon attested by many daring acts of outrage, both on person and property. The Defender or Ribbon Society may be regarded as the parent of that inflammatory feeling which, in 1822, disturbed Dr. Doyle's Diocess. The Bishop's impressive address to such of his flock as had become the dupes of the Ribbon Leaders is now before us. He not only vigorously grapples with their motives, arguments, and prejudices, but, like a skilful and inquiring physician, probes to the very root of the disease, unfolding the secret thoughts of the infatuated peasantry, and analysing the influences which formed them. Dr. Doyle thus displayed another instance of his acute knowledge of human nature, of the dispositions of his countrymen, and of the existing state of Ireland. His task was one of no ordinary difficulty; he had to work upon the ignorant minds of a class of persons whose reason seemed to have been surrendered to fatuity. Hoping against hope, and with a calmness and patience worthy of the exalted Christianity which he possessed, he explained, in detail, the nature and tendency of the system—its folly and injustice—and its opposition to all laws, human and divine. "Many persons thought," observes the late Thomas Kennedy, "that his charitable exertion would be unavailing, and that the pearls of his philosophy were destined to be

regarded with a swinish inattention by the multitude to whom they were offered; but the result was otherwise, and the distinguished Prelate had the satisfaction of seeing the baneful system not only checked in its progress, but for a considerable time almost eradicated from the soil."

The address, from which we make the following extracts, was read from the altar, at each of the public Masses, in every parish which Dr. Doyle considered had become seditiously infected. "It is an unquestionable fact," writes Sheil, "that many an insurgent congregation is tamed into submission to their destiny, by the voice of peace and warning that issues from the altar."

Dr. Doyle commenced by addressing himself to those who may have been seduced into "the vile and wicked conspiracy which has been latety detected in Dublin, and is known to have extended itself into some parishes of this diocess. But before we do so, 'we take you to witness this day that we are clear from the blood of you all, whereas for three years we have not ceased night and day, with tears, admonishing every one of you' to desist from these illegal associations, which have always augmented the evils of our country, and now tend to bring disgrace upon our holy religion." Dr. Doyle proceeded to lay down the principles of the Catholic Church on the subject of civil duties. Christ paid tribute to the state, and caused St. Peter to do the same. To Cæsar, though a Pagan and the conqueror of his country, he declared that tribute should be paid. He who could obtain from his Father legions of angels to defend him, suffered himself to be conducted like a criminal to the tribunal of Pilate, whose power, he averred, was given him from above. "He underwent the cross, despising shame," that he "might be obedient unto death," not only to the will of his Father, but also to the laws of his country, however unjustly administered in his regard. Peter, whom he made the depositary of his doctrine and power, followed his example. "Be you subject to every human creature for God's sake, whether it be to the king, as excelling, or to the governors, as sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, for so is the will of God" (1 *Pet.* ii. 14); and again, "Fear God; honour the king." He unites these two obligations because one cannot subsist without the other—for if the king, or he who bears the sword, "be the minister of God, an avenger to execute wrath upon him who doeth evil" (*Rom.* xiii. 4), how can God be feared or served if his minister be disobeyed? Dr. Doyle declared that the design into which some of his flock had entered—of subverting the state, and overthrowing the government established by Divine permission—was opposed to the maxims and example of our Redeemer and of his Apostles, and to the uniform doctrine of the Catholic Church.

Before we examine the remainder of this excellent exhortation, it may be observed that the royal visit to Ireland in 1821 had been regarded as a harbinger of great political blessings. The entire demeanour of the King during the period of his sojourn was unmistakably calculated to promote this impression; and when the time of his departure arrived, he could not avoid expressing, in the most deliberate manner, the indelibly favourable impression which the conduct of the faithful and long oppressed Irish people had made upon him. He recommended that all sectarian jealousies and ancient rivalries should be laid aside, and a cordial and earnest amalgamation of both parties effected. The royal letter went on to say: "The testimonies of dutiful and affectionate attachment which his Majesty has received from all classes and descriptions of his Irish subjects, have made the deepest impression on his mind; and he looks forward to the time when he shall revisit them with the strongest feelings of satisfaction. His Majesty trusts that in the mean time not only the spirit of loyal union, which now so generally exists, will remain unabated and unimpaired, but that every cause of irritation will be avoided and discountenanced, mutual forbearance and good-will observed and encouraged, and security be thus afforded for the continuance of that concord amongst themselves, which is not less essential to his Majesty's happiness than to their own. His Majesty well knows the generosity and warmth of heart which distinguish the character of his faithful people of Ireland; and he leaves them with a heart full of affection towards them, and with the confident and gratifying persuasion, that this parting admonition and injunction of their Sovereign will not be given in vain."

In Pellew's "Life of Lord Sidmouth" (vol. iii., p. 380), we find his Lordship writing to Chancellor Manners, and saying: "It is most affecting to compare Ireland as it now appears, with its appearance in the month of August. Not that the seeds which have since put forth did not then exist; not that they could be deadened by the royal visit: but still the contrast that is presented to the eye and observation of the world is most painful and humiliating. We who witnessed and partook of the exaltation of the summer, must deeply feel the abominations and disgrace of the winter."

But to return to the Bishop's pastoral. He pointed out the peculiar unfitness of the period his flock had chosen, to form a dark and bloody conspiracy against all that was established by the will of God, in a country which should be more dear to them than life. "Our gracious Sovereign had just visited us like a common father, quelling the tumult of the passions, allaying the spirit of party and dissension, and dispensing, among every class of his people, the blessings of peace and good will." An Irishman, re-

nowned for his wisdom and justice, had been appointed to the government of his native country, for the avowed purpose of dispensing the laws impartially to all, and devising remedies for the many evils under which it laboured. He who had been the strenuous and powerful advocate of the rights of Catholics, was now placed in a situation where he could directly view their merits and sufferings, and bear, before the Legislature, a high testimony to the truth and justice of their claims. "Shall Ireland, my dear but infatuated brethren, be always doomed to suffer, and to suffer through the blindness or malice of her own children?"

The Bishop reviewed the motives which influenced them to profane the name of God, by calling on Him to attest their wicked purpose. These were: their distress, their hatred of Orangemen, their love of religion, their faith in prophecies, and their hope of seeing Ireland free. He invited his flock to examine, dispassionately, each of these motives. Their distress, he admitted, was great; but, strange to say, though he had conversed with many individuals who were once engaged in illegal associations, he had not known one who was impelled by want to join them. "And now let me ask you, how are your wants to be remedied and your distress removed by these associations? Is it by the breaking of canals, by the destroying of cattle, by burning houses, corn, and hay, and establishing a reign of terror throughout the country, that you are to obtain employment? Is it by rendering the farmer insecure in the possession of his property that you will induce him to increase his tillage? Is it by injuring canals and boats that you are to encourage trade? Is it by being leagued against the gentry that you will prevail on them to improve their houses and demesnes? Is it by causing a heavy police establishment to be quartered throughout the country, to be paid by taxes collected from the holders of land, that you will enable them to give you employment? No—your proceedings are only calculated to impel gentlemen to fly from the country, to convert their lands to pasture, and to place an armed force to protect their cattle, and to treat you, if necessary, with the utmost rigour. Your conspiracies, therefore, are calculated not to relieve, but to augment your distress an hundred fold."

The Orangemen might be foolish and wicked, but if they be fools, they deserved the compassion of his flock; if wicked, they were obliged to seek their conversion by prayer and forbearance. "If they be your enemies, your Redeemer teaches you how you are to treat them, saying, 'Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, pray for those who persecute and calumniate you.' And his apostle desires you not to return evil for evil, but to 'overcome evil by good.' These men, who are hateful in your eyes,

are our brethren in Christ; they are each of them as dear to him as the apple of his eye; they have all been baptized in his blood. If they be your enemies by a misfortune common to you and them, they are still the children of your Father who is in heaven.'" The Bishop added: "Your unlawful proceedings are the best means you could devise to increase their number and extend their influence." And touching the alleged motive of "love of religion," he said: "Ah, my dear brethren, how frequently is the sacred name of religion abused, and how many crimes and profanations are committed in her name? Could religion be weighed in a scale, there would not be found one ounce of pure religion amongst all those who have freely entered into your associations? For how can iniquity abide with justice, light with darkness, or Christ with Belial? It was by meekness, humility, patience, suffering, and unbounded charity, that Christ, 'the author and finisher of our faith,' founded his religion; by these and such like virtues it was propagated by his followers to the end of the earth; by these our holy Apostle St. Patrick, whose name you profane, and whose religion you cause to be blasphemed, planted the faith in this island, which was once an Island of Saints, but which you would convert into a den of thieves. Can religion be served by conspiracies? Can it be propagated, like the superstition of Mahomet, by fire and sword? Does she require for her support the aid of those who neglect all her duties, disobey and despise her pastors, who violate all her commands, and indulge in her name all the vices which she condemns?"

No inconsiderable stimulant to the turbulently illiberal spirit which prevailed among the masses, was the republication and circulation of a curious old work entitled "Pastorini," which ambiguously prophesied the downfall of the creed of Luther, in or about the year 1822. The Bishop proceeds: "Your faith in prophecies—this, dearest brethren, is a subject which we find it difficult to treat with becoming seriousness; and yet it is one which has produced among you the most deplorable effects. I have been credibly informed, that during the course of the last year, when great numbers of you, yielding to our remonstrance and those of our clergy, had withdrawn yourselves from these mischievous associations, you were prevailed on to return to them, excited by some absurd stories called 'prophecies,' and which were disseminated amongst you by designing and wicked men. There have been, to our own knowledge, instances of persons neglecting their domestic concerns, and abandoning their families to misery and want, through a vain hope, grounded on some supposed prophecy, 'that mighty changes were just approaching!' For more than half a century it was predicted that George IV.

would not reign, and his very appearance amongst you was scarcely sufficient to dispel the illusion. Such excessive credulity on your parts, and such a superstitious attachment to fables, a thousand times belied, is a melancholy proof of the facility with which you may be seduced by knaves. Our Church, dearest brethren, approves of no prophecies, unless such as are recorded in the canonical Scriptures; and though the gift of prophecy, like that of miracles, has not entirely ceased in the Church, she has never lent the sanction of her name or approbation to vulgar reports or traditionary tales."

Dr. Doyle and other eminent Catholic divines have been taunted by polemics with holding the opinion, that "the end sanctifies the means"—with what justice we shall see.

"But your object is to make your country free and happy. We will not reason with you on the end which you propose to yourselves, which, even if it were laudable, could not justify the employment of unlawful means, 'as evil,' says an apostle, 'is not to be done that good may happen;' but we will consider for a moment your design itself, and the persons employed to carry it into execution, that if possible the absurdity as well as the wickedness of it may become palpable to you. And first, who are those who would undertake to subvert the laws and constitution of this country? Persons without money, without education, without arms, without counsel, without discipline, without a leader; kept together by a bond of iniquity, which it is a duty to violate and a crime to observe; men destitute of religion and abandoned to the most frightful passions, having blasphemy in their mouths and their hands filled with rapine, and oftentimes with blood. Can such as these regenerate a country and make her free and happy? No, dearest brethren; left even to themselves they would destroy each other, but opposed to a regular force, they would scatter like a flock of sheep upon a mountain when the thunder-storm affrights them. The year 1798 is within the recollection of us all; at that fatal period, Protestant, and Catholic, and Dissenter of every class and description, not even excepting the army, combined to overthrow the Government. You witnessed their failure, the scenes which then occurred, and many of you experienced their fatal consequences. If, then, such was the result of an extensive conspiracy, comprising persons of all religions, of wealth and affluence, of intelligence, connected abroad, organised at home, and undertaken at a period when a revolutionary spirit pervaded Europe, and England was engaged, almost single-handed, with a most formidable enemy, what success could possibly attend the efforts of the vile and contemptible conspiracy we now hear of?"

Most of the ministerial newspapers reviewed this Pastoral in

terms of respect and admiration. One journal, instead of applauding the good Bishop's apostolic labour, enumerated many acts of barbarity into which the misguided people had been led, and, more ingeniously than ingenuously, turned into bitter ridicule that portion of the Pastoral which addressed them as "dearly beloved in Christ Jesus." The sensation produced by the Bishop's well-timed document was general, salutary, and intense. The *Dublin Evening Post*, a few days later, thus reports progress: "We scarcely recollect an instance, in our long experience at the public press, of a document creating such a sensation—such a *good* sensation—as this Pastoral Address. Thousands of copies have already been circulated. Yesterday morning an edition was ready for the public, and hundreds of copies sold in the course of the day, although the address appeared in two morning papers of the same day. It will be copied, we believe, into every one of the country papers, and we expect to see it in the Government prints."

Three hundred thousand copies of this address, written, as O'Connell said, "with the affection of a parent and the talent of a philosopher," were soon after printed and distributed at the expense of the Government. It was also translated into the vernacular language of Ireland by Mr. Scurry. O'Connell, at the Catholic Association, on the 14th of June, 1824, reminded his auditory of the good effect produced by Dr. Doyle's Pastoral to the Ribbonmen. "That address," he said, "spoke with such persuasive eloquence and sincerity of intention, and appealed so successfully, through the force of feeling and truth, to the reason, prejudices, and passions of the peasantry, that it did more to induce patience and tranquillity amongst them than twenty Insurrection Acts in full operation. No man could tell where the disturbance would have ended had not the spring of insurrection been stemmed at its source. And why did Dr. Doyle write that address? Was it to get place, or title, or pension? No! they had no value for such a man. He offered it as a gem of unbought loyalty from a Christian Prelate, whose only earthly reward was in seeing his countrymen good subjects and good Christians."

From the many private letters to the same effect which reached Dr. Doyle, we select one from a not uninfluential person in his day, the late Major Warburton:

"My friend Mr. Duan having informed me of his intention of visiting you, I avail myself of the opportunity it has afforded me to express my hopes that you will not again pass through this county without indulging me with the pleasure of your company. I have always entertained the highest respect for your character and talents, but your late Pastoral Address, though it was such as

I should have expected from you, has inspired me with veneration for your truly Christian virtues. The pious instruction it contains must tend to dissipate those prejudices which ignorance and bigotry have fomented, and which too long have divided and distracted this ill-fated land. I hope I shall live to see the day when all religious distinctions shall cease to exist—when the only contention between Protestant and Roman Catholic shall be who shall exceed the other in acts of mutual benevolence. This, I think, is rapidly approaching. The late occurrence at the theatre will, I trust, hasten its completion." Major Warburton alludes to the bottle which had been flung at the liberal Lord Lieutenant.

CHAPTER VIII.

Archbishop Magee's charge—"A Church without a religion, and a religion without a Church"—Reply of J. K. L. to Dr. Magee—Sensation produced—Lord Wellesley anxiously watches the combat—Sir Harcourt Lees and the Dublin Corporation to the rescue—Rumour of Dr. Doyle's appointment to the Primatial chair—An invitation to Old Derrig—Letter from J. E. Devereux and the Editor of *The Times*—Letters to Nuns—Dr. Doyle and the Monks—The Kildare-street system of education—Breach of faith—The Lord Primate and the Duke of Leinster retire—Formation of the National Society—The Right Hon. C. Grant, now Lord Glenelg—Mr. Goulbourne—Important Letter and enclosure to Sir H. Parnell on the subject of education.

THE letters of J. K. L., in 1822, to the Most Rev. Dr. Magee, although bearing unmistakable evidence of hasty writing, are more clearly and pleasurably remembered by the bulk of Dr. Doyle's admirers, than many other documents from the same source which exhibit a loftier range of thought and a purer style of composition.

Dr. William Magee, when a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, had been generally regarded as a man of enlarged and liberal principles. He was the bosom friend from youth of William Conyngham Plunket, the great champion of Catholic Emancipation; and when Lord Wellesley assumed the government of Ireland on a new and liberal scale of policy, Mr. Plunket and Dr. Magee were amongst the first selected by the Viceroy for aiding in the development of his wise and tolerant views. Dr. Magee, however, was no sooner installed on the archiepiscopal throne than he flung off the mask of moderation, and hastily assumed all the attributes and characteristics of an illiberal polemic. One of his first labours was the organization of a wide-spread proselytizing

crusade, which in many instances enkindled feelings of violent sectarian rancour and antagonism. This movement his Grace designated "the Second Reformation."

Catholic spirit was so prostrate at the period of which we write, that Dr. Doyle's castigation of the Arch-Prelate upon his throne was considered by many to evince an almost incredible amount of daring. The loud and uncompromising voice of the Catholic Association* had not as yet resounded through the land, awakening the Catholic body from their apathy, and arresting the attention of the long indifferent minister. Dr. Doyle's spirited retort was almost unprecedented, and the then organ of the Catholic party which gave it insertion did not do so without an indirect editorial apology and qualification.

Almost for centuries the Catholic Church of Ireland had submitted, without a murmur, to malevolent misrepresentation. Dr. Doyle was the precursor of a new line of policy and action. He felt that silence under persecution was not always to be observed, and that plausible slander should be conclusively refuted. Some of the purest truths of his Church might eventually become obscured beneath the mass of controversial rubbish which its enemies daily flung upon them; and to hurl it off was no ordinary duty. Dr. Doyle knew, furthermore, that constant lashings of water might eventually undermine a rock, and that "the silent slave would be converted into a beast of burden." The Sampsonian determination and power with which Dr. Doyle grasped the leading pillar of the Irish Church Establishment, and shook it in the very citadel of its strength, awakened a wide-spread murmur of applause, although many members even of his own party could not disguise their feeling of alarm at what they considered an act of great temerity.

Archbishop Magee held his primary visitation at St. Patrick's Cathedral on the 24th of October, 1822, and delivered on that occasion a charge of very considerable eloquence. A short extract will serve to convey an idea of its tone and tendency: "We, my reverend brethren, are placed in a station in which we are hemmed in by two opposite descriptions of professing Christians—*the one possessing a Church, without what we can call a religion; and the other possessing a religion, without what we can call a Church*—the one *so blindly enslaved* to a supposed infallible ecclesiastical authority, as not to seek in the Word of God a reason for the faith they profess; the other so confident in the infalli-

* The first meeting was held a year later in a back drawing-room in Capel-street. O'Connell could with difficulty muster the attendance of six persons. When the Association had at last grown into importance, Dr. Magee thus antithetically referred to it in his Parliamentary evidence: "It is the misfortune of the present day that the Roman Catholics have now made their religion their politics, and their politics their religion."

bility of their individual judgment, as to the reasons of their faith, that they deem it their duty to resist all authority in matters of religion. We, my brethren, are to keep clear of both extremes, and holding the Scriptures as our great charter, whilst we maintain the liberty with which Christ has made us free, we are to submit ourselves to the authority to which he has made us subject. From this spirit of tempered freedom and qualified submission sprung the glorious work of the Reformation, by which the Church of these countries, having thrown off *the slough of a slavish superstition*, burst forth into the purified form of Christian renovation." A more just and sensible application of episcopal animadversion followed. Dr. Magee admonished his clergy for past irregularities, and exhorted them to discharge the duties of their office henceforward with zeal and efficiency. As a body he eulogized them warmly. He twice declared that by every previous Archbishop of Dublin "the discipline of the diocess had been totally neglected." Among other matters, it transpired that "the clandestine admission of unlicensed persons to the discharge of clerical duties" was of not unfrequent occurrence. After another antithetical cut at the Catholic body, the charge concluded with a reference to the much vexed Tithe question. He implored of the Protestant clergy never to surrender their inalienable rights. The antithesis had been from the days of his youth a favourite figure of speech with Dr. Magee, and it involved him more than once in a dilemma. So far back as 1796, Mr. Swift, of Trinity College, Dublin, satirized the Fellows in a poem called "The Monks of Trinity," which had some smart lines. "In one," says Thomas Moore, where Magee was styled a '*learned antithesis*,' he seems to have prefigured the sort of scrape in which this ambitious Priest got involved, some years after, by the use of that same figure of rhetoric."

The unlucky paragraph which we have quoted, not only drew down upon Dr. Magee the anger of the Catholic body, but elicited a steadily organised assault from the dissenters. A hornet's nest had fallen before the Prelate's path, but he kicked it aside with sovereign scorn; and in the second edition of the Charge, which was speedily called for, he boasted of having consistently reiterated every expression to which exception had been taken by "Romanists" and Sectaries. One slight change was certainly made, but the poison of the arrow still remained. "The trammels" were substituted for "the slough of a slavish superstition." Having publicly apostacised from the liberal principles to which his episcopal promotion was mainly attributed, Dr. Magee flung aside the symbolical olive-branch of peace with one hand, while with the other, like the incendiary of Ephesus, he applied his

torch of discord to a mass of inflammable matter, which soon blazed forth with fatal fury. The Dissenters on the one side, and the polemically disposed Catholics on the other made, common cause together, and daily poured forth vials of wrath on the narrow-minded churchman's head. Stimulated by an example so influential as the Archbishop of Dublin, the worst prejudices and passions of Protestantism became, in their turn, enkindled. Catholicism was subjected to a new and elaborate train of insult; and it is matter of history that some of its very altars were clandestinely desecrated, in 1822, by calves' heads, and other gross symbols of sacrilegious ridicule. Dr. Magee, having sent a poisoned arrow, in the shape of a barbed antithesis, to rankle in the heart of his country, calmly contemplated, from his lofty throne, the pain and tumult which resulted from it. As the effect became more marked, his demeanour was thought to assume rather an air of scornful triumph, and so far from endeavouring to allay the fever around him, as a Christian Bishop might be expected to have done, he sent forth "authorised versions" of his inflammatory charge, with a deliberate reiteration of all the illiberal views and offensive phraseology of the original. The Charge having been, in the first instance, given forth with the zeal of an extempore sermon, the Archbishop had it still in his power to retrace his steps with dignity, by explaining what may have been liable to misconstruction, and softening what was offensive; but his Grace's iron will could brook no compromise, and he resolved to stand his ground defiantly.

Within a very few days after this contentious Prelate's Charge, Dr. Doyle, though sadly straitened for leisure, had answered his Grace in a letter written *currente calamo*, which he forwarded to the editor of a liberal print for insertion; but some delay arose in publishing it, and Dr. Magee's Charge had been for more than a fortnight working its unwholesome influence ere J. K. L. was suffered to enter the lists with him, and scatter it to the winds. In this letter Dr. Doyle recorded his first protest against the Tithes. He reminded Dr. Magee that £1,300,000, or one-thirteenth of all the arable land in the kingdom, with a tenth of the produce of the remainder, levied chiefly off the industry of a wretched peasantry, was too great an income for the ministers of between two and three hundred thousand people!

J. K. L. began temperately, but gradually warmed. "In the Report of your Grace's charge to the Clergy of your Archdiocess, as published in the newspapers, there are many passages better calculated to give offence than to produce conviction; and whilst your Grace 'exhorted, reproved, and besought' those who heard you, there seemed to be some want of patience as well as a defi-

ciency of doctrine in your mind and manner. . . . . It must have been a painful avowal to your Grace—the acknowledgment, that in this country, so famed for its love of justice, 'there should be found many who deem it no violation of that cardinal virtue, to infringe or evade the laws which are designed to protect the property of the Church.' The reason is, my Lord, that in this country the nature of your Church property is understood by all, and is considered as different from every other in it. Your property is not held by deed nor conveyance, for it was transferred by law from those who held it by these titles. It is not held by prescription, from time immemorial; for all know when and how you became possessed of it, what your title was, what the good faith by which you held it, and what the term of your possession. You do not hold it by right of conquest—for meek churchmen will not found their right on blood, nor exclaim with the Scotch Barons of their domains, 'By these swords we won them, and with these swords we will maintain them.' You were not put in possession of them by any treaty, for you were never a party to any treaty, and no treaty executed by you is on record. You hold, my Lord, by the law, and by the law alone—not by the Divine law, for that ceased, as far as regards tithes, with the Commonwealth of the Jews—not by the law of the Church, for you have no connexion whatever with the Church which once possessed them in this country. You satisfy none of the obligations which she incurred on receiving them; you discharge none of the duties which her ministers were bound in justice to perform *for them, and with them.* You possess your property only by virtue of the civil law, and that law is penal—and highly penal. It is much more penal than the laws which enforce the payment of taxes to the State, whereas the State defends the subject against foreign enemies, and protects him from public and private wrongs, thus giving him an equivalent for what he pays. But what, my Lord, does the Establishment give the peasant in return for his tithe? Yet Judge Blackstone teacheth, and all allow, that the Legislature, in enacting laws of tribute, neither binds, nor intends to bind, the conscience of the subject; and hence no man hesitates to withhold his taxes until called upon for payment; and there are many in England and here who would not hesitate to evade and infringe the laws of tribute, could they do so with impunity—but with how much a better plea can the ragged peasant evade or infringe that law which takes from him the produce of his field, the fruits of his industry, and gives him nothing in return.

"Do not accuse, my Lord, of injustice, men who think on this subject differently from your Grace; as you will never succeed

in convincing your countrymen that they are conscientiously bound to pay for what they don't receive—as there is not a peasant in Ireland who does not know, as well as Ulpian, that commutative justice requires 'an equivalent to be given for what is received.'"

J.K.L. regretted to hear from such high authority as Dr. Magee that, "at the present day, those whom your Grace considers 'the national clergy are in a state little short of persecution.' I know the nature of persecution so well, that I shudder at the thought of its being revived in this country against any set of men, and more especially against the clergy of the Established Church, many of whom, in my opinion, deserve even the praises bestowed upon them *all* by your Grace; but hitherto, I must confess, I considered them, in a temporal point of view, the most happy, if not the only happy class of persons in Ireland. Their dignitaries all in splendour, amassing wealth almost beyond calculation; the parochial clergy enjoying sinecures, that *otium cum dignitate* which the Roman philosopher preferred to the dignity of a consul, or even to the power and privileges of a dictator. But how much are we deceived, and how true it is, 'that no man lives contented with his lot!'"

Dr. Doyle knew a good deal about Dr. Brown, the first Protestant Archbishop of Dublin. He was originally a member of the Augustinian order, like Dr. Doyle; but, unlike him, his life would seem to have been not *sans reproche*. Dr. Magee had recommended a steady perseverance in inculcating Protestant principles and laws; and in discouraging those tenets called New Lights, "we must," said he, "show ourselves the soldiers and servants of Christ, and prove ourselves the genuine ministers of that Catholic and Apostolic Church that has handed its power down to us from ages far removed, freed as we are from those errors with which our predecessors have been obscured."

Dr. Doyle retorted—"Would it not be wiser to abstain from such reproaches than to run the risk of having the shame of your own sect revealed? And when enthroned in the midst of that venerable pile, hung all round with awful recollections, and about to charge the New Lights with irregularities, why did you not recollect that the first of your Grace's predecessors there was a New Light—an apostate and a lewd monk, the vile sycophant of Cromwell, the most infamous of all Henry VIII.'s secretaries of state, and the vilest pander to his lust and cruelty?

"As an Archbishop of the Established Church, I would beg leave to ask you, my Lord, who are you, and where did you come from? From what heaven have you fallen? What earth produced you? Turn over the records of your Church, tell us the

names of the Bishops who preceded you; show us how they were connected with the Apostles, or with those who received the faith from them. Produce your claim to that title of 'apostolic,' which you so ostentatiously put forth, but to which your Grace has as good a claim as to the Dukedom of Leeds! The New Light, with all his imputed irregularities, is as much apostolic as your Grace, for he professes to follow the doctrine of the apostles, and unquestionably adheres to their practice in zeal and poverty as closely as your Grace."

J. K. L.,' retaliating with the Archbishop's own words, expressed a desire to know why those "whom Christ has freed" should be subjected to the yoke of Dr. Magee's church authority. "Have they not the same right by which your Grace is Bishop in the Established Church to judge of the Word of God, if they be men of sound judgment, as no doubt they are, for otherwise the charity of Swift had provided them with an asylum? Why then does your Grace rebuke them, or seek to captivate their understanding to the obedience of the faith of your Church—a Church which wisely disclaims infallibility, and whose creed has been composed in part of the traditions of men, and compiled from time to time by lay persons and ecclesiastics, whose very names are a reproach to all with whom they are connected?" Dr. Doyle argued, that by Dr. Magee's intolerant attack upon the New Lights he yielded up the fundamental principle of the Protestant Church:

"There is no declamation nor high colouring of words which can veil that wound which is ever gaping in the side of your Establishment, like the *novi homines*, the new men amongst the Romans. Her origin will ever be inquired after, and every claim to apostolicity for her, however put forth 'in the loftiness of speech,' will fall to the earth weak and unsupported.

"The Arians were connected with the apostolic times; they had the support of Kings and Emperors; they, too, had the cathedrals and thrones of those who went before them; they had the Word of God; and there were many of them men of the soundest judgment. But they were New Lights, like your Grace's predecessors, and, like your Grace, they said they were apostolic, but they were not believed. Macedonius, Nestorius, Eutychius, Arius, Vegelantius, and the Iconoclasts, claimed a similar connexion with the apostles, whilst they taught many of the heresies which are now held by men whom I would not name; they also had churches and an establishment; they censured the irregularities of New Lights; but *they were not apostolic*. Luther, my Lord, to whom your Grace is greatly indebted—for it is from the Confession of Augsburg, the fruit of his mind, though written by Melancthon, that your articles are principally formed—he would not assume the

title of apostolic, but he claimed to be an apostle. Perhaps it is from him your Grace's Church derives her title! If so, he too was a New Light—not indeed an ordinary one, but a comet whose malignant influence consumed the nations! Cranmer, and Latimer, and Ridley, and Coverdale, and Peter Martyr, and Bucer, and Zuinglius, and Henry, and Somerset, and Elizabeth, and Cecil, and Burnet, and Tillotson, and Taylor, and Hoadly—these, my Lord, are the apostles, the fathers, and the supporters of your Church—these are the men, with a host of apostates, in whom your Grace glories, and of whom I can only say, '*non invidio quidem miror mages.*' But if they have reconstructed your Church on 'the foundations of the prophets and apostles,' the Manichean system must be true, and the evil principle has prevailed over the good one!"

A close and brilliant controversial argument followed. Referring to Dr. Magee's attack on the Roman Catholic Church, J. K. L. said: "Shall she always have to complain, with her Founder, by the mouths of his Prophets, 'They hated me without cause,' and 'I have reared up sons and they have despised me?' Could your Grace not find a relief for your pleasing picture of the Establishment, unless in the prostrate figure of the Mother Church? Could not your genius invent, or fancy supply some other contrast by which to exhibit the beauty of your own system, than that afforded by the misrepresentation of another and a better? Could you not form an antithesis without uttering a calumny? Your Grace is reported to have said 'that the Roman Catholics had a Church without a religion;' but Isaias saith of that Church, 'that every arm that is raised against her will not prosper; and against every tongue that contendeth with her she shall obtain her cause, for this is the inheritance of her children.'"

Dr. Doyle's Church had been taunted as "unscriptural." "Let me inform your Grace that there is more of Scripture proof adduced by any one of our approved divines, than I have ever met in many of those of the Church of England, though theology has been my principal study for many years; and I confidently tell your Grace that there is no dogma of the Catholic faith, nor no discipline necessarily connected with it, which is not supported by Scripture, or by tradition manifestly proved to be divine and apostolic—farther, that this tradition is the foundation of your own creed, and the only authority for many of your observances." Dr. Magee declared that the Catholics had no religion. "My Lord, pray, what is religion? We define it, after St. Augustine, 'a virtue or rule of love, which inclines us to give due worship to the Deity.' And how is the Deity to be worshipped? The just have always worshipped Him in spirit and in truth, by sacrifice and

prayer, and the exercise of all the virtues directed to His honour. Do not Roman Catholics offer to him sacrifice? Yes, 'from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof.' Do they not pray? Visit their temples and their houses. Are they not chaste? They alone, on that head, seem to have attended to the example and counsel of their Lord and his Apostles. Are they destitute of faith? No, for their faith is spoken of and fructifies throughout the entire world. But why enumerate their virtues, or bear testimony to their devotion, whereas their very piety has become a reproach to them, and they are said to make void the cross of Christ, by the reliance they place on the good works which, through his grace, they are enabled to perform. Such, my Lord, are the men of whom your grace is stated to have said, 'they had no religion!' Did your grace but revolve in your mind the labour of a Xavier, the apostolic life of a Borromeo, the zeal and piety of a De Sales, the admirable life and heroic virtues of our present Pontiff, your Grace would have been humbled on your throne, and, instead of reviling the religion of those men, you would have descended to the place of the publican, and prayed to the God of the Temple that he would make you like to one of them." Dr. Magee was truly made to feel "*nemo nos impune lacessit.*"

This letter, although published in a newspaper, ran to voluminous length, and was immediately reprinted as a pamphlet by Grace, of Dublin—not his Grace of Dublin. Many years after, an impartial authority—*The Gentleman's Magazine*—thus ably epitomised the contents: "Affecting the greatest humility, he displayed extensive erudition, and in a masterly letter, in which all the subtleties of dogmatic theology were clothed in the most powerful and argumentative language, he took a review of the Reformation, tithes, pluralities, the appropriation of Church property, and finally denounced the Church itself as a usurpation, and the Bishops as usurpers, maintaining that the apostolical right of succession could never be transferred from the Catholic Church to the Protestant."

Dr. Doyle's clever and courageous retort at once brought the high-flying Archbishop to his pen. A new edition of the charge, with an explanatory note, appeared. The latter began—"The members of the Romish communion," and went on to defend the propriety of the phrase "Catholic" as applied to the Anglican form of worship. In a previous page he declared himself "a sincere Protestant, and gloried in giving utterance to those sentiments which a Protestant Bishop should never compromise," and the next found him labouring to prove that he was a Catholic. The Protestants were not too well pleased to be addressed by their Bishop as members of the then proscribed religion, while

the Catholics repudiated the claims of the Most Reverend Doctor to participate in the ancient faith of Ireland. Among other authorities which Dr. Magee cited to show that Protestantism was nothing more nor less than Catholicism, the uncanonical name of Cromwell occupied a prominent position. The note contained a few other illustrations, but they were of little interest and less value.

In *The Evening Post* of the 14th December, 1822, we find him again addressing the "Lord Archbishop." Dr. Doyle prefixed as a motto the passage from St. Gregory (*L.* 20, *Mor.*, *cap.* viii.): "*Sit amor, sed non moliens: sit rigor, sed non exasperans: sit pietas, sed non plusquam expediat parcens.*" "Your Grace's charge, when first published, obliged me to address you. I did so, not through any feeling of hostility to your Grace—for, till then, I rejoiced with the country at large that your reputed talents had received the ample reward which they were supposed to merit; but for the purpose of repelling unfounded imputations gratuitously cast by you on the religion which I profess. A newspaper, containing an explanatory note by your Grace of that charge, was put into my hands this afternoon, and I sit down to observe upon it with feelings much more subdued than I brought before to the consideration of your text. I shall therefore deal with your Grace's apology—for such I deem it—in the spirit which the motto prefixed to this letter implies."

Dr. Magee complained in his note that Catholics, by their acceptation of the word "Catholic," exclude from the pale of the Church of Christ all those to whom they refuse a participation in that name. But Dr. Doyle showed that Roman Catholics held substantially the same opinion on the subject as every other denomination of Christians who have published any authentic profession of faith: "We consider that whoever is baptized is incorporated with Christ, and has 'no damnation in him,' and that if he retain the grace of that first adoption pure and unsullied until death, he enters heaven—no matter to what sect or denomination of Christians, while on earth, he may have belonged." An elaborate explication of the well-known doctrine of invincible ignorance followed: "Whether such ignorance as I have described does exist in this country is known to the great Searcher of hearts, 'whose eye seeth all things;' but it is undoubtedly hidden from your Grace and from me, and until revealed unto us we should not judge one another."

Dr. Doyle laid down the canon law of the Roman Catholic Church on the question of exclusive salvation, and he added that there is hardly any Church of Christians, from the Indus to the Pole, from Touquin to Washington, which does not maintain this

doctrine "in one shape or other." The opinion of the Catholic Church is not substantially different from that professed by the Protestants of Germany in their profession of faith, presented to Charles V. in 1535; from that of the Swiss Cantons in 1566; from that of the Kirk of Scotland in 1647; and "from that of the Church to which your Grace belongs, as may be seen in the 18th of her articles."

Some observations of Cromwell having been laid under contribution by Dr. Magee, to show that Protestantism was synonymous with Catholicism, Cranmer who changed his faith according to the caprice of Henry, and Somerset, and Mary, and made six formal professions of it, was next quoted. "To take Cranmer's definition of what was Catholic is surely to rest it on a broken reed," proceeded J. K. L. "'That,' *he* said, 'was Catholic which was believed in the Church 1500 years ago.' The period to which Cranmer referred, my Lord, counting back from his time, was about a century after the death of the Redeemer. But, permit me to ask, has the faith been obscured since? Have 'the corruptions, and the rubbish, and encrustations' prevailed since that period? Are we then to reject the Councils of Nice, of Constantinople, of Ephesus, and of Chalcedon, which your Church and mine, my Lord, venerate next after the four Gospels? Are we to discard the liturgies of Clement, of James, of Basil, of Chrysostom? Are we no longer to seek for testimonies of the true doctrine in Ignatius, Clement, Justin, Ireneus, Origen, Tertullian, the Cyrils—from Jerome, or Augustine? To what straits are we to reduce ourselves, or what has become of the Church? Has she existed, or did she fail, or what became of her with whom the Lord promised to be *all days*, even to the end of the world? I may not obtain credit with your Grace, but I do declare before the country, that it excites a feeling of shame and pain within me, to find myself obliged thus to represent to my readers the monstrous opinions contained in your Grace's notes, or deducible from them."

Even in France this piece of polemical writing excited a sensation. The *Biographie Universelle* says: "Le ton modeste avec lequel l'auteur commence, la vaste erudition qu'il developpe à mesure qu'il avance, la profondeur de ses vues, la force logique avec laquelle il enlace ses antagonistes, la grandeur majestueuse du tableau que de moments en moments il colore de teinter plus vivres font lire avec intérêt ce bel ecrit polemique." *The Dublin Evening Post*, then under Protestant management, thus comments on Dr. Doyle's second letter, which was also soon after published as a separate pamphlet by Nolan of Dublin: "We beg to lay before the Archbishop an able and dispassionate

reply to his *notes*. When we say that it is from the pen of the Right Rev. Catholic Prelate who alone, we believe, shook him from his propriety, and made him feel that the archiepiscopal throne, from which he launched his anathema against the religion of nine-tenths of his countrymen, was not altogether such a cushion of down, or such a seat of authority as his conduct and demeanour would indicate—when we tell his Grace that our correspondent is the Prelate to whom he alludes in his commentary, it will be sufficient inducement to rivet his attention on our columns. He will see, and we hope he will have the candour to acknowledge, that a profound scholar *may* write like a polished gentleman—that a Prelate, although he does not 'lift his mitred front among peers and princes,' does not lack, as other Prelates do, that decorum and decency of language which is vulgarly supposed to reside in the precincts of courts alone. He will admit, we imagine, that learning—and theological learning, too—is not altogether confined to universities whose chief purpose it is to instruct in divinity. . . . Though our correspondent, like every man of a sound and comprehensive head, has no particular taste for glitter or antithesis, yet his points, to use the jargon of the College, are quietly and cleverly put. . . . . He is manifestly more than a match for Dr. Magee in learning, in judgment, and *in taste*. But he makes no puerile flourish about his superiority. If he had this disposition, what an excellent opportunity would he not have in triumphing over the Archbishop of Dublin for his very infelicitous, if not doting reference to the religion of Cromwell, that compound of hypocrisy and crime."

By way of counterbalance to the antagonism which Dr. Magee had evoked, the then Orange Corporation of Dublin, passed a resolution, pronouncing his Grace to be an oracle of theological wisdom. The Marquis Wellesley, then Viceroy of Ireland, watched with considerable interest the contest between the prelates, and at its conclusion was heard to declare, that "Magee manifestly got the worst of it." When we remember what manner of man Dr. Magee was, we find a tolerably satisfactory reason for the peculiar enjoyment with which Protestants as well as Catholics surveyed his discomfiture. Sheil has drawn the Archbishop's portrait, which, allowing for the proverbial exaggeration of a very fertile mind, will convey to the reader some idea of his Grace's idiosyncracy and bearing: "It was the extravagance of sacerdotal pride that displayed itself in flashes of wildness, which broke every moment from his eyes. The latter were by no means destitute of intelligence; but, bright as they were with thought, still the expression of arrogance predominated over that of acuteness, and every look and gesture indicated a self-sufficiency carried to

an excess almost amounting to the delirium of conceit. Everything about him denoted flippancy and pertness. A light ecclesiastical hat was perked with such a nicety and airiness upon the apex of his head, that it studiously, and of malice prepense, left room for his haughty forehead to display itself. The powder with which his hair was lightly sprinkled was fresh and delicate, while a slender queue depended gracefully between his shoulders, and even this petty appendage exhibited a coxcombical inclination. His neckcloth was knotted with precision, and assisted by its stiffness in upholding him in that neatness of bearing which he carefully observed. A jerkin which fitted his well-turned person with an admirable adaptation, was closely buttoned to the top, and gave his figure a spruce and compact air. In trotting along, he was busily engaged in watching the passengers, and observing what quantity of deference he received from them; and though obviously an object of joke rather than respect, he imagined that every eye was fixed upon him in veneration."

Some of the arguments of J. K. L., in reply to Dr. Magee's denial of the apostolic origin of the Roman Catholic Church, were probably in Tom Moore's mind, when he penned the following characteristic tribute to the worth and Catholicism of Dr. Doyle. "If St. Basil, St. Ambrose, and a few more such flowers of the Church, had been able to borrow the magic nightcaps of their contemporaries the seven sleepers, and were now, after a nap of about fifteen centuries, just opening their eyes in the town of Carlow, they would find in the person of Dr. Doyle, the learned Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, not only an Irishman whose acquaintance even they might be proud to make, but a fellow-Catholic, every iota of whose creed would be found to correspond exactly with their own."

It is interesting to know that the Catholic Primate Curtis, who received his appointment through the influence of the British Government (p. 165, *ante*), followed Dr. Doyle's example with spirit and alacrity. Dr. Curtis, in a voluminous public letter, pronounced Dr. Magee's charge to be "inflammatory and contumelious," and indignantly called upon him to retract or repair the injury he had done to the entire Catholic body. Dr. Doyle had a high respect for Dr. Curtis. Writing to his niece Mary at this period, Dr. Doyle alludes to a rumour which had nominated him Coadjutor Primate of All Ireland: "You heard I was going to Armagh; that see is filled by one of the worthiest men in the Church, whom I hope God may still preserve for many years, and it would be very unseemly to give him the Bishop of Kildare as Coadjutor. My translation from this see has often been spoken of, and generally without cause; it is not likely ever to happen, as, if

I be able to do any good, there are few situations in the kingdom where more opportunities of doing it are afforded; and I will never seek any translation from it, unless to a better world, or to some retirement, where I can take care of my own soul, and not be concerned for those of others. I hope you may take a drive to see my new residence, when I am likely to be found at home. I shall, indeed, be often abroad until the month after next, and winter is not favourable to the country; but when that passes, and the trees and flowers bloom anew, Old Derrig would delight you."

As soon as the clerical partisans of Dr. Magee had recovered from their astonishment, at courage so unusual as that evinced in the missive of J. K. L., they were neither slow nor diffident in coming to his Grace's rescue. Several extremely intemperate retorts were speedily displayed in the windows of the evangelical booksellers. The Rev. Sir Harcourt Lees led the van. His advertisement we have culled from one of the newspapers of the day: "Theological Extracts, selected from a late Letter written by a Popish Prelate to his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, with observations on the same. And a well merited, and equally well applied literary flagellation to the titular shoulders of this mild and humble Minister of the Gospel; with a complete exposure of his friend the Pope, and the entire body of holy impostors. This small Pamphlet is adapted to the understanding, and principally intended for the conversion of the more bigoted and ignorant Roman Catholics of Ireland. To be continued as leisure may occasionally present itself. By the Rev. Sir Harcourt Lees, Bart."

The Rev. Baronet having been assured by his Archbishop that the "Church of Rome" had no religion, and was a worse than Pagan community, no doubt considered that any epithets of contumely which he could possibly apply to it would be far too good for a body so contemptible and corrupt. The Archbishop's tone was not slow in being caught up by churchmen of less talent, but of equal bigotry—and it was not difficult to foresee that the evil consequences of his uncharitable Primary Charge were only commencing.

The Rev. Sir Harcourt Lees appears to have been a plain-spoken man. The titular Prelate, he declared, was guilty of "malignancy, of blasphemy, and of treason," because he had the presumption to question the orthodoxy of Dr. Magee. And in the teeth of evidence notoriously subversive of his assumption, Sir Harcourt advanced the opinion that it was the object of Dr. Doyle "to irritate the lower orders in this superstitious country into acts of outrage against the Government."

This literary Thersites then pronounced "the titular Bishop"

to be "an impostor and a fool;" and relative to the Catholic creed, he observed that it "runs a small chance of finding an easy entrance through some of the back posterns into hell." The pamphlet touchingly concluded with a declaration that Dr. Doyle, contrary to his intention and desire, had absolutely accomplished the apotheosis of Dr. Magee. It is a singular fact that the Rev. Sir Harcourt, at a subsequent period, expressed himself in very unequivocal terms of respect for Dr. Doyle—a fact which only serves to prove that men never waste powder and shot unless when the game is more than worth the ammunition.

Sir Harcourt was a rare character. Soon after, at a public ball in Dublin, the Marquis Wellesley, when seated on his throne, shot his fine and indignant eye into the soul of Sir Harcourt. The parson, "with a half waggish and half malevolent aspect," writes Mr. Sheil, "blending the grin of an ostler with the acrimony of a divine, encountered the lofty look, and gave him to understand that a man of his theological mettle was not to be subjugated by a frown."

Dr. Doyle, in "the Defence" of his "Vindication," published under the signature of "J. K. L." thus amusingly refers to the lucubration of Sir Harcourt Lees: "Dr. Doyle is, no doubt, a *titular* bishop; and having looked into Johnson for the meaning of this word, I find by an example there quoted, that St. Augustine and the holy Valerius, his predecessor, were titular Bishops also. Dr. Doyle venerates St. Augustine as a sort of patriarch of his family, and is not, I am confident, at all displeased to hold his see by the same tenure as a Prelate whom he calls his holy Father; he has a *title*, however, and *possession*; and these, by a common law of the Church, give a right to the exercise of spiritual jurisdiction. He asks no more! he is perfectly satisfied that Drs. Lindsay and Elrington should enjoy the temporalities of Kildare and Leighlin, whilst he is permitted in peace to exercise his spiritual rights; let them collect the fleeces, whilst he superintends the flock. I believe it is the author of the 'Complete Exposure' who calls Dr. Doyle the *titular, tolerated* Bishop—he fears such an accumulation of epithets may oppress him, but provided they do not annex *persecuted*, or oblige posterity to add it to his name, he will be satisfied to bear them."

A copy of Dr. Doyle's admirable dissuasive address to the Ribbonmen, and also one of his rejoinders to Dr. Magee, having fallen into the hands of James Edward Devereux, the famous Catholic Delegate of 1793, he placed them at the disposal of Dr. Stoddart, who, as Editor of *The Times* for sixteen years, enjoyed no small celebrity and influence. From literary circles Stoddart received the *sobriquet* of Dr. Slop. In 1816, he was offered, by

the proprietors of *The Times*, £800 a year additional, if he would consent to give up some chamber practice which he enjoyed, and remain in the office from six in the evening to the hour of publication. Stoddart died about thirty years ago, a judge in the Ionian Islands, with a salary of £3,000 per annum. Thomas Barnes was a parliamentary reporter on *The Times* during the period that Dr. Stoddart conducted it.

"20th December, '22.

"RIGHT REV. MY DEAR LORD—I sent the *Evening Post*, containing the Bishop of Kildare's admirable Pastoral Address, to my friend Dr. Stoddart of *The Times*, with a request that he would notice that publication. This he has done, and in returning me my paper he writes as follows:

"'Dear Sir—I herewith send two copies of my Journal, one of which you will do me a favour by forwarding to Bishop Doyle, and if you have the means of communicating to him the expression of my sincere respect, I beg that you will do so.' He goes on: 'I have only detained your copy of *The Dublin Evening Post* until a fit opportunity should occur for performing the task, which I have attempted to execute in the paper of this day. I regret to see that if you have a Doyle in Ireland you have also a Hayes, and I hope that the latter will be as much discountenanced as I think the former ought to be held up to admiration. If the world would agree to let such men as Friar Hayes and Sir Harcourt Lees rave to themselves, we should soon see that spirit of Christian charity prevail, which is the only bond of peace to nations as well as to individuals.'

"All the papers here have spoken with the same praise of this Pastoral. So much for St. Bridget's yellow-belly* Prelate. However his modesty may be offensively titillated by all this, I must admit that as a Catholic, an Irishman, and a Wexford man, my pride is quite swollen into insolence on the subject.

"You will properly appreciate the manly independence of my friend Dr. Stoddart, which would not suffer him to pass by the imputation thrown upon our Church by Dr. Magee without reprobation, and without marking his utter contempt for such illiberality, by drawing a parallel between the Archbishop's absurd bigotry and the Friar's vulgar virulence. I have the honour to be, with respect, veneration, and gratitude, my Lord, &c.,

"J. E. DEVEREUX."

"P.S.—Dr. Stoddart tells me that for a long time back he has been pestered with letters from Sir H. Lees, not one of which he ever answered."

* An absurd epithet, sometimes applied to natives of the county of Wexford.

While the contest with Dr. Magee still raged, we find the good Bishop of Kildare, although his hands were pretty full, maintaining, uninterrupted, that courteous, unreserved, and more than kind correspondence with his friends, which it often cost him at least half of his scanty period of repose to discharge. Dr. Doyle's unremitting attendance in the confessional and the pulpit, during this Advent, was almost sufficient in itself to exhaust the energies of his delicate constitution. The following letters are addressed to the young convert lady, H. G——, who had a short time previous entered her noviciate. Doubts and scruples agitated and distressed her.

"MY DEAR FRIEND—In perusing your long and acceptable letter, I felt much anxiety, until I discovered that your journey in the desert was relieved by a portion of manna, after the thirst and fatigue you had experienced on your entrance and as you advanced. These vicissitudes are frequently, as you know, the secret dispensations of a wise Father, who by his presence fills the heart with confidence, making us exclaim with David, 'I have said in my abundance I never will be moved;' and then, turning his face from us, obliges us to confess that 'we are troubled;' but though these changes of the soul are produced by God to prove our virtue, to purify our heart, and establish in it, as on a rock, a strong and lively faith, and the purest charity, yet they are very often entirely, or in part, the effects of our own habits, and the fruits of our own natural dispositions. I think what you lately underwent, partook more of the latter than of the former, and that this disposition to doubt your own views, and to indulge your natural timidity, which you have been always subject to, tended to produce them. I should not trouble you with these remarks, but that you will again, in all probability, be subject to the same trials, and you should use every precaution to provide yourself with means of support. Amongst the many things you have heard me say, I hope you do not forget that I must have mentioned, a religious state does not require any previous sanctity, though it would be well to possess it; and that you could not have a more useless nor perhaps dangerous occupation, than thinking on what your mode of life requires of you. Whilst St. Paul laboured for his sanctification, he tells us, that he looked not to the past, but extended himself to what was to come; and this was solely to put on Jesus Christ, to love him with that ardent charity which 'many waters could not extinguish or rivers bear down.' I know your dispositions well enough to be alarmed for your peace, as well as to doubt of your advancement, if you spend the time in searching your heart, which you ought to spend in purifying it from earthly

affections, and in the enjoyment of heavenly contemplation, or in waiting, like Teresa or Magdalen de Pazzi, under the ægis of faith, until the Lord would be pleased to cast an eye of compassion on you. My dear child, don't you know it is self-love which often keeps the mind searching into its own defects, weighing its own sins, conjecturing what may be its future lot? This is good for some, but with you, and with many others, it is a waste of time, an estrangement from God, a return to self, and the greatest obstacle to that abandonment to the will of heaven, which is the fruit and the exercise of the most disinterested love. Restrict your deliberations on yourself to the short examinations which your rule prescribes, or rather to a part of the time allotted to them, and to the space you employ in the examination which is a part of your preparation for confession; but let your whole life, as far is as possible, be an exercise of the love of God. From this attention to his presence, meekness, silence, modesty, obedience, mortification, and the other virtues will flow; and though the practice of these, severally, will lead to charity, it is much better they should be the fruit of it, than the means of arriving at it; and if I be so earnest in this recommendation, the reason is, that I am satisfied you can find no resource so good in your distress of mind, nor nothing which can serve so effectually to allay your alarms."

"Carlow, 14th November, 1822.

"MY DEAR CHILD—I have waited till now to reply to your long and much welcomed letter, that I might congratulate you on your escape from the desert, and on the advantages I am confident you have derived from your sojourn there even for a few days. I put all the saints of heaven in requisition on yesterday, and besought them to obtain for you the fervour of charity; without it, there is nothing truly good—with it, all things are sweet. May God replenish your heart with it, that from its abundance you may be unceasing in your prayers for me, who, like the sluggard, am always willing, and yet will not! How much am I not indebted even to the *stitcher* of the case you sent me, and still more to the good lady who bestowed it. If Paul said those were approved by God who washed the feet of the saints, may we not hope that when benevolence operates in a different way, it will also merit a blessing? As soon as I hear from you, I shall inform you when M. G—— may expect the music, all of which I shall procure for her; for what is there I would not do to gratify so good, so amiable a friend, even were you, whose wishes are all commands, uninterested. I have not seen your sister M. B—— for some time, though she called here lately, and it is vain for you to wish for an intimacy between us. I am too

much removed, too repulsive, and our pursuits in life are too different to admit of it; but I esteem her exceedingly for her own sake, and still more because you are so greatly attached to her. People without affection are not true followers of our Lord, who loved Lazarus, and Martha, and Mary, and folded the blessed apostle in his bosom! I have got the carpeting you took so much trouble about, and all I have to regret now is an appearance of splendour about my rooms; they are still plain, though certainly not so much as I wish them, but yet I leave my Mr. D—— to be doing with all about me as he pleases. Pray remember me to M——. Tell her I have forgiven all her faults from *the exceeding goodness of my heart*, and for the sake of her sister, whose profession I expect so soon to attend. I trust yours will not take place before I see you, for though I have long since resigned you to the care of God and the works of charity, I still feel something of that affection which an aged father experiences when he reflects on his dearest child who is now happy, but removed to a distance from him—he wishes to see her once more before he dies. Adieu, my ever dear H——! Pray unceasingly for your sincere and affectionate friend, "✠ J. DOYLE."

A note to his niece:

"I wished to send Mr. M'Donald down to see you; as to myself, I am, as it were, nailed to the diocess. I believe if one-half of you were all dead, I could not go to bid your remains a last farewell. The two children you mention are, I fear, in a dangerous way; but I never lament the death of a child, though I may feel for the parents to whom nature has providently rendered them dear. . . . If I could afford it, I should give this poor family some money to assist them in building a house; but the change of my residence has rendered me very poor, and I am incumbered still with my old house at £40 a-year; but I should not complain. Providence has been too kind to me through life; indeed I never feel the want of money on my own account."

In November, 1822, Dr. Doyle, at the request of a pious community of poor laymen residing at Tullow, permitted Brother Serenus, a person of tried prudence and integrity, to visit other countries for the purpose of collecting donations to enable the monks to increase the sphere of their zealous educational labours. For sixteen years they had devoted their time to the literary and moral instruction of the poor: they now projected a boarding-school for the middle class of society. No school of this sort then existed in Ireland, and Dr. Doyle readily gave his assent. "The seminary you project," said the Bishop, "may in time grow into a prosperous school, for the Irish, from time immemo-

rial, have had a predilection for educating their children in monastic institutions." Seven of the Bishop's grand-nephews were subsequently educated at Tullow.

Dr. Doyle gave Brother Serenus a circular letter in French, with which he made a successful tour through France; and the journal of his adventures now before us (including a visit to Charles X., who gave him 2,050 francs) is highly amusing.

From Dr. Doyle's English circular we cull a paragraph or two:

"The members of this community who are not occupied with the instruction of the poor, derive their support from the labour of their hands, being employed in the tillage of land or in mechanical trades. Hitherto they have inhabited a wretched tenement, too small for the exercise of their industry, and so unhealthful as to occasion frequent illness to many of them, and to oblige some to withdraw altogether from the institution.

"To remedy these inconveniences, a spot of land has been obtained by them in perpetuity, and a building commenced on it, which, if completed, would afford them a wholesome residence, supply them with sufficient room for carrying on their trades conveniently, and enable them to remove their free school from a small and crowded apartment, now hired for that purpose, to a large and commodious one, where it might be conducted with advantage.

"They are not, however, possessed of any portion of the means necessary for accomplishing this most desirable object. The numerous charitable institutions supported by voluntary donations in this country, and the universal distress now prevailing throughout it, deter them from making application for assistance at home.

"Urged, therefore, by their own distress, and impressed with a lively confidence in the generosity of a people to whose charity no nation or individual ever appealed in vain, these poor brethren state to them their wants, and solicit any aid, however slender. They seek for it only that they may be enabled to continue their industrious pursuits, and to promote amongst the rising generation of the numerous poor in their town and neighbourhood, that literary, moral, and religious instruction, as well as that mutual charity which is so useful to society, and so acceptable to Almighty God."

Dr. Doyle's official signature to this document was supported by that of the Protestant Rector and magistracy of Tullow, all of whom bore evidence to the highly meritorious conduct of the poor monks. In 1825, the present prosperous Collegiate Seminary of St. Patrick, at Tullow, was formally founded under the auspices of Dr. Doyle.

Writing to the Very Rev. Mr. O'Connor, now Bishop of

Saldes, Dr. Doyle, having feelingly adverted to the premature death of Father Clayton, his fellow-student at Coimbra, goes on to say: "I suppose my friend Miss N—— is likely to fall with the leaf. I wish she were near you to receive consolation from you, for the most perfect in her state require some alleviation of the weight that presses on them. She no doubt is going in peace, and I am comforted by thinking I will have in her a powerful intercessor with God, whom she has ever served with a clean heart. I did wish very much to see her, but want of time and a thousand other causes prevented me. We shall meet, however, hereafter."

Dr. Doyle was of opinion that this young nun (p. 123, *ante*) could hardly survive the year 1822, but his calculations proved as false as those not unfrequently made and expressed by doctors of another class. Miss N—— still lives, and works, and prays in the South Presentation Convent, Cork; and although full of years, there is not a more zealous labourer in God's vineyard.

"Carlow, 13th December, 1822.

"My dear Sister—So many of those who were endeared to me by the strongest ties have been called, from time to time, to a better world, that I now feel much less than formerly at hearing of the departure of my friends. I should, therefore, have been resigned had I heard that our common Father had called you to His own presence, but to know from yourself that your stay amongst us is prolonged, gave me the most lively satisfaction. The just can be still more justified, and the holy rendered still more holy; and I trust in God, that His mercy has restored your health only for the purpose of promoting His service here, and increasing your own happiness hereafter. If your recovery be not yet complete, it will be rendered so by degrees, whereas your mind is happy, and permitted to enjoy the blessings of a religious state in an entire abstraction from what might corrupt you, and in the practice of every good work. That peace and equanimity with which heaven has gifted you will not, I hope, be disturbed, whilst you continue to enjoy the parental attention of your good superioress, and of the estimable D——, to whom I beg my most respectful compliments, as well as to each of your community, hoping you will beg of them to continue their prayers even for me, who do not deserve so much goodness from them. I have not ceased, my dear child, to commend you to God, at the only time when my petitions can be acceptable; I am confident you will not fail to make the best return in your power.

"During your illness I often wished to go and see you; the distance and want of leisure prevented me, as well as some other causes; but I do not lay aside the hope of yet assuring you, in

person, with how much sincerity and affection I remain your devoted and most humble servant in Christ,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

It is very delightful to observe the strong and vivid veneration with which the surviving friends of Dr. Doyle hail his memory. "I felt much affected," says Miss N—— in her first note to us, "on reading the allusions to me, which you transcribed from one of the letters of my best friend—my beloved spiritual father and guide. What could speak better the goodness of his heart, his zeal for the salvation of souls, his pure, disinterested friendship, his unbounded charity? . . . The very memory of his great kindness overpowers me at this remote time." "His memory," writes another, "has been a joy to me throughout a long, difficult, and suffering career."

The Kildare-place system of education for the poor, had latterly given great dissatisfaction to the Catholic body. By one of their fundamental rules, they had pledged themselves to impart the benefits of instruction to all Christians, without interfering with the religious tenets of any. That perverse spirit, however, which had already violated treaties by Act of Parliament, now, for the hundredth time, broke faith with the confiding Catholics. The Society distributed thousands of Bibles among the schools, and ordered that the Sacred Volume, without note or comment, should be daily read aloud by the pupils. This proceeding, being hostile to the religious principles of the Catholic Church, induced the natural and spiritual pastors of the children to withdraw them altogether from those seminaries. Thus the poor Catholic, for whom the Legislature designed its benefaction, ceased to derive benefit from a grant given for the general purposes of education. The Lord Primate and many other enlightened Protestants, indignant at this breach of faith, withdrew from the society. The Duke of Leinster, who had acted as president, resigned his office. There were few Protestants so blind as not to see that the Old Testament, however venerable for its antiquity, and estimable for its truths, was not exactly suited to the raw and undeveloped intellect of a school-boy. But the Catholic objection to its use as a school-book would seem to have been still deeper rooted. With the light of tradition shut out, and the authorised interpretation of that Church with whom Christ promised to be all days suppressed, the explorers of the holy page may well be said to have been groping in the dark. The Catholic clergy shuddered to behold weak minds distorting legitimate meanings, and wresting inferences according to individual fancy and caprice. The brightest intellects that ever shone upon Christendom, have declared their inability to

fathom many important portions of the Sacred Volume. "Though I had been conversant in these Epistles," writes John Locke, "as well as in other parts of the Sacred Scripture, yet I found that I understood them not." "Can any man deny," observes the erudite Lessing, "that there are but few passages in the New Testament from which all readers deduce the same meaning?" In many instances the Catholic children were withdrawn altogether from the schools of the Kildare-street Society, although no other field for popular education existed; but it frequently happened that the pastors, hoping daily that some change might be made in compliance with their wishes, allowed the children to remain, and with anxious solicitude successfully laboured to preserve their faith intact. The Protestant Archbishop Magee, in his parliamentary evidence, alluded, with some chagrin, to the exertions of the Catholic Priesthood in protecting the faith of the children. His Grace declared, that they receive "peremptory directions from their Priests to take care and guard their minds against Protestant perversion, to beware of the heretics in every shape, and to close their ears against their teaching in any matter touching religion, as they would against the teaching of Satan!"

In 1821, the first attempt was made by a body of liberal Protestants and influential Catholics to establish, for the education of the Irish poor, a better system than that existing under the auspices of the Kildare-place Society. Soon after this event, Dr. Doyle thus writes to Sir Henry Parnell, M.P. "I attended a meeting of the Committee of the Irish National Society for the education of our poor, when it was agreed on to request that you would renew the conferences with Mr. Grant, relative to obtaining a parliamentary grant, which had been interrupted by the death of your lamented brother. This society will accomplish a vast deal of good in the way of education, if they obtain the expected boon; otherwise they can do but little—nor can they do that little long."

The Irish National Society received a serious blow, soon after, in the removal from office of the Right Hon. Charles Grant, a man of liberal and progressive views. He was succeeded by Mr. Goulbourne, whose public principles were of a perfectly opposite character. The Right Hon. Charles Grant, having filled the high offices of Chief Secretary for Ireland, President of the Boards of Trade and Control, Treasurer of the Navy, and Secretary of State, was created, in 1835, Lord Glenelg. A letter from his Lordship to the editor of this work, dated, London, 4th April, 1857, observes: "I am not aware that I have any letters of Dr. Doyle's in my possession. Highly as I esteemed and honoured him, I cannot recall that I ever had any written communications with him. I do not recollect that any parliamentary grant was made

for the National Society. There was, indeed, for two or three years while I was in Ireland, the sum of £3,000 annually given by the Government to be distributed for education in Ireland, indiscriminately, among all denominations, but this, I suppose, can scarcely be the sort of grant to which you allude."

The cause of the decline and fall of the National Society may be gathered, in a few words, from an unpublished letter in the autograph of Dr. Doyle. "It is hardly necessary to state that the hopes of the Catholic Prelates were disappointed; the Society, thus formed, could not obtain any countenance—any support; there were placed at its head a number of men, Protestants and Catholics, who were sincere in their proposals to educate the poor of Ireland without religious distinction, and who stipulated honestly, with the public and with each other, to avoid all interference with the religion of the people. But, they were men who had no parliamentary interest, who had no influence at Court, whose hands had never been filled with public spoils, who had not feasted sumptuously every day upon the fruits of injustice: they were therefore contemptible, and their prayer or application was despised."

In January, 1823, Dr. Doyle came to Dublin to attend a synodical meeting of the Prelates. The subject of popular education ceased not to engross his thoughts; and of this we have ample evidence in the following earnest communication to Sir Henry Parnell.

"2, Lower Gardiner-street, Dublin, 15th January, 1823.

"DEAR SIR HENRY—I send you herewith the papers relating to the education of the poor, which I mentioned to you in our late conversation.

"Though the education of the middle and lower classes of society is a subject worthy of your most attentive consideration, yet the detached parts of the system, which are in operation in this country for promoting that object, may have escaped your notice or recollection; and it is on that account I beg leave to mention here that the plan for educating the poor of Ireland, of which I enclose an outline, was originally drawn up by your ever-to-be-lamented relative, Mr. W. Parnell, and I believe approved of, through his influence, by Mr. Secretary Grant, previous to the late change in the Irish Administration. The death of Mr. Parnell, and the removal of Mr. Grant put an end to whatever hope was then entertained of procuring for the Irish National Society the countenance of Government. The 'Thoughts on the Education of the Poor,' which I send you in manuscript, were presented by Lord Fingall and Dr. Troy, at a subsequent period of Lord Talbot's Administration, and immediately previous to his departure

from this country. Mr. Secretary Goulbourne perhaps never saw them, or if he did, thought proper to leave them unnoticed; and, from the observations he was reported to have made in the House of Commons—during the debate which occurred on the vote of granting a certain sum to the Kildare-street Society being proposed by him—I am inclined to think that he was not aware of the true state of these matters.

"At the meetings of the Kildare-street Society, held in this city last year, a report was adopted by them, wherein it is stated that the Society was making considerable progress, and had met with the support and co-operation of the Roman Catholic Clergy. This elicited the letters from the Roman Catholic Prelates and Priests of Ireland which compose the principal part of the 'Report' herewith sent, and, to which a paper is annexed. These documents will show you the light in which this Kildare-street Society is regarded by the entire Catholic body.

"In the latter part of the manuscript paper, or 'Thoughts on the Education of the Poor,' you will also find what relates to the fund placed at the disposal of the Lord Lieutenant, to enable his Excellency to give assistance for the building of schools by subscription; and of the truth of what is there set forth there occurred a practical illustration in the case of a school patronized by Lord Clifden, in the town of Graig, county Kilkenny, diocess of Leighlin, on the subject of which I am informed that his son was solicited to move for an inquiry in the House of Commons. I thought it necessary to trouble you with the present detail, that you might the better understand this somewhat complicated subject; and should you deem it worthy of attention, it can do no harm to be possessed of at least some correct information with regard to it. As to my own opinion, I have already expressed it to you in part. It is the same as that found in the enclosed 'Thoughts on Education;' and from my knowledge of this country, and of the state of society in it, I am fully satisfied that if the present plan for the education of the poor be persevered in, it will be quite impossible to establish harmony or mutual confidence amongst the different religionists, especially of the lower orders.

"The present parliamentary grants for the education of the poor are fully sufficient for their object, if well administered and made available for the purposes intended by the Legislature; but as they are now employed, they serve to generate discord, heart-burnings, and almost a civil war in every village. God knows what sacrifices I have made, and almost every Catholic Prelate in the kingdom, to allay passions excited by persons who, with probably the best intentions, are labouring to educate the poor according to a system opposed to their conscience. We even over-

look what we can never approve, rather than offend or cause irritation, hoping that the Government would adopt a wiser course, and not through any want of ability to defeat the system of the Kildare-street System—for, by an address not longer than this letter, I could induce the Catholic poor of the diocesses of Kildare and Leighlin to withdraw all their children from the schools of the Society, unless, indeed, I were to except such as would be entirely ruined in their temporal interests by doing so—and even of these the greater number would prefer any sacrifice rather than what they would consider an abandonment of their religious principles.

"It is to me unaccountable why a Government, which ought to look only to the peace and happiness of the people, should not seek to educate the poor without interfering with their faith, whereas every religion professed in Ireland inculcate alike the duties which make men good subjects; and if there be one system of religion which more than another seems to favour that passive obedience which all governments like, surely that is the Roman Catholic.

"If, in your intercourse with persons in authority here, you thought proper to talk over this subject, and were pleased to recommend to them some alteration in the system of education now pursued, which would render it acceptable to the people, I have no doubt you would render a service to themselves, and, what is of infinitely more importance in your eyes, promote further the interests of this ill-fated country, to which you have devoted for so many years, and so disinterestedly, the great talents with which Almighty God has gifted you.—I have, &c.

"✠ J. Doyle."

Dr. Doyle does not tell Sir Henry Parnell that the "Thoughts" he enclosed to him were from his own pen; but it may be remembered that the Bishop, in his letter to Father Peter Doyle, dated the 3rd of January, 1822, makes no disguise of the authorship.

[*MS. inclosed in Dr. Doyle's letter to Sir H. Parnell.*]

"Thoughts submitted to the Right Hon. Charles Grant on the education of the poor of Ireland, by Lord Fingall, and by Dr. Troy, for himself and four other R. C. Prelates now in town.

"It is respectfully submitted to the consideration of his Majesty's Government, that the want of an early religious education is one of the principal causes why the peasantry of this country are easily induced to take rash and unlawful oaths, to combine for bad purposes, and commit those excesses which for centuries past, as

well as at present, have disgraced their country, disturbed its peace, and prevented its prosperity.

"That a vast majority of the poor children of Ireland are Roman Catholics, one-half at least of whom are unprovided with any kind of useful instruction in their youth, and that a great proportion of those who are sent to school profit little thereby, owing to the want of a good system of education, convenient schoolhouses, and competent schoolmasters.

"That, at the present period, the Roman Catholic poor are totally unable to provide the necessary means of instruction for their children, and that, if not assisted by the Legislature more effectually than hitherto, education will advance but slowly amongst them, if at all.

"That no beneficial aid can be rendered to the Roman Catholic poor in the way of education, if the distribution of it be regulated in a manner adverse to their religious principles, or calculated to excite the apprehensions or distrust of the parent or pastors of the children; and hence 'The Kildare-street Society for the Education of the Irish Poor' has not been enabled to fulfil, in their regard, the intentions of the Legislature, in placing at their disposal a fund 'for the education of the poor, without religious distinction.'

"That the fund now mentioned could be made available for the education of the Roman Catholic children, if the rules of the society to which it is intrusted were so modified as to remove the distrust which now prevails with regard to it; and for this purpose the following suggestions are most respectfully offered to be adopted by the society, through the influence of his Majesty's Government:

"That the R. C. Archbishops residing in Dublin be of the number of the vice-presidents of the society, and that the names of six Parish Priests in the city, or of any other six persons suggested by Dr. Troy or his successor, and approved of by Government, be added to those of the committee;*

"That any compilation from the Scriptures approved of by Dr. Troy, be substituted in the place of the New Testament for the use of the Catholic children;

"That no books be hereafter printed for the society to which any three members of the committee would object, and that such

* These fair and conciliatory proposals were repulsed by the Kildare-place Society in the following testy tone: "In reply, the committee conceive it requires no argument to prove that the forced introduction of ten individuals upon the committee of a voluntary association, and the abandonment of the only principle on which the society could have been induced to undertake the great work in which they are engaged, would not only infringe most materially on the present rules of the society, but would, in its results, tend to the total destruction of the institution."

passages in the books hitherto printed as may appear objectionable to three or more members of the committee, be omitted in future editions of them.

"The reasons why the above modifications of the rules of the society would be proposed are—first, that they do not seem to infringe materially on its present rules, and are so consonant to its principles of extending the blessings of education to all, without interfering with the religions of any, that without them these principles cannot be carried into effect; next, that from a variety of causes the Catholics of this country will always look with distrust to any system of education, devised and conducted exclusively by persons professing a religion different from their own, nor can a reasonable hope be entertained that they will cheerfully or generally avail themselves of its advantages, until it meets with the cordial support and approbation of their pastors.

"Also, because the reading of the Sacred Scriptures in schools by children is opposed both to the principles and discipline of the Catholic Church, inasmuch as she considers such practice as tending to diminish the reverence which the professors of her faith should entertain for the Word of God; to unsettle their religious belief, by giving occasion to young and ignorant persons to form erroneous judgments on many passages of the Scriptures difficult to be understood, and which have ever been interpreted in different ways by divers persons, and not unfrequently to the great detriment of the most venerable institutions both in Church and State.

"The insufficiency of 'The Society' for the attainment of the objects of the Legislature is stated for this reason, that the schools receiving assistance from it are comparatively few in number; that in such of these few as are frequented by Roman Catholic children, the rules of the society are evaded (to the no small prejudice of that truth and sincerity which should never be departed from, but, above all, in institutions where youth is trained up), or, if they be observed, the children are reluctantly permitted by their parents and pastors to remain in such schools, to avoid giving offence to the patron, or exciting his resentment."

Dr. Doyle went on to say, that if the Government should not deem it proper to induce the society to adopt the proposed modification of their rules, the assistance sought for might be given as effectually by confiding some fund to the trustees of Maynooth College, to be disposed of by them, and duly accounted for annually to Government. These trustees constituted an educational corporate body. They possessed an accurate knowledge of the state of the Catholics generally, and a peculiar facility of acquiring useful and extensive information respecting all matters connected with the poor. Their integrity and zeal in fulfilling the trust hitherto

reposed in them, afforded a sufficient guarantee of what their efforts would be in the event which Dr. Doyle had supposed. The Catholic Clergy had hitherto entertained strong hopes that government would assist in providing the poor with a safe and efficient means of education, and, under those circumstances, had occasionally overlooked what they failed to approve; as no duty could have been more painful than to withdraw children from *one school*, without being able to receive them *in another*. "Their caution, however, with regard to the religious principles of their respective flocks, must increase if their hopes of other remedies be frustrated."

Dr. Doyle further observed, that, although another fund, distinct from the above, existed, it had hitherto been almost inaccessible to Catholics. This fund was principally applied for the building of school-houses, of which a title should be had, and vested in such trustees as the Commissioners, to whom it was entrusted, approve. But the schools frequented by Catholic poor children were generally cabins, lent by some farmer during pleasure, and to which no title would be given.

We have seen the spirit in which the foregoing fair and conciliatory proposals were declined by the Kildare-place Society. The memorialists could not but feel that this rejection added insult to the previous sense of wrong—and one almost marvels at the good temper with which these and other grievances, whereof we shall presently speak, were borne. Dr. Doyle may be said to have been the only member of the Episcopacy who ventured to raise his voice in accents of appeal or reclamation; and, though thanked by many for his conduct, he incurred not a few censures from Catholics of the old school, for what they regarded as an injudicious course. The young Prelate, however, was not to be turned from his duty as a Priest and a patriot by such remarks; and he continued, as leisure permitted, to furnish his parliamentary friends with a statement of the grievances under which his Church and fellow-countrymen laboured. Early in May, 1823, Dr. Doyle forwarded to Sir Henry Parnell a petition, for which the Bishop succeeded in procuring the signatures of every member of the episcopal bench, stating that they, in common with all other Catholics, still suffered great grievances under the Penal Laws, but, trusting to the wisdom and justice of the Legislature, that it would take their condition into consideration, they now only required the removal of some of the minor inconveniences to which they were exposed. "The law as it now stands, deprives Catholics of the right of endowing Chapels, school-houses, or residences for their Clergy, and to this privation may, in a great degree, be attributed the many complaints which are made of the

ignorant and miserable condition of the lower orders of Catholics. All grants of money made by will or other instruments, for the erection of Chapels or schools, are subject to forfeiture." "There exists in Ireland," observed Sir H. Parnell, in the House of Commons, "a commission of charitable bequests, whose business it is to discover all gifts of money for charitable purposes; and if they find a gift for a Catholic charity, they immediately bring it before the courts of law, who are compelled to declare it to be for a superstitious use, and to vest the grant in the hands of the Commissioners, to be applied to any Protestant charity they think proper. The people were well disposed to be religious people, and to attend to the instructions of their Clergymen, but the state of the law went to say that religion should be fettered, and its extension and advantages forbidden to the lower orders. The Catholic Bishops were exceedingly anxious to promote the education of the poor, and many opulent Catholics would come forward with liberal assistance, were it not that their efforts were stopped in the first instance by the impossibility of securing a title for a school-house."

In the rest of the speech of Sir H. Parnell, we trace the able pen which had briefed him.

CHAPTER IX.

Evidences of Dr. Doyle's rigid sense of discipline—His embarrassment in relaxing it—His Address to the faithful—Remarkable letter, somewhat in the form of a journal—Who stole the door?—The fool's retort—Visit to Clongowes—Prince Hohenlohe—Dr. Doyle's authentication of a miracle—Interesting correspondence—Sceptical squibs and epigrams—Dr. Doyle's medical controversy with Sir Philip Crampton, Dr. Cheyne, and Baron Smith—Another miracle—Dr. Doyle's visit to Limerick—Letters—A theatre converted into a Catholic Church—Dr. Doyle's sermon on Dr. Troy's death, preached without a minute's preparation—Death of Pius VII.—Bishop Baines—Correspondence with Mr. Owen—Lord Cloncurry—Letters—Correspondence with Catharine—"The Hermit of Old Derrig."

DR. DOYLE, as the reader has ere this gathered, was no ordinary disciplinarian, and he relaxed the rigours of Lent, in 1823, with considerable reluctance. In his pastoral address for that year, the Bishop confesses the painful feelings of embarrassment which filled and distressed him while conceding this small indulgence. Relaxed as his Lenten regulations were, in comparison with those of an earlier date, they would, if introduced at the present day, be viewed with feelings of dismay by such obedient sons of the Church as know how to appreciate the pleasures of the table.

Dr. Doyle began by saying that the burden of duty, which never ceased to press upon him, became always more urgent as Lent approached, and the days of redemption drew nigh—"days on which we may be freed, once more, from the bondage of sin and death, and restored to grace and favour:"

"Hearken, therefore, to us, dearly beloved, whilst we lay our hearts open to you—whilst we sympathize with you in the sufferings which press upon you, and point out to you at least one of the causes in which they originate, and the only remedy, perhaps, by which they can be lightened or removed.

"But first let us announce to you the resolution we have come to, after much deliberation, with regard to abstinence from certain meats during the Lent. It is, that the indulgence which you enjoyed last year should be continued during this. And why, dearly beloved, have we resolved to inflict, as it were, a new wound on the ancient and venerable usage of our holy Church—a Church that is so dear to us that we would gladly sacrifice our lives to support any, even the least important, of her institutions? Is it that her discipline may be weakened, and yet her morality continue pure, and her faith unimpaired? No—this cannot happen, for our faith is 'the city of our strength,' and morality and discipline are the 'wall and the outworks' which the Lord has placed for her defence. If there be a breach made in them the city is exposed; if they be cast down, that too will be trodden under foot. Morality has become relaxed only when discipline was disregarded; and it is only when that charity which loves discipline, and purifies morals shall have waxed cold, that faith will scarcely be found upon the earth. We have had these considerations full before our eyes, when, pressed like the Apostle by two things, we have yielded as it were to the tears of the poor, and our hearts, pierced with the cries of their distress, have surrendered to them the laws of that kingdom of God, of which they are appointed the heirs, and for whose sake almost exclusively it was established on the earth. Pardon us then, dearest brethren, and pray that God may pardon us if, moved by an excessive charity for the poor, we have opened wider the gate, and made broader the way which leads the sinner to perdition. But no, dearly beloved; those of you who are not poor, and who may avail yourselves of the indulgence which we so reluctantly grant, will enter into our views, and repair by a profusion of alms-deeds, as well as by the exercise of penance and of prayer, that inroad which your use of flesh-meat will make on the venerable discipline of our mother Church.

"You will receive the stranger whom shame and poverty have expelled from home. You will embrace the woe-worn widow who stands shivering at your door. You will feed the orphan whom the

Lord has deprived of a parent and bereft of bread. You, who yourselves have felt the throes of maternal affection, will remember that you also have children who may yet be orphans, and you will measure to the child of affliction in the measure you would have measured to your own. You will seek out, in the haunts of wretchedness where the extremity of misery often lies concealed, those who once were in affluence and blessed with every comfort, but who now sigh out their lives with the partners of their misfortunes, wishing, with Job, that they had not seen the light, or waiting with impatience for the time of their dissolution. You will seek them and you will find them, and enrich them with your alms. They indeed can make you no recompense, but it will be made to you, dearly beloved, in the resurrection of the just. Do not expel the aged and infirm from your door; search not into their names, their profession, or their merit—it is enough that they are the children of God. Upbraid them not with vices from which you yourselves are not exempt; but remove from them the source of temptation, and let not your hard-heartedness excite them to blaspheme the name or the providence of God. Give food, and raiment, and employment, when you can, to the most deserving of the poor—to the son who labours for the aged parent—to the father who endeavours to support the character and preserve the virtue of his daughter—to the poor labourer, who, half despairing, and yet confiding in the care of heaven—having his frame weakened, not by age but by hunger—his cheeks furrowed, not by years, but by cares—goes forth to spend the remnant of his strength and sweat, that he may prolong the existence of the wife and children whom he left at home, a prey to famine. Do these things, dearly beloved, in the holy time of Lent, and we will not have to regret the relaxation of discipline, but will have rather to rejoice that our solicitude for the poor has been the occasion of relief to them, and effected, through the Divine mercy, the conversion of the rich."

Having thus laid open his views as to the relaxation of Lenten rigour, and the means of converting it into good, the Bishop proceeded to detail the source of the evils which pressed upon his flock, and the only remedy by which they might be lightened or removed. We gather, from Dr. Doyle's remarks, that a famine scourged the land in 1823, and that a lamentable dearth of employment existed. The conclusion of this pastoral, wherein the Bishop exhorted his flock to hope, was eminently eloquent and touching. In his "Regulations," he exhorted the faithful to use boiled meat on such days as they had an option of eating flesh, that the poor might be more amply supplied.

Throughout the succeeding forty days the good man exerted

himself with untiring energy, preaching repentance to all, hearing the confessions of those who at last hearkened to his voice, dispensing the mysteries of God this hour, and performing the corporal works of mercy to the famishing creatures who surrounded him, the next.

A letter to his niece, dated 26th April, 1823, forms an interesting supplement to Dr. Doyle's Lenten pastoral for that year: "I am sorry you abstained from meat, and I beg that you may never attempt it again. *I* did so last Lent, and the consequence was, I was obliged to eat it in Holy Week, and am actually at death's door with an inflammation of my liver. A succession of leeches subdued the inflammation, and I am at present taking large quantities of mercury. You need not talk of this, but take warning from it, and be not rash, as I have been in some degree. Your mother's health must be very precarious. Give her my affectionate compliments, and tell her she may outlive myself, if that would be any comfort to her."

This zealous discharge of duty had barely ceased when the labours of the biennial visitation were resumed. There has been fortunately preserved a highly interesting letter from Dr. Doyle to H. G——, which records, somewhat in the form of a journal, the Bishop's progress on his apostolic mission:

"Allen, 6th May, 1823.

"I am here placed in the centre of an immense bog, which takes its name from a small hill under whose declivity the Chapel and house are built where I now write. What perhaps interests me most in the wide and vast expanse of the Bog of Allen is, that it afforded, for nearly two centuries, a place of refuge to the apostolic men who have gone before me in preaching the faith and administering the sacraments to a people in every respect worthy of such pastors. The haunts and retreats frequented by the Bishops of Kildare in the times of persecution are still pointed out by the aged inhabitants of these marshes with a sort of pride mingled with piety; and they say—"There he administered confirmation; here he held an assembly of the clergy; on that hill he ordained some young Priests, whom he sent to France, to Spain, or to Italy; and we remember, or we heard, how he lived in yonder old walls in common with the young Priests whom he prepared for the mission. He sometimes left us with a staff in his hand, and being absent months, we feared he would never return; but he always came back, until he closed his days amongst us. Oh! if you saw him; he was like St. Patrick himself.' What think you, my dear friend, must be my reflections at hearing of the danger, and labours, and virtues of these good men, and what a reproach to my own sloth, and sensuality, and pride! They of whom the

world was not worthy, and who went about in fens and morasses, in nakedness, and thirst, and hunger, and watching, and terror, will be witnesses against me for not using, to the best advantage, the blessings which their merits have obtained from God for their children. Their spirit indeed seems to dwell here, and in those remote and uncultivated districts there are found a purity and simplicity of morals truly surprising. From five to six o'clock this morning the roads and fields were covered with poor people, young and old, healthy and infirm, hurrying to see the Bishop, and assist at his Mass, and hear his instructions. They thought he should be like those saints whom they had seen or heard of to have gone before him; and I am sure that if his heart did not feel the sorrows or the love which sent or filled the sacred heart of Jesus, theirs supplied the defect, and rendered to the all-good Redeemer a homage every way acceptable to Him. I could observe them to shed tears of the most tender devotion, and the stern countenance of the rude countryman was melted down to the image of the meek Lamb who came to take away the sins of the world. The few obstinate sinners lost their obstinacy, and would gladly yield up their lives to be reconciled to their God; the common disturbers of the peace, the licentious or negligent Christian, and the women who are sinners, were all confounded in their anxiety to obtain pardon and undergo penance. Such scenes, dearest, bring with them an inexpressible pleasure; they confound all the wise of this world, and force us to glorify God for the abundance of the riches of his grace; no privation is felt, no labour is heavy, nothing worldly is esteemed where one is encompassed with these blessings. I would wish you to witness them, and carry home to the Convent the picture of fervour and devotion which the Spirit of God pours forth upon the rude and simple people; but as you cannot be a witness of it, render thanks to a good and gracious God who consoles us with such abundant consolation in the midst of the rude trials to which other things expose us, and who thus glorifies His own name in this country of saints, where the vestiges of St. Bridget are still traced, and the monuments of her piety as fresh as the fruit of her intercession is sensible. May she render thanks to God for us, and may we deserve a continuation of His mercy!

"On the day I left Carlow I was steeped in rain before I reached Kildare. I set about my old work, on the way, of composing a Litany in honour of St. Bridget, but I never could proceed farther than a few petitions until the wind or rain distracted my attention; then I looked to her round towers, commended myself to her protection, and converted myself from a maker of litanies into a charioteer. These various occupations employed me till I reached Kildare, where I found Rev. Mr. B——'s family at din-

ner. They prepared a chop for me; I feasted myself with it, took tea, and chatted with two or three clergymen, said my office, and went to bed. I slept till five, and went to offer my devotions to my dear patroness at the altar, and then set out to a meeting of the Clergy at Robertstown. Prayer and all manner of devotion was the principal subject of our conference, and I endeavoured to instil into their minds all the precious truths I knew, that they might be the better enabled to assist souls in the way of perfection. How much I like to talk on prayer, like a boy who has seen a beautiful garden which he no longer frequents, but whose walks, and arbours, and fruits he remembers with pleasure and surprise mingled with regret. Ah! my dearest child, there is nothing in heaven better than prayer, for it is a union with God, the ineffable, and incomprehensible, and eternal Truth, who, absorbing all the soul within himself, imparts to it all His own treasures, His light, His life, His pure will, and His unsearchable ways, His mysteries of existence, of futurity, and love, swallowing up not what is human, but what is carnal, and overwhelming the soul with the brightness of His divinity. One day in His presence is truly better than ten thousand years on earth! There is nothing so good as prayer; it is the daily bread, the bread of life by which man liveth. Let us aim by it to a union with God, that, stretching forward by our desires, we may comprehend what He is—that, weaned from ourselves and from the things that pass, we may adhere to what is eternal and unchangeable; and filled with bliss, not in reasoning or perplexity, but in the ardour of desire, or the sweet beginning of that silent enjoyment which should never be interrupted without pain, or resumed without thanksgiving and secure tranquillity.

"When I had written the above, this good old man, my host,* summoned me to take a cup of coffee. I should have preferred conversing with you to the end of the sheet, but I have few occasions of practising obedience, so I availed myself of the opportunity offered, rendered more sweet by the mixture of coffee. Such gall is not always infused into the cup which our superiors mingle; and if it were, it would not be like the chalice of the Lord. This superior of mine is quite an antique character; he is past seventy

* [The late Rev. John Lawlor is the party alluded to. He was a very worthy man, but somewhat uncouth and unlettered. A thief, on one occasion, stole the door of Allen school-house, and Father Lawlor energetically denounced the perpetrator from the altar. "Whoever committed that outrage," he said, "on the only place of learning within miles, deserves to be waked in hell on the stolen door." On another occasion, he found that a great portion of his congregation had fallen asleep during a sermon. "I verily believe," he said, "that that poor fool over there (pointing to a notorious simpleton) is the only man awake." "Your reverence," exclaimed the fool, "only I am a fool, I suppose I'd be asleep like the rest."—W.J.F.]

years, of a robust, active, and athletic frame, and rude and simple in his manners, like those we read of in olden times. He has spent nearly forty years in the ministry in this neighbourhood, and has retained his first fervour and piety unimpaired. His books of piety are literally worn out with use, while the rest of his library is eaten with the moths, or have been removed by some of his literary friends, who supposed they did him no injury by depriving him of what he seldom used. He counts himself the last of his brethren, and discovers merit in every one except himself. He sometimes rails at his people, who return him the compliment; but he never inflicts a wound which he does not run to bind up and heal. I saw him to-day at Mass, the most humble and devout of all who surrounded him, kneeling amongst the children upon the ground! How cheerfully could I obey such a man till death would separate us. We had at dinner, from Clongowes, our very good friend Father N—— and one of his brethren. I expect to spend a part of Sunday with them—the latter but not the better part—and to learn, if possible, some of their salutary maxims. How they do overcome evil by good! They are always heaping favours and attentions upon me, and you know how badly I repay them. However, for the sake of Xavier, if for no other cause, I shall be converted. I don't intend to send you this letter until to-morrow or next day, when I will fill up this page with a journal of what may occur. Till then, adieu. I go to commend myself to the Virgin, to the Patroness of the Bishops of Kildare, and to all the saints, and am well assured that you are equally mindful of me. May God bless you!

"*Sunday Night.*—To continue this—what shall I call it?—an account of my mission in this remote district: I came yesterday through a large part of the Bog of Allen, where a colony, chiefly of Connaught people, have dug out habitations from the immense cliffs of turf, where fire and water seem to be the only elements given them for subsistence; yet they are healthful, and seem to be blessed with a numerous progeny. Supported by some invisible food, and clothed by the hand of nature, they are like the sparrow and the bird of prey, fed by that Providence which neglects nothing it has made. A little removed from the extremity of the bog stands the town of Prosperous, proclaiming by its appearance the impropriety of its name, yet having an excellent Chapel and a most ingenious population, who surpass their neighbours in intelligence, and are not inferior to them in virtue. They are all cotton-weavers, and for the last year or eighteen months have laid aside their combinations, and regulated their temporal and spiritual concerns by some written directions which I then gave them. They were quite happy to see me, and the joy was reciprocal. I

discoursed with them on the articles of the creed, and found them highly edified by the new lights which seemed to be let in upon them. I felt myself, more forcibly than ever in my life before, impressed by the attributes of God, and the nature of our redemption, His charity to man, the price paid for our salvation, and the ineffable dignity of a Christian soul, from which feeling a strong disposition to love and serve God easily flows—but alas in us so frail it is only transient; happy those that meditate on it day and night, and place it as a sign before their eyes! I came last night to the house of Rev. Mr. ——, a splendid mansion, bestowed on him by Dean Digby of the Established Church. I slept well, and after Mass and breakfast, set out on my mission to a district which no Bishop had visited perhaps for a century before. The inhabitants had been rude, wild, and untractable, but this good little man had gone amongst them without scrip, or coat, or money in his purse, and formed them into a new people like the primitive Christians. They devoured my dress with their eyes, and my words seemed to melt their hearts; they pressed about me as if I were something of another clime, and it was with difficulty I could separate myself from them: this was outside the chapel, where I told them a variety of stories about St. Patrick, and St. Bridget, &c., and left them filled with delight, and with a faith so animated, that I have no doubt they would all cheerfully go to martyrdom if called on. It is amongst them that the Son of God loves to dwell, whilst he hides himself from the prudent and the wise. It is no wonder that Abraham, the prophets, and all solitaries, who now fill heaven, took up their abode amongst the rustic population of the fens and deserts, where the world, and its vices and concupiscences, are utterly unknown. We, however, must only endeavour to use it as if we used it not; and how difficult it is to do so, plainly appeared on my approach about two o'clock to this superb mansion of the Jesuits. . . . .

"I officiated at vespers, and gave benediction. I felt some throes of devotion, and a deep sense of my own miseries. I wished that I could deserve to be in heaven; but he who gives effect to the efforts of the will, left me where I generally am, low and miserable, like the base earth of which he has formed me, and to which I must return when the days of my banishment end. We proceeded from the church, after a short interval in the library, to dinner. I retired very soon after with my good friend Rev. Mr. Kenny, who took tea with me, and chatted until the bell rung for night prayer, when he retired to his devotion, and I to converse with my friend in Christ. The Rev. Mr. N—— is all goodness and piety, and the whole family as happy as virtue and temporal blessings combined can render them. . . . .

"I shall close here, and probably will send you this letter to-morrow, as nothing new or interesting is likely to occur; there will be a sameness in my life and adventures, for the days that are to come, which would not be interesting to you. I am growing somewhat melancholy also, and if there be not some animation infused into writing, even the warmth of friendship will soon cool by it; and I don't like to trespass on your patience—for though patience makes the soul perfect, I should rather some other person would exercise yours, than that it should be tried by your ever affectionate,

"✠ J. Doyle."

It is not surprising that Dr. Doyle should have entertained that particular affection for the memory of St. Bridget, of which we obtain glimpses in the foregoing letter. She is mentioned by Cogitosus as having "appointed" St. Conlaeth, the first Bishop who ever ruled the diocess of Kildare, "but this," says Dr. Lanigan, "must be understood relatively to his having been chosen in consequence of her recommendation." Be this as it may, the Bishops of Kildare owe their existence to St. Bridget.

We now approach a period in Dr. Doyle's life which has been much criticised by polemics. We allude to his Pastoral authenticating "a miracle wrought by the intercession of Prince Hohenlohe and Dean of Bamberg, in the person of Miss Maria Lalor, who received the use of speech after six years' privation of that faculty." Some tributes to our Bishop's worth and learning, which appeared in Protestant publications shortly after his death, went out of their way to notice, as an extraordinary fact, that a judgment of such uniformly unerring accuracy should have borne testimony to the "so-called miracles" of Prince Hohenlohe. Be this as it may, Dr. Doyle, having received striking evidence in corroboration, declared himself convinced of the reality of the particular instance now before us; and as his Pastoral in attestation of it, published in 1823, was marginally corrected by his own hand in 1830, we have no reason to suppose that his views on this subject underwent any subsequent modification.

Moses in the Old Testament (*Ex.* ix. 14; *Num.* xvi. 29), and Christ in the New (*John*, x. 37, 38; xiv. 12; xv. 24), constantly appealed to miracles in attestation of their divine mission; and we find (*Mark*, xvi. 17; *John*, xiv. 12), that our Saviour expressly promised to his disciples the privilege of working them for the same sacred end. The truth of the Church has been illustrated by well authenticated miracles throughout different ages; and we cannot wonder that Dr. Doyle should have recognised, with joy, what would seem to have been a renewed assurance of its apostolic origin and mission. "We have not only been

taught God's truth," writes Luther,* "but have seen it confirmed for these fifteen hundred years back by manifest signs and miracles." "Let not Bellarmin think," observes a learned Protestant divine,† "that I despise altogether the miracles of Xavier, for it may happen that such have been, and may still be wrought in the Popish Church."

Whether the miraculous cures wrought through the agency of his Highness the Dean of Bamberg, deserve to be classed with the miracles of an earlier era in the history of the Church, we shall not now pause to discuss. It has been customary with religionists, not of the Catholic persuasion, to decry them, but, as the good Priest, unlike SS. Dominic,‡ Xaverius,§ and other pillars of the Church, never vauntingly assumed to effect a cure through his own merit or power, but solely by the agency of fervent and concentrated prayer to God, there can be nothing offensive to human pride in believing that the Father of mercies may have been graciously pleased, on more than one occasion, to grant the prayer of his humble petitioner. Unlike Ireneus|| and Tertullian,¶ who sarcastically reproached the schismatics against whom they wrote for their inability to work miracles, the Prince with the utmost humility declared his own weakness, and always referred to God the various flattering requests which continually pursued him.

Concentrated prayer, and the sacrifice of the Mass, constituted the great lever of strength on which this holy ecclesiastic depended for the attainment of the end in view. "Where two or three are assembled in my name, there," says Christ, "am I in the midst of them;" and we are assured by the same sacred authority, "Ask and you shall receive, seek and you shall find." As some disciples of Conyers Middleton will not relish the word "miracle," in connexion with certain wonderful cures effected in the nineteenth century, we may, perhaps, remind them that to prayer all things are possible of attainment. For what end do all the world pray, if not to obtain temporal as well as spiritual necessities? Christ taught his followers the Lord's Prayer, to show them that spiritual and corporal wants were alike to be sought at the throne of mercy. Having been once encompassed with infirmity Himself, He knows how to compassionate human distress. Hence the Church, from its earliest ages, has prescribed prayers for the sick, in which her reliance on His promises is expressed, and if she did not believe that cures are wrought by their efficacy, her worship

* Luther tom. 7, Wittemb. fol. 210.
† Whitakerus de Ecclesia, p. 353.
‡ Petrus Valis Cern. Hist., Butler's Saints, Aug. 4.
§ Du Halde's Recucil. Berault Bercastel's Hist. Ecc.
|| Lib. ii. contra Hær. c. 31.
¶ Lib. de Præsor.

would not be religion but mockery. The Church of England holds these views, and whenever any of her Bishops fall sick, prayers are offered up for their recovery in all the churches of the diocess.

In June, 1823, a fair member of Dr. Doyle's flock, named Lalor, miraculously recovered her use of speech, through the fervent prayers of his Highness the Rev. Alexander Prince Hohenlohe, whose invaluable services the good Bishop had enlisted on her behalf. The following correspondence tells the tale. Dr. Doyle's letter is, we fear, but an indifferent translation from the original.

"Carlow, March 6th, 1823.

"MOST SERENE AND VERY REV. PRINCE—The report of the wonderful works which, through the prayers of your Highness, God hath wrought in the midst of his people, has reached Ireland, and especially of that by which the arm of a certain nun in England, afflicted with some miserable disease, had been instantly and miraculously cured at a time when the most holy sacrifice of the Mass was offered to God for her by your Highness.

"Whilst they, therefore, offer thanks to the Father of all Mercies, who in these lamentable times has raised up your Highness, by whom to give new signs of salvation and proofs of the faith, both to the true believers and to those who are without, we also presume to implore your prayers and charity on behalf of a young female of our diocess, whose father earnestly requested of us that we would commend her to your prayers that she might be cured by God.

"But that your Most Serene Highness may be fully acquainted with what regards this young female, we have thought it fit to make known to your Highness the following statement communicated to us by her father, a respectable and pious Catholic.

"The daughter of this man, named Maria Lalor, was brought up piously to about her eleventh year, and educated as became a person of her age, until, after a long illness, which she bore patiently, she was deprived of the use of speech. Nothing, indeed, which could be hoped from medical aid had been left untried, during the six years which have since elapsed; that her tongue might again resume its functions; but every effort has proved vain, for neither has she yet articulated any sound, nor is she expected ever to do so, unless that God, 'who maketh the tongues of the little ones eloquent,' will be induced, through the prayers of your Highness, to vouchsafe that her tongue be restored to its former powers.

"It may not be irrelevant to state to your Highness that her organs of sense continue perfect, and that she strictly adheres to that piety of life which she had preserved from her most tender

age. She makes, at the usual times, her sacramental confession, by signs or writing to a Priest, who has testified the same to us; she hears and receives with reverence his admonitions and advice; in a word, she so conducts herself in all things as to appear to us, short-sighted and unworthy as we are, to deserve that your most Serene Highness would intercede with God for her.

"Whilst stating these things, I press with reverence the hands of your Highness, and earnestly recommend to your prayers myself, an humble sinner, with the flock committed to my care; and remain, of your Most Serene and Very Reverend Highness, the most obedient and most humble servant in Christ,

"Br. James Doyle, O.S.A.,
"*Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.*"

M. Sageten Brock, a notary, promptly acknowledged Dr. Doyle's letter, and enclosed the following document in the autograph of the Prince de Hohenlohe, addressed "To Miss Lalor, and all those who will spiritually unite in prayer:"

"On the 10th of June, at nine o'clock, I will, agreeably to your request, offer my prayers for your recovery. Unite with them at the same time, after having confessed and received the Holy Communion, your own, together with that evangelical fervour, that full and entire confidence which we owe to our Redeemer Jesus Christ. Excite in the recesses of your heart the divine virtues of true contrition, of an unbounded confidence that you will be heard, and an immovable resolution of leading an exemplary life for the purpose of preserving yourself in a state of grace. Accept the assurance of my consideration."

The Prince's secretary, in a letter to Dr. Doyle, added, "This instant, we have received an account from Verdelain, diocess of Bordeaux, in France, stating, with the utmost joy, that a young female, deprived of the use of speech for five years, had been restored to it in the Church, on the day and hour appointed, namely, the 14th of March. 'May God grant increase and perseverance.'"

The following letter is addressed to the late Very Reverend N. O'Connor:

"Old Derrig, Carlow, 1st June, 1823.

"Very Rev. Dear Sir—When in Mountrath, I wrote, at the request of Mr. Lalor, of Rosskelton, to the Prince De Hohenlohe, soliciting his Highness's prayers, that, through their efficacy with Almighty God, Mr. Lalor's daughter might be restored to the use of speech, of which she has, for some years, been deprived. On this day I heard in reply; and it is desired, that Miss Lalor's pious friends do join her in a devotion in honour of the most Holy

Name of Jesus, and in honour of St. John Nepomucene, for nine days preceding the 10th of June, on which day she is to confess and receive the Holy Communion at Mass, to be celebrated at the hour of nine o'clock, exciting in her soul the holy virtues of true repentance, with an unbounded confidence in God, through the merits of our Blessed Redeemer, as well as a firm resolution of spending her life in obedience to His commands, and in a holy conformity to His Divine will, all joined to a lively faith, and a disinterested love of the Lord. Your friends here will co-operate with you; and without publishing the matter too much, you can ensure the prayers of many holy souls, and you know how "they do violence to heaven."—Yours, most affectionately,

"✠ J. DOYLE.

"P. S.—As the meridian of Bamberg differs from that of Maryborough by an hour and about twelve minutes, you can direct the Mass to be celebrated for Miss Lalor at a little before eight o'clock on the 10th of June."

"Maryborough, 11th June, 1823.

"MY LORD—In compliance with your request, I send you a statement of the facts relative to Miss Lalor.

"I am now in the house where she was first deprived of her speech. She is at present in the eighteenth year of her age, and as she is connected with most of the respectable Catholic families in this country, and has had frequent intercourse with them, her privation of speech, during six years and five months, is established beyond contradiction. Her hearing and understanding remained unimpaired, and she carried a tablet and pencil to write what she could not communicate by signs.

"Medical aid was tried by Dr. Ferris of Athy, and Surgeon Smith of Mountrath, but without effect. The latter gentleman resolved to have it submitted to the most eminent physicians in Dublin, eight of whom were consulted by him, and the result was, that no hopes could be entertained of her recovery. This decision was imparted by Dr. Smith to her father, apart from Mrs. and Miss Lalor; all which circumstances the doctor recollected on the 14th inst., when he saw Miss Lalor, heard her speak, and declared the cure to be miraculous.

"I waited on Mr. Lalor, and communicated to him and to his family all that you desired. They observed it with every exactness; and on the morning of the 10th inst., having heard Miss Lalor's confession by signs, and disposed her for receiving the Holy Communion, I read to her again from your Lordship's letter the directions of the Prince, namely, that she would excite within her a sincere repentance, a firm resolution of obeying God's com-

mands, a lively faith, and unbounded confidence in his mercy, and entire conformity to his holy will, and a disinterested love of him.

"I had previously requested the Clergy of this district to offer up for Miss Lalor the holy Sacrifice of the Mass at twelve minutes before eight o'clock in the morning of the 10th, keeping the matter a secret from most others, as you had recommended; however, as it had transpired somewhat, a considerable number collected in the chapel, when my two coadjutors, with myself, began Mass at the hour appointed. I offered the holy Sacrifice in the name of the Church. I besought the Lord to overlook my own unworthiness, and regard only Jesus Christ, the great High Priest and Victim, who offers himself in the Mass to His Eternal Father for the living and the dead. I implored the Mother of God, of all the Angels and Saints, and particularly of St. John Nepomucene. I administered the Sacrament to the young lady, at the usual time, when instantly she heard, as it were, a voice distinctly saying to her, '*Mary, you are well*'—when she exclaimed, '*O Lord, am I!*' and, overwhelmed with devotion, fell prostrate on her face. She continued in this posture for a considerable time, whilst I hastened to conclude the Mass, but was interrupted in my thanksgiving immediately after, by the mother of the child pressing her to speak.

"When, at length, she was satisfied in pouring out her soul to the Lord, she took her mother by the hand, and said to her, 'Dear mother;' upon which Mrs. Lalor called the clerk, and sent for me, as I had retired to avoid the interruption, and on coming to where the young lady was, I found her speaking in an agreeable, clear, and distinct voice, such as neither she nor her mother could recognise as her own.

"As she returned home in the afternoon, the doors and windows in the streets through which she passed were crowded with persons, gazing with wonder at this monument of the power and goodness of Almighty God.

"Thus, my Lord, I have given you a simple statement of facts, without adding to or distorting what I have seen and heard, the truth of which their very notoriety places beyond all doubt, and which numberless witnesses, as well as myself, could attest by the most solemn appeal to Heaven. I cannot forbear remarking to your Lordship, how our Lord confirms now the doctrine of His Church, and His own presence upon our altars, by the same miracles to which He referred the disciples of John, saying, 'Go tell John the dumb speaks,' &c., as a proof that He was the Son of God, who came to save the world.

"I remain your Lordship's, &c.,

"N. O'Connor."

Dr. Doyle hastened to Rosskelton, to convince himself by personal inquiry of this wondrous cure. He drew up a pastoral on the subject, which was eagerly read, not only in the diocess to which the Bishop specially addressed it, but throughout the United Kingdom and many parts of the Continent. The Council of Trent (Sess. 25, dec. 2) ordains that it is the duty of Bishops to publish every well-authenticated miracle which may take place within their jurisdiction; and in obedience to this mandate Dr. Doyle joyously announced the wonderful cure of Miss Lalor: "Dearest brethren," he said, "we announce to you with great joy a splendid miracle, which the Almighty God hath wrought even in our own days, and at the present time, and in the midst of ourselves. We announce it to you with a heart filled with gratitude to heaven, that you may unite with us in thanksgivings to the 'Father of mercies and God of all consolation, who consoles us in every tribulation,' and who has now consoled us by restoring miraculously Miss Maria Lalor to the perfect use of speech, of which, for six years and five months, she had been totally deprived! Our gracious God, 'who causeth death and giveth life, who leadeth to the grave, and bringeth back therefrom,' has been graciously pleased to have regard to the prayers and the faith of His servants, and, looking to the sacrifice of our altars, and to the merits of the blood which speaketh from them, better than the blood of Abel, to loose, by His own presence and by His own power, a tongue whose functions had been so long suspended. . . . He who at the gate of Naim put his hand to the bier, raised the widow's son to life, and gave him to his mother, has now spoken to the heart of a faithful servant, loosed the tongue which infirmity had paralyzed, and restored a happy daughter to the embraces of her parents. We ourselves have participated in their joy, on conversing, as we have lately done, with this favoured child of heaven. Exult then, dearly beloved brethren, and rejoice that the Almighty God has thus visited you His people, re-animating your faith, enlivening your hope, and exalting your charity—consoling your sorrows, relieving your distress, and healing your infirmities—preparing in your sight a table against all who afflict you, and urging you, by these manifestations of His power and goodness, to rely upon His providence, 'whereas He has care of you. Signs and wonders are not necessary at all times, nor in all places; yet they have never ceased in the Church of God, because He is always in the midst of His people, and must fulfil His promise to them—that 'whatever they ask the Father in His name will be done for them.' But in our times it is meet that signs and wonders should, in some degree, revive, because error hath pervaded the earth, and the very foundations of the faith have been

assailed. Hence it is just that the Lord should arise to judge, as it were, his own cause. Therefore it is that ourselves have beheld him 'ruling with a strong hand, and an outstretched arm, and with anger poured out'—on one day chaining a persecutor to a rock, on another dissolving the league of infidels, or by prodigies compelling his very enemies to exclaim, 'Surely the finger of God is here.' At this time, and in this place, it is worthy of His providence that the light of His countenance should be shed upon His faithful people. We have long experienced the truth of His prediction to those who were to walk in His footsteps and carry after them their cross—namely, 'that the world would rejoice, but that they would be sad;' and the present period has added sorrow to our sorrow, and pressure to our distress. Our religion is traduced, our rights are withheld, our good name is maligned, our best actions are misrepresented, crimes are imputed to us against which our very nature revolts, our friends are silenced, and our enemies insult us, and glory in our humiliation. It is meet, therefore, and just, that He for whose name and faith we suffer should cast upon us a look of compassion, lest we faint in the way or be overcome by temptation—that He should comfort His people, and renew to them, by visible signs, an assurance that He watches over them—that a hair of their heads will not perish—and that, possessing their souls in patience, they may expect His return 'to wipe away every tear from their cheek, and fill them with that joy which no one can take away.'"

A settled despondency filled the Catholics and their friends at this period. The Cabinet was occupied by men pledged to resist Emancipation to the death. At no previous time had the demeanour of the ascendant party been more intolerant, or the flow of calumny fuller. To this painful state of things Dr. Doyle refers. He concluded with a renewal of the admonitions to which he had already given expression, on the occasion of his visitation. Above all, he impressed upon his flock the necessity of peace and patience, and to bear with many injuries rather than inflict one. The Bishop, having expressed a charitable hope that the calumnies which had been so profusely poured upon them wanted the malice of design, continued—"In times when the minds of men are deeply anxious and strongly agitated, they cannot divest themselves of friendship or hatred, of fear and love; and when these passions prevail, they impart their own colours to the subjects of deliberation and sway the judgment of the most enlightened mind. We ourselves have our fears which are groundless, and our antipathies which are ill-founded. We are often a prey to false alarms, and impute to others thoughts which perhaps they never once conceived. Yet we overlook our own mistakes—we pardon

our own errors—and why not, dearest brethren, mete to others as we would measure to ourselves? Is it not a rule of equity to do so? Is it not the law of the Gospel? Time will restore the dominion of truth, facts will disprove the strongest and foulest imputations, patience will soften down the anger of our opponents, and charity will sweeten even the bitterness of their gall. They will yet blush at the injuries they have done us, and finding no justification for themselves in your reproaches they may yet relent—nay, they may forgive, and be numbered amongst your friends. But the storm of passion must be first allayed. Who has ever been converted till he ceased to hate? Who has ever repaired an injury whilst he was upbraided with injustice? Recall to your minds, dearest brethren, the situation of those whose proceedings you complain of, and see whether that 'charity which thinketh not evil' may not excuse their errors and palliate their faults. Have they not imbibed with their mothers' milk prejudices which nothing but education, of which many of them are destitute, and a free intercourse with Catholics, could remove? The nurse told them you were a nation of idolaters, their pastors pointed you out to them as followers of Anti-Christ, their books of instruction represented you as the enemies of God, the laws proclaimed to them that you were disaffected, and the courts of justice not unfrequently announced it in judgment. When the law and the prophets were thus perverted to condemn you—when, from the pulpit as in the nursery, you were denounced as heathens and publicans—when the titles of property, the pride of conquest and of ancestry, the laws of the empire, the maxims of the wise, and the conduct of those placed in authority, proclaimed you as impious or disaffected, how could you be estimated as ordinary men—how could you be considered as religious Christians and faithful subjects?

"But you will ask me, are we then to suffer in silence and not vindicate our good name? Far from it, brethren; you should uphold, by every lawful means, your own character and promote your own interests. These interests are the interests of truth and justice, and they must advance. The ways of their progress are obvious, and nothing can retard them but your own imprudence.

"You have increased in property, in numbers, and in strength; these give you a moral weight which carries you forward with an accelerated motion. Education has arrived to a state of excellence amongst those of you who are blessed with the means of obtaining it, and is united with a pure and sound morality. These will illuminate and enliven and direct the movements of our body, that we may act in concert, dissipate prejudice, make our merits manifest, and attach to our cause the virtuous and intelligent of every creed

and class. The progress of our religion, which is such as to excite even our own surprise, will of itself make known our principles and refute every calumny; the piety and zeal of your priesthood, the appearance of your places of worship, the multitudes who frequent them, their pious demeanour, their strict integrity, their faithful attachment to the ever uniform creed of the saints, will have—as they daily have—an insensible but powerful effect: but when aided by the exertions of your friends and the violence of your enemies, joined to your own willing obedience to the law, were a Balaam to be found, they would compel him to exclaim, 'How lovely are thy tabernacles, O Jacob, and thy tents, O Israel!' These are the lawful and efficient means of mitigating the evils you now endure, and a few of the grounds of your future hope. These will plead for you in a language which will speak to the understanding of the wise, to the interests of legislators, and to the hearts of men. Supported on these pillars, let your cause rest. Do not, dearest brethren, justify intolerance by your own imprudence; do not verify the imputations of calumny by deviating from your usual course; do not paralyse your own energies by dissensions, and enable your opponents to rivet your chains anew. A momentary cloud has overcast the legislature—a bad spirit has breathed on their councils. Some of those who lead in the senate have adopted a false maxim, others have unwisely exalted an unholy league over the King's subjects, and placed it perhaps too near the throne. These men will regret having cast away principle, or acted on a bad one, and the collective wisdom of the nation will yet penetrate this cloud which overhangs it, and, by a new effort of its power and its justice, secure the throne, and fill with gladness the hearts of the people."

Sceptical squibs, in prose and verse, increased the noise which Dr. Doyle's pamphlet produced. It is impossible not to smile at some of these epigrams; and we are assured that no one enjoyed them more than Dr. Doyle himself:

"The wonder-working Prince, they brag,
Has caused a woman's tongue to wag,
And laid the dumb fiend under.
Now, had he but the power and will
To bid a woman's tongue lie still—
There were, indeed, the wonder."

Among the prosaic expressions of incredulity, that of "Miracles Mooted" figured prominently. The author accused Dr. Doyle of having blasphemously laughed at some fanatical old ladies. "I have never," said the Bishop, "ridiculed anything sacred; and though I have frequently laughed for the last three months at what

I saw written on the subject of miracles, from 'Miracles Mooted' to the 'Complete Exposure,' I feared too much the woe denounced by the Lord against the scoffers, to laugh at the miracles themselves. But however I might have laughed or sighed—for I sometimes indulge in either—I am quite certain I never wished evil to any child of Adam, nor precipitated my judgment so as to impute even to the worst of the admirers of the works of Joshua, half the cruelty which they imputed or appropriated to themselves. Still less did I feel resentment against those few who laughed at the miracles; and if I became mad, as my correspondent supposes, I have only to hope that, like Hamlet, there has been method in my madness."

The three ablest opponents whom Dr. Doyle encountered on his promulgation of the recent miraculous cures, were the late Surgeon-General Sir Philip Crampton, Baron Smith, and Dr. Cheyne. The Baron's pamphlet displayed the metaphysical learning and keen subtlety for which that eminent judge was distinguished, while the tracts of Crampton and Cheyne (the Podalirius and Machaon of Dublin) embodied much curious medical lore, which aimed to prove that the sudden recovery of the persons mentioned by Dr. Doyle could be entirely accounted for on natural principles. It behoved the doctors to come forward at such a juncture, for they were beginning to feel themselves quite supplanted by the potent Dean of Bamberg. Critics were not slow in detecting in these pamphlets unmistakable traces of jealousy blended with the argument.

Dr. Doyle promptly answered Crampton and Cheyne in a letter which displayed a surprising amount of medical reading. Our Bishop in the character of a medical writer was a circumstance so novel, that his reply excited an unusual sensation. He concluded with—"Physicians as you are, and physician as I am not, I hereby challenge you to contradict one iota of what I have advanced." Dr. Doyle was truly a man of most varied information. He was capable of arguing with striking power on any given subject. He had Blackstone almost by heart, and he was no stranger to the pharmacœpia. The miraculous recovery of Miss Lalor, through the prayers of Prince Hohenlohe, was rapidly followed by that of Miss Mary Stewart, a Carmelite nun of Dublin, under not less singular and startling circumstances. Following the example set by Dr. Doyle, the late Archbishop Murray published an interesting narrative and attestation of it, which Dr. Doyle thus notices: "I met at the hotel in Roscrea, where I slept on Tuesday night, Dr. Murray's Pastoral on the cure of Miss Stewart, with the affidavits annexed. I was greatly delighted with the entire, and think they must greatly contribute to the glory of God."

These wonderful cures excited considerable attention and noise. Dr. Doyle, in a letter addressed to the Marquis Wellesley, observes: "To inquire into the nature of the sudden and extraordinary cures referred to, is not, my Lord, the object, nor any portion of the object of this letter. Let physicians and men without occupation employ themselves in discussing the force of nature, and fixing the boundaries of her operations; for my part, I mix myself with the crowd—the simple and the poor, to whom Christ came to preach, and whom He has appointed the heirs of His kingdom. I view with them, rather than with the prudent and the wise, the cures wrought by the Redeemer, and by those who have walked in his footsteps. If I see a woman healed of a grievous distemper, when in the midst of the crowd she touches the hem of His garment, I do not inquire whether the force of imagination or the power of her nerves might not have stopped the issue of her blood. When the blind man's eye was touched with clay made wet with spittle, and he desired to go and wash in the pool of Siloe, and that I find him restored to sight, I do not seek to ascertain by any chemical process the virtue of the water in which he washed, more than of the Jordan in which Naaman was cleansed, to enable me to judge of the cause of the recovery; I attribute it to the prophet and to the Son of God. The persons for whom and by whom miracles are wrought, the means employed to produce them, the end and circumstances for which, and in which they are presented to us, their number as well as the substance of them, contribute to determine my judgment of the cause to which they are to be assigned—whether to natural means, to the spirit of darkness, or to the power of God."

The anti-Catholic press of the day was not slow in overwhelming with obloquy Prince Hohenlohe, Dr. Doyle, and Dr. Murray. It also ridiculed the miraculous cures recently effected. Touching this profane tone, Dr. Doyle observed, that he had heard the evangelists tell how there were divisions even about Christ himself: some said He was good; others not, but that He seduced the crowd; and not a few supported that it was in Beelzebub He cast out devils. "I find, in after times, not only men who denied the existence of all the miracles recorded in the gospels, but others who, admitting their existence, attributed them to causes such as those to which the late miracles have been assigned. Celsus pretended they were produced by those secret spells which Jesus had learned from the Egyptians. Porphirius and Julian attributed them to magic. Hierocles opposed to them the prodigies performed by Apollonius. The Talmudists would assign them all to a certain mode of pronouncing the word 'Jehovah.'"

Midsummer, 1823, found Dr. Doyle practically extending his

pious labours to Munster, to the imminent risk of his health. The young Bishop's celebrity had now reached far and near, and although quite "a lion" in the estimation of the people, he had not a lion's courage, inasmuch as we find him wincing beneath the intense staring to which the good folk of Limerick subjected him. The following letter is to H. G——:

"I thought when on my way to Limerick I should have had time to note down whatever I observed as I passed through Munster; but unless I did so whilst actually travelling, I could find no other time sufficiently disengaged, and hence I cannot entertain you with a journal of my travels. I may, however, tell you that I arrived here last night at ten o'clock, drenched with rain, as I have been almost every day since I left home. The country I have left, lying near the great Atlantic Ocean, is, even more than ours, subject to incessant rains; and when I saw in all directions the fruits of the earth injured or destroyed, I often hoped that the visitation of Providence might not be so heavy elsewhere. There can scarcely be a doubt but that these protracted rains are employed by God for some special end; and I greatly fear the chastisement will not be removed until we are severely punished. May the Lord grant us patience and a perfect conformity to His holy will! About the end of next week I expect to have the pleasure of seeing you all. By that time I hope I shall be nearly prepared to sit down and collect my thoughts, which are so liable to be deranged by those ever shifting scenes among which I live. Solitude and silence, always agreeable, are more precious when they succeed to bustle and confusion. I hope your love of both have increased in your late retirement, and that, though now unrestrained by rule, you return to them in affection, and cherish them as the places where the Holy Spirit breathes, or the Spouse speaks to the heart of His well-beloved.

"I cannot conclude without giving you some account of Limerick. I arrived there about noon on Saturday last, in company with Mr. S—— and another gentleman, at whose house I spent the previous day. On Sunday we had the consecration of the Chapel, the sermon, and all the other appendages of the festivity; and of all who were present, no one felt happier to have the entire ended than he who was the principal object of curiosity, as I fear there was more of that than of devotion in the assembly. I spent Monday in exploring the city, in company with the Bishop, a venerable old man, and some of the clergy; and though it rained nearly the entire day, we did not desist from our visits—such was my anxiety to see everything worthy of notice in that town, famed as the last hold of Irish independence, and the theatre of those brilliant

achievements which reflect some little credit on our country. The city is divided into the new and old towns, and the latter into the English and Irish towns. I was going to give you a description of them, but to do so I should write several pages, and for this I am not now disposed, even if I thought it a matter with which you would be improved or instructed. Let us leave it, therefore, and when we meet I shall, if you wish, give you an account of it."

Dr. Doyle does not tell his correspondent that he preached the consecration sermon of the New Church of St. Augustine at Limerick. But in the records of the Augustinian Order we find the fact chronicled. The sermon was a splendid effort of genius, and procured for the community a collection sufficient to liquidate the building debt. The same document from which we have quoted mentions the fact, that the old Chapel having been too small for the increasing population, it was long and anxiously desired by the good Friars that they might be able to remove to a more fashionable part of the city, and erect a new one. Their funds unhappily were low, but a fortuitous circumstance, at length, enabled them to carry their desire into effect. A handsome theatre had recently been built, in consequence of the destruction by fire of the old one, but the manager allowing an arrear of rent to accumulate, it was brought to the hammer in Dublin. The Prior heard of the matter, proceeded to Dublin, and within a week was in possession of the theatre and properties, to the infinite dismay of all lovers of the drama. An architect was not long in altering the theatre into a church, and in a few weeks it was ready for consecration. Dr. Doyle's sermon upon this interesting occasion is described as possessing a majesty of diction, with a sublimity of aspiration, which well nigh etherialised many a heart. His sonorous intonations within the very walls that had so often echoed Jack Johnston's loud songs of levity in "Love Laughs at Locksmiths," and the stentorian appeals of Edmund Kean in the profanities of "Macbeth," must have formed a contrast singularly impressive in the minds of such old play-goers as were present on that occasion.

The great success of Dr. Doyle's sermon in Limerick brought him numerous invitations to perform a similar service. On the 31st of July, 1823, we find him at Ross preaching a funeral oration over the corpse of Father Philip Crane, a venerable and distinguished member of the Augustinian Order. On Mr. Crane's first return from Rome, he sojourned for some time at Dungarvan, where he so won the affections of the people by his incessant labours in the confessional, that, after his second return, they followed him to Ross, a distance of forty miles, in order to obtain,

through his ministry, that peace which God never fails to impart to the penitent sinner.

The year 1823 dealt death unsparingly in the Catholic Church. The duty of preaching the panegyrics of Pope Pius VII. and Archbishop Troy, both of whom died during this year, also devolved upon Dr. Doyle. He admired the Pontiff as sincerely as he loved the old Prelate of Dublin dearly. The task of preaching Dr. Troy's eulogium was assigned to Dr. Doyle on very short notice. Father Keogh, the great pulpit orator of that day, had promised to preach, but took suddenly ill about half an hour before the appointed time. Dr. Doyle happened to be in Dublin, and was solicited to take the indisposed Priest's place. Bishop Whelan, who was present, assures us that Dr. Doyle did not retire to make any preparation, but passed from the Priests, who asked him, straightway to the pulpit of SS. Michael and John's, smiling as he went. The oration was a masterpiece of eloquence and impressiveness, strengthened by a considerable amount of scriptural citation.

A more agreeable duty devolved upon Dr. Doyle a few weeks later. Instead of having to conduct a funereal proceeding, in presence of the coffined remains of a venerable Prelate called away from his labours, he had now to assist in inaugurating the brilliant episcopal career of Dr. Baines, the accomplished English Bishop. Dr. Baines was consecrated in old Townsend-street Chapel.

In 1823, the celebrated English philanthropist Robert Owen visited Ireland professionally. His views were that men should labour in thousands together, on the principle of the bee or the ant. In endeavouring to realize this mighty scheme, Mr. Owen expended half his fortune at Manchester and New Lanark. The result gave him cause to hope that his vast machinery and plan of working might, with beneficial effects, be extended to Ireland. She had long been a prey to poverty, oppressed with discontent, and torn by party animosities. Unproductive waste land and a superfluity of good soil existed in the country. Mr. Owen produced his authorities for the statement, that 1,000 people, by healthy and pleasant employment, when their powers and industry were properly combined and directed, could produce a most comfortable living, in all respects, for 3,000. It had been fashionable with the general public to regard Mr. Owen's undertaking as Utopian; but among the names of many great thinkers who believed in its practicability, Lord Liverpool, the late and present Archbishops of Canterbury, Bentham, Maria Edgeworth, Godwin, Miss Porter, Roscoe, Clarkson, Ricardo, and we believe Lord Brougham, might be mentioned. Fears were expressed in some quarters that Mr. Owen's leviathan factories would open facilities for immora-

lity; but having carefully consulted the various reports of disinterested commissions and writers on the subject, we find these factories pronounced to be "admirable schools of moral discipline." The eminent Catholic theologian, Dr. Crotty, late Bishop of Cloyne, would seem to have at first entertained this apprehension. In Mr. Owen's autobiography is recorded an interview between himself and Dr. Crotty, who, having assembled a dozen Priests, the question was debated for some hours, when Dr. Crotty at length brought the discussion to a termination by saying: "Gentlemen, we are much indebted to Mr. Owen for the very full explanation which he has given us of his views; and I think we may promise him that he shall not be again opposed by us at his public meetings." Mr. Owen held his first meeting in the Rotundo, Dublin, 18th March, 1823. The Duke of Leinster, Archbishops Troy and Murray, and Lords Meath and Cloncurry, were present. "A stranger," said Mr. Owen, "possessing an experience of more than thirty years practically devoted to the subject, offers to assist you with his time and his money; and he offers this assistance without even the desire of any return, except the satisfaction of seeing or knowing that you are in the actual possession of the happiness which it is his highest wish you should permanently enjoy."

Having spent several months in Ireland, labouring to organize the projected revolution, Mr. Owen returned to England, leaving it mainly under the guidance of Lord Cloncurry, who, in one of his letters to Mr. Owen, writes: "Our progress is slow. Depravity, and a determined spirit of vengeance, seem to have taken firm root in the breasts of the despairing multitude. Our rulers think of no other remedy than the sword and the halter. The whole revenue of the country will be swallowed up to maintain a force which, after all, is totally inadequate to the end in view. . . . You have zealous and grateful friends, but unless parliamentary or private munificence of the British public assist us, nothing effectual can be done, and ruin stares us in the face. When you were here, the country was quiet for some miles round Lyons. It is now proclaimed to a short distance of my hall-door. I was in Connaught since I saw you. There the military were giving out small portions of potatoes to the starving multitude, at the same time the bayonet ready to prevent a rush. All this in a country the powers and facilities of which you well know. Our petition went on as you directed. You, of course, have it before now. I trust it may produce something; but Goulburne will oppose. He prefers giving £60,000 to convert our Papists, not one of whom is converted, and the money is divided amongst the saints and the hypocrites. Not a penny is expended to educate the ignorant

Papist unless he be first converted—not a penny to promote industry or useful labour, in a country where each penny so expended would repay tenfold."

The following letter is addressed to Mr. Owen:

"4, Somerset-st., Portman-square, 7th August, 1823.

"MY DEAR SIR—You will have known how ready I was to forward your wishes, in joining the Duke of Leinster and Mr. John Smith, for the purpose of presenting to his Majesty's government your plan for ameliorating the situation of the poor in Ireland; but finding that his Grace and Mr. Smith are both obliged to leave town, I do not feel myself of sufficient calibre or importance to undertake single-handed that which, to have produced any success, would have required our joint and combined efforts.

"That his Majesty's Government must be anxious to better the condition of the poor in Ireland, and thereby tranquillize the country, it would be unjust to doubt; but that they may not have taken the same view of the best mode of relief as you have done, is probable. In examining the proposed experiment of your plan, I do confess it appears to me to bid fair to produce the most beneficial results, in affording employment, allaying animosities, and producing obedience to the laws—whilst the only objections I have ever heard against it are done away; the first, the expense of the establishment, which is removed by the good security given for the regular payment of the interest of the loan, and the ultimate extinction of the debt in sixteen years; the other, a prejudice on account of supposed interference in religious opinions. Here, as I understand your plan, this is a misconception, as the children are allowed to follow the religious opinions of their parents, and the only interference observed, is to inculcate a charitable and kind feeling in the minds of the young people towards those who may differ in opinion from them. Under all these circumstances, I am anxious that the trial should be made in Ireland. But, alas, this is only the opinion of a very humble individual, who is always most truly yours,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

But Dr. Doyle was far from subscribing to all Mr. Owen's views. In his fifth letter on the "State of Ireland," he says that, "without adopting the opinions of Mr. Owen, on the capability of this country to support eighteen or twenty millions of inhabitants, I am inclined to the opinion that its present population is not at all excessive; and that the Legislature might, in a single session, pass such laws as would, in the course of very few years, render the poor of Ireland, who now create so much anxiety and alarm, if not as comfortable as those of the same class in England, at

least place them beyond the reach of want, and in a way of promoting their own comforts."

We have already referred (p. 186, *ante*) to Dr. Doyle's acquaintance with the Misses F——. The surviving sister, in a communication before us, observes: "The letters which I enclose were to my sister Catharine. She was a very superior, highly gifted, and interesting person, whose only aversion, in 1822 and part of the following year, was Dr. Doyle! She was then in Italy, and fancying that his Lordship had influenced me in resolving to enter a convent, could scarcely pardon him. This suspicion was unfounded; but as my resolve was taken in her absence, and as I never wrote without expressing my sentiments in his regard, she assumed the fact; and soon after, at a dinner-party in Paris, hearing a French gentlemen say he had made a vow to walk every inch of land between Paris and Carlow to see and speak with Dr. Doyle, she replied, 'I would not walk the length of this room to see him.' This was repeated to the Bishop, and he was much amused, observing to me, 'This foolish child has the same extravagant affection for you that you have for her; but I wager with you that you think too much of her,' adding, 'She and I will yet be good friends.' On her return to Ireland, Dr. Doyle wrote a most kind invitation to her and to me, to accompany some friends who were coming on a visit to him, which we accordingly did; and the first evening of their acquaintance he frankly said to me, 'I have lost my wager! Kate's mind is too fine for a woman. What a compound of sanctity, of wisdom, wit, elegance, and modesty! You are right, child, to have owned her superiority over you, and over any woman I have ever known.'"

This fair and accomplished girl became, soon after, struck down by a complication of painful and dangerous diseases. For months she suffered torments the most excruciating with a fortitude and resignation hardly surpassed by her martyred namesake, Catharine of Alexandria. Dr. Doyle, in a letter to the elder sister, on 2nd August, 1823, observes: "Having been at Clongowes on the 1st of August, I could not satisfy the wish expressed in your letter of the 30th ult., respecting your dear sister; but have no doubt that the Almighty will have regard to those prayers and sacrifices which have been offered for her. *He* is the Lord, and His will is good and perfect; and nothing can prevent its fulfilment. He is as much glorified in our infirmities as in our strength, whether of mind or body, and His glory is, I trust, our only desire. . . . In the house of God one goes one way and one another; and when so many duties are to be fulfilled, if all the minds and habits were cast in the same mould, there would be no harmony—like as in a concert many sounds must be combined to produce an

agreeable effect, so it is in the various departments allotted on earth to the elect of God; but under all circumstances conformity to His will is required of us; and charity, untried by suffering, is not yet pure or perfect. . . . Employ your mind, when disengaged from your ordinary duties, in adoring the providence of God, and placing yourself entirely at his disposal. Not being able to go into town this morning I wrote to H. G—— to inform her of your move, and to communicate your affectionate regards. I know with what feelings she will read it—how much she will desire to embrace you, as her affection for you has always been great. She is, I hope, very well, and advancing in that virtue which has been the chief occupation of her life. When I think of you and her, and my own interest for you both, I am surprised, and bless God, whose ways are not to be investigated. I hope to be in Dublin, at John's-street Chapel, on the Festival of St. Augustine. I will be truly glad to see you. Should you be then in town, send me a line, that I may call on you."

"I was present at the sermon preached by Dr. Doyle on St. Augustine, 28th August, 1823," observes the lady to whom the foregoing is addressed. "It was a magnificent exposition of the doctrine of grace, and correspondence thereto, as exemplified in the life of that great father. The crowd was so excessive that many were raised from their feet, and long unable to stand upon the floor. It seemed to me that all the Clergy of every order in Dublin were present. Blocking up every window and doorway, the crowd almost shut out the light of heaven."

The following letter is addressed to the suffering sister:

"Old Derrig.

"My dear Catharine—Since my return from Dublin, I have looked with considerable anxiety for some favourable account from you, but the letter of my dear friend, your attendant—which I this day received—was far from affording me satisfaction. It even required all my little store of resignation to restrain the pain of disappointment; as I had flattered myself, I know not why, that the late attack—somewhat periodical as it seemed to be—having subsided, would have left you strength enough to rally after I saw you. But no! I fear the disease is deep-rooted, and that the frame, gradually debilitated, has scarcely energy enough remaining to restore itself. How much I wish that I were seated by you, and enabled to distract your thoughts by turning them from the seat of pain to some playful trifle, or to those substantial though invisible goods, which we can clothe in language when their image on the soul is rendered dim by the pressure of our infirmities. A venerable Saint on his way to martyrdom was conjured by his

deacon not to go without him, and he replied "that a light combat was suited to his infirmity, but a violent contest would enable the minister after a few days to join him.' Could we take a moral from these holy men without presuming on any comparison ?. I would join the deacon in my wishes, and leave to you the place and pre-eminence of the holy Pope. I would almost envy you the happy privilege of dying in peace, and wish you could assure me that a few days only, even of a bitter conflict, would separate me from that abode of bliss which is reserved for all who are faithful till death, and of whom I hope you will be one.

"Your sufferings, my dear child, must terminate, either in death which will introduce you to an immortal and happy life through the divine mercy, or in a recovery, attended with such an impression of this world and of the religion of our good God, as will enable you to walk blameless, hereafter, through ways which, had you not been proved by sickness, might be too thickly set with dangers for you to pass unhurt.

"If at present you—as I am sure you do—can rest with your pains, seeking to support the pressure of sickness, to keep your thoughts in heaven or on the cross, and to gratify at the same time those about you, by seeming to share in their concern for you and in all that interests them, how much will you be relieved when pain exists no more, when sorrow and chagrin will cease, and when all the little annoyances which Adam's children cause each other will be succeeded by undisturbed security and repose, never to be troubled? Ah! but who will secure you so much happiness? Why, my dear Catharine, were you in the undisturbed possession of it, you would not be in a place of atonement, nor in that state of probation in which the soul is kept until purified by the ordeal of temptation. Do you not now see many truths of God which hitherto were much obscured—the hideous deformity of sin, and the secrets of that suffering which, exemplified in Christ, must be found in all who are called to participate in His glory? I think it is often impossible for the Lord, without violating the economy which He has established for our sanctification, to exempt those whom He loves from great trials and tribulations—even those whom, like you, He may have especially prevented by His graces; for as often as He reveals the means by which He holds intercourse with us mortals, He shows us that He conducts His elect to heaven only by that way in which He first entered. The Spouse in the Canticles is in a sort of exile, going about through the villages and streets seeking for her beloved, and inquiring of every one whether they had seen him. When she finds him, she attaches herself to him, whether he is exposed with her to the burning sun, or she reclining on his bosom in the shade; but this

possession and enjoyment is given only after anxiety, hope, and patience were almost exhausted before the beloved of her soul appeared. How often are we thus alone, rejected, abandoned, almost despairing; bitterness, dryness, and disgust afflict us; we seem not only to be outcasts on earth, but despised also by Heaven? And did not the Lord help us in His hand, we should lose our confidence, and blaspheme; but He who abandoned not His only Son on the cross, though He gave Him up to the will of His enemies, looks upon us even then with complacency, and infuses secretly into our souls His own light and strength; He descends with us into the tomb of our corruption and infirmity, and raises us up to hope, and by degrees to immortality. What is death, then, to us, but the consummation of our labours—the removal of that barrier which excludes us from our destined home? *It is not an evil*, but an instrument in the hands of God to crown our perseverance in His service. It is to be dreaded not on its own account—for though it sometimes brings pain to the body, it is only that pain which attends the striking off the fetters of a slave. When death closes an impenitent life, it is the commencement of misery—the consummation of distrust in the riches of Christ's merits or of His Father's mercy, the beginning of woe and separation from the source of happiness; but to us, my child, who have known God, and received in our baptism a pledge of immortality, and in the remission of our sins an inexhaustible source of gratitude and confidence, it should be an object of humble hope—nay, even of love, as of something which the Lord uses to fulfil His will, which is our sanctification.

"That spirit which searches all things, even the secrets of God—secrets which pass between Him and our souls—has let us know those things; and what subject, my dear Catharine, could a *hermit* more justly write on, to *his own dear child*, than that which already occupies her mind; and what is there more grateful to the heart than to commune with the thoughts and desires of those we love? I am here alone, solitary as the owl or sparrow. John has made tea for me, and I have let it grow cold. I wish that you with all your pains were here to share it with me, and hear me assure you of the sincere affection with which I am your truly attached friend, and most humble servant in Christ,

"✠ J. DOYLE.

"P.S.—Tell Mariana that I am well, thanks to God, and infinitely obliged for her letter, and that I hope to hear from you—or, if not able to write, from her—how you are, and whether that too good heart of yours is yet appeased. Had I supposed that your good physicians in Dublin had not, ere now, done more for it, I should myself have undertaken its cure, or obliged you to

suffer it to be dissolved in this abode of peace. But perhaps you may yet return, if it please our good God. Adieu."

The word "hermit," which Dr. Doyle italicised in the foregoing letter, was in allusion to the title of "the Hermit of Old Derrig," which Catharine had playfully bestowed on him.

"Carlow, 4th October, 1823.

"MY DEAR MARIANA—I have been absent for some days, and did not receive your letter of the 1st of this month until after six o'clock. How much and how sincerely I regret not having been able to assist, by celebrating the divine mysteries, the efforts of those holy people who are labouring for their distressed brethren. I hope your dear sister has derived some advantage from the prayers offered for her: if not, we must be content. I know nothing which consoles me more than a saying of my holy father St. Augustine: 'Under a just God no one can be miserable, unless by his own fault,' except another of St. Paul, 'that all things concur to the good of the elect.' Distress, even when extreme, can only deprive us of character, health, or life, which are small sacrifices. How many perish in battle, by sickness, and fire, and if 'our days be few and evil,' on account of our sins, or for our future good, why repine? We can suffer in Him and by Him who comforts us in every tribulation.

I am sorry you are not as cheerful as usual, but I am sure you are not dejected; be as happy as you can, and don't yield to adversity, but trust in God who has care of us."

CHAPTER X.

How Ireland was governed forty years ago—Mr. Saurin—Lord Chancellor Manners—Picture of the Court of Common Pleas in the days of Lord Norbury—Lord Wellesley assumes the reins of government—Mr. Goulbourne—The Bottle Riot—J. K. L. awakens the Catholic body from their torpor—His Letter to the Lord Lieutenant—O'Connell's eulogium on Dr. Doyle—Misrule, Unequal Laws, Political hate, Tithes, Emancipation, and Divided Allegiance—Are the complaints of 6,000,000 to be stifled?—Letter to Dr. Donovan—F. W. Conway—Dr. MacHale and Dr. Doyle—Joins the Catholic Association—Letter from a Catholic Delegate of 1793 to Dr. Doyle.

IN 1809, during the viceroyalty of the good-natured, but politically weak Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond, the late Right Hon. William Saurin obtained a complete ascendancy in the council chamber of Dublin Castle; and of every administrative

act in the government of Ireland, for many years subsequently, Mr. Saurin may be regarded as the author. Viscount Whitworth having filled with credit the office of minister plenipotentiary at various foreign courts, was appointed, in 1813, to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland; but he had now become old and lazy, and it does not appear that he made any effort to dislodge Mr. Saurin's usurpation by a resolute assertion of his own authority. Mr. Saurin had sprung from a Huguenot family, who emigrated from Languedoc to escape persecution; and he had imbibed, with his mother's milk, a lively horror of that Church to which Charles IX. and Catherine de Medici belonged. He saw the Catholics of Ireland, during his tenure of office, creeping to power, and with the massacre of St. Bartholomew rankling in his heart, he almost daily drove them back with revengeful activity. Lord Fingall and others having assembled as Catholic delegates, with a view to the redress of grievances, in 1811, they were roughly arrested, and not a few subjected to a harassing prosecution at the hands of Mr. Saurin. Two years later, an ordinary newspaper article appeared in the Catholic organ of the day, reviewing the policy of the Richmond administration. Mr. Saurin prosecuted the publisher, who was fined £1,000, and imprisoned for two years. When Scully's memorable "Statement of the Penal Laws which aggrieve the Catholics" appeared, Mr. Saurin sprang at Hugh Fitzpatrick the publisher, and arraigned him with such violence, that a severe fine, and a severer dungeon, were the immediate consequences. As quickly as O'Connell would re-organize the Catholic Board or Committee, it was forthwith suppressed or dispersed by order of Mr. Saurin. Orangeism was openly fostered under his regime; and the unhappy people smarted beneath the weight and cruelty of its aggressions.

In Lord Chancellor Manners, who entertained violent ascendancy principles, and had received his office from Spencer Percival in acknowledgment of them, Mr. Saurin found a zealous if not an able colleague. "Daily," observes a writer, "the business of the government of Ireland was done by the two legal functionaries of kindred spirits, as they regularly walked down every morning from Stephen's-green to the Four Courts, and returned to their homes after a visit to the Castle every evening, with arms linked, and solemn steps, and bended brows, settling affairs of State." All the administrative power of the State was reposed in sworn Orangemen. Both the Chancellor and Mr. Saurin enjoyed enormous patronage and emoluments.

Lord Manners had never distinguished himself at the bar, but his peculiar politics and close connexion with the noble house of Rutland, smoothed whatever difficulties stood in the way of his

promotion to the bench. Early in the present century he was created a Baron of the Exchequer in England; but he had no sooner attained that responsible office, than his judicial blunders excited the derision of foes and the humiliation of his friends. On the return of the Tories to power, in 1807, it was at once resolved to get rid of the blundering Baron, by transplanting him to a country for which they would seem to have felt no very high respect. He was accordingly laid down easily on the Irish woolsack, and for twenty subsequent years he continued to bore the bar on the one hand, and to oppress the country with the ebullitions of his political and sectarian bigotry on the other. "Manners," said Curran, "is ready for any mischief: in private he is a pleasant, dull man." "He made the administration of justice in the Irish Chancery," observed Sheil, "the subject of Lord Redesdale's laughter, and of John Lord Eldon's tears." Lord Manners venerated Mr. Saurin as a parent, while he loved him as a brother. The attorneys of Dublin were not ignorant of this fact. Mr. Saurin was inundated with Chancery practice, and the emoluments which attended it almost exceed belief. A few words from Mr. Saurin invariably obtained a decision in his client's favour.

It is humiliating to think of the low state to which the administration of justice was reduced in the days of Norbury and Manners. The former had earned the ermine as a violent political partisan; and for the many years that he wore it, he also undisguisedly wore his old prejudices and passions. With all this, he might have made some attempt to support the dignity and gravity befitting the bench; but Lord Norbury supremely scorned all forensic order or judicial decorum. Frequently the bully, and always the buffoon, he browbeat those who differed from him in religion, and joked even in the act of sentencing culprits to the drop. Long before Lord Norbury's usual hour for coming into court, it was daily crowded to excess by the laughter-loving portion of the unemployed public. The very outward man of the Chief was enough to set what he called his "racket court" in a roar. With cheeks red as Bacchus, and inflated like those of Eolus; with a waddle not unsuggestive of a corpulent drake, Lord Norbury, at eleven o'clock precisely, would enter the Common Pleas, and bow histrionically to the assembled auditory. In less than half an hour a deafening uproar, which continued uninterrupted until evening, filled the court.

The drollest prologue that had ever inaugurated a comedy was nothing to his Lordship's charge. "Flinging his judicial robe half aside," says Sheil, "and sometimes casting off his wig, he started from his seat and threw off a wild harangue, in which neither law,

method, or argument could be discovered. It generally consisted of narratives of his early life which it was impossible to associate with the subject, of jests from Joe Miller mixed with jokes of his own manufacture, and of sarcastic allusions to any of the counsel who had endeavoured to check him during the trial."

Lord Norbury was exceedingly careless of his papers, and a curious letter from the Right Hon. W. Saurin to him, secretly counselling the old judge to exert his influence at the Assizes in checking the progress of the Catholic question, fell into the hands of a newspaper editor, who, without compunction, published it. Mr., now Lord Brougham, noticed it in the House of Commons. "Every man," he said, "who had a due regard to the prerogative of the Crown, the privileges of Parliament, and the purity of the administration of justice, must see it could not be allowed to pass without some notice from that House. The letter of the Attorney-General suggested to Lord Norbury to exert the influence of his official situation, whilst going on the circuit as judge, to mingle himself up with political conversations, and more especially to interfere with the principles affecting the House of Commons, as being connected with the return of Members to Parliament."

It is unnecessary to reprint Mr. Saurin's extraordinary letter here. It may be found in the second volume of "Sheil's Sketches," p. 111. The fact so often whispered by the Catholics was at last conclusively established, that poison had long been poured into the very fountains of justice. After this letter, we are not surprised to learn, on the authority of Sheil, that "it was his (Lord Norbury's) habit to deliver orations to the Grand Jury upon the Church and State on the home circuit; and in reference to J. K. L., he often poured out a tirade against 'Moll Doyle,' one of the wild personifications of agrarian insurrection."

Mr. Brougham followed up his advantage against Lord Norbury. He showed on evidence that the old Chief had fallen asleep on the bench during a trial for murder. "I'll resign, in order to demand satisfaction," said Lord Norbury. "That Scotch *Broom* wants nothing so much as an Irish *stick*." Lord Norbury had been a great fire-eater, and he more than once intimated to a worrying counsel that he would not seek shelter behind the bench, or merge the gentleman in the Chief Justice.

Mr. Saurin's prestige had begun to decline even before his unlucky letter met the public eye. George IV., during his visit to Ireland in 1821, saw and admitted the necessity of infusing a more conciliatory policy into the Irish administration than had prevailed since the days of Fitzwilliam. The Marquis Wellesley, himself an Irishman, and a staunch advocate of the Catholic claims, was accordingly charged with the government of Ireland.

With the air of a man who had no small administrative experience he grasped the reins of government. His rule in India during difficult times had excited universal approbation, and a not less successful career in Ireland was predicted for him by those who knew and appreciated his power. Twenty years after, we find Lord Wellesley mentioning the following interesting facts to the Countess of Blessington: "Bushe is one of the first men produced by our country. When I went to Ireland in 1821, I found him depressed by an old Orangeman named Saurin, then Attorney-General by title, but who had really been Lord Lieutenant for fifteen years. I removed Saurin, and appointed Bushe Lord Chief Justice. Saurin set up a newspaper to defame me, *The Evening Mail*, which (notwithstanding the support of Lord Manners and the Orangemen) has not *yet* ruined or slain me."*

Mr. Saurin had worked so long under the Tory regime, that some acknowledgment of his services was not unreasonably expected from the King, the Viceroy, or the Premier. Mr. Curran records that Lord Wellesley, in a conversation with Mr. Lamb in 1827, caustically said: "I think it right, before leaving Ireland, to prepare you for hearing it asserted by Mr. Saurin's friends that he was an ill-treated man. Now, I offered him the office of Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench—that was not ill-treating him. I further offered him a peerage—that was not ill-treating him. In truth, I had nothing else to offer Mr. Saurin except the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. To that, however, there were two objections: first, *he had already held the office for fifteen years;* and next, I—I was the Viceroy." . . .

Mr. Saurin was not usually a hot-tempered man. He was an astute, black-letter lawyer, methodical in his movements, and methodistical in his gait, whose mouth, though it frequently uttered sentiments of the most startling illiberality, seemed formed by nature to distil milk and honey. When quietly dislodged from his usurpation of power by Lord Wellesley, and graciously offered a peerage and the chief seat in the King's Bench as a sop, Mr. Saurin's usually unruffled visage is said to have assumed an expression of scathing indignation. In a moment of petulance and folly, he refused both the peerage and the bench; and when too late to retract, he would seem to have bitterly regretted his hasty determination. "When he was first deprived of his office," writes Sheil, "I watched him in the hall. The joyous alacrity of Plunket [who succeeded him as Attorney-General] was less a matter of comment than the resigned demeanour of his fallen rival. . . . . As he bent his head over a huge brief, the pages of

* "Memoirs and Correspondence of the Countess of Blessington," vol. iii. p 4.

which he seemed to turn without a consciousness of their contents, I heard him heave, at intervals, a low sigh. His figure was bent and depressed as he walked back to the Court of Chancery, and before he passed through the green curtains which divide it from the hall, I have seen him pause and throw a look back at the King's Bench. It was momentary, but too full of expression to be casual, and seemed to unite in its despondency a deep sense of the injury which he had sustained from his friends, and the more painful injury which he had inflicted on himself."

Lord Liverpool and his colleagues having, at the desire of the King, sanctioned the appointment of a liberal and efficient viceroy, they would seem to have endeavoured, as far as possible, to neutralize it. To quote Lord Sidmouth's words—"they essayed to conciliate the confidence of Protestants as well as Catholics," by associating Mr. Secretary Goulbourne with the Marquis Wellesley. This gentleman was a member of the Orange Society, and he will long be remembered with a chill by every Irishman who aimed to promote national amelioration in his time. Lord Manners was retained in office; but his mentor, Mr. Saurin, having, like Othello, lost his occupation, the Chancellor became from that day a comparatively innocuous personage. The Vice-Treasurer, Sir George Hill, and Mr. Gregory, the Under Secretary, both uncompromising upholders of the Protestant ascendancy, were likewise retained to counterbalance, as far as possible, the conciliatory advances of Lord Wellesley.

Among other stupid insults to the Catholics of Ireland which had long been sanctioned by the ruling powers, that of dressing King William's statue in College Green, and the midnight disorder and outrage usually attendant upon the ceremony, excited in an especial degree the disgust of Lord Wellesley, one of whose first official acts on assuming the government of Ireland was to issue a proclamation forbidding this folly. An attempt was made to set the viceregal mandate at naught; but Lord Wellesley surrounded the statue with troops, and triumphantly asserted his will. The minority of the population, who had long enjoyed an unbridled ascendancy, vowed vengeance on the Viceroy's head for this exercise of authority. If in public he was savagely hooted by malcontents, few hearty cheers found expression from his admirers. The Catholics had too long been accustomed to the clanking of their chains and the aching of breaking hearts, to give expression to much jubilation. Sunk in that apathy which long and systematic oppression had engendered, they gazed almost vacantly around them, and, notwithstanding the good Viceroy's encouraging voice, their hearts drooped with despondency. From this unhealthy prostration they were momentarily aroused by a base

attempt, on the part of their old and sworn foes, to offer personal violence to the Viceroy. Lord Wellesley, having visited the theatre in state, was subjected to the grossest ebullitions of disrespect from Orange partizans, who had posted themselves in conspicuous parts of the house, in order the more effectually to insult the Lord Lieutenant. An effort was soon made to follow up verbal wounds with bodily lacerations. A watchman's rattle was flung at his Excellency, together with a large quart bottle, which completely crushed in the panel of the viceregal box. Had the missile gone a few inches nearer the stage, Lord Wellesley's useful life would have prematurely closed. "The conduct of the police," says a journal of the day, "savoured strongly of the Orange spirit of the corporation. The miscreants who hooted, insulted, and finally assaulted the Lord Lieutenant, performed their several operations in the same gallery in which the guardians of the peace were posted. They were not seized, or even molested; but Mr. Johnson, the Lord Lieutenant's private secretary, rushed to the gallery, and, assisted by Mr. Millican and Sir J. Neville, succeeded in securing five of the rioters. When the conduct of the police became investigated, they pleaded their 'instructions,' which consisted of a single negative order—that 'they were not to interfere, except in case of violence being offered to the Lord Lieutenant.'"

"This," observes *The Examiner* of the day, a journal wholly uninfluenced by Irish politics—"This forms a most instructive exposure of the faction who for years have influenced the legislative and guided the executive power in Ireland—who have wallowed in and extended the vast field of corruption—who have intrenched themselves in corporations, in sinecure places, in church dignities and possessions—who have wielded all the authority of the law and the police, and by that means have erected an endless series of petty despotisms throughout the island—who have been ever rancorous, cruel, and bloody towards the miserable sufferer whom despair has roused into resistance, as well as towards all who have advocated Reform—who have created 'reigns of terror' more horrible than those of Robespierre and Marat—who have produced and fostered hordes of spies and informers, and have met every popular discontent with the bayonet and the gibbet—with half-hangings, banishings, and the torture of the lash—above all, they have done these things under the standard of loyalty, with the cry of 'Church and King!' eternally yelled forth, professing a burning zeal in behalf of Protestantism, and a profound veneration for aristocracy and everything legal and established. Hitherto their success has been uninterrupted. But now, because they are baulked of a piece of blackguard insult to nine-tenths of their countrymen, they trample on the laws for which they affected

such scrupulous veneration, insult the throne to which they professed such devotion, and assault the Viceroy whom the monarch they had made a god of the year before had sent among them to promote the conciliation he had promised."

This outrage, with the legal prosecutions which succeeded it, elicited a flicker of excitement from the Catholic body; but the flame soon dropped again, and all was vacancy and inertness as before. In 1829, Richard Lalor Sheil, while contrasting the past apathy of the Catholic party with their then energy, thus eloquently described what we have feebly outlined: "In 1823, an entire cessation of Catholic meetings had taken place. There was a total stagnation of public feeling, and I do not exaggerate when I say that the Catholic question was nearly forgotten. No angry resolutions issued from public bodies; no exciting speeches appeared in the papers; the monster abuses of the Church Establishment, the frightful evils of political monopoly, the hideous anomaly in the whole structure of our civil institutions, the unnatural ascendancy of a handful of men over an immense and powerful population—all these, and the other just and legitimate causes of public exasperation, were gradually dropping out of the national memory. The country was then in a state of comparative repose, but it was a degrading and unwholesome tranquillity. We sat down like galley-slaves in a calm. A general stagnation diffused itself over the national feelings. The public pulse had stopped, the circulation of all generous sentiment had been arrested, and the country was palsied to the heart."

The national party, in 1823, lay as prostrate and motionless as a dead body. An Orange press triumphantly bestrode it, and continued, day after day, to heap vile calumnies on the Irish people, their religion, and their cause. All patriotic and Catholic spirit had fled; and the people submitted, without a groan, to the scourge and contumely of the tormentor. Nothing short of a miracle could resuscitate the Catholic body; and at last a miracle was wrought by the hand of Dr. Doyle. Emerging from that privacy, in which, as he so often said, he always wished to live, the Bishop advanced boldly into the public arena, and there unflinchingly sustained the first shock of that antagonism to which his isolated and daring position had exposed him. In the spring of 1823, Dr. Doyle generously undertook and triumphantly achieved, "A Vindication of the Religious and Civil Principles of the Irish Catholics, in a Letter addressed to the Marquis Wellesley, by J.K.L." But the book was more than a mere vindication. It gave the first mortal stab to the Tithe system and exposed peculation generally. Since the days of Burke no pamphlet had appeared which excited a wider sensation. O'Connell publicly moved

a resolution of thanks to the author: "Upon every point," he said, "Dr. Doyle, in this pamphlet, had ably met and refuted their opponents; and so eagerly was it read, and so high its character, that (what was very unusual in Ireland) the first edition had met such a sale as not to leave one unsold in the hands of the publisher; and such was the force and overpowering weight of its arguments, that their opponents were reduced, as a last experiment to prevent its circulation, or coming before the English eye, to proclaim it not worth reading. The Essay upon Tithes was perhaps one of the happiest compositions ever read, being in its nature novel, and in its objects useful in demonstrating the weakness of the title to Tithes, as derived from divine right. To the Catholics it was matter of congratulation, that against a principle so pernicious and oppressive in its bearings, and so much opposed to man's natural rights in its practice, the arguments most calculated to shake its holdings were furnished by a Catholic Prelate. For seventeen years the Catholics dared not raise their voices on the subject of Tithes." O'Connell in conclusion said that he would desire no better character from his country, than the approbation of such a man as Dr. Doyle.

The Bishop commenced by saying: "Your personal character, the power with which you are vested, and the influence which your judgment and authority must have upon the affairs of this country, are the reasons why I address your Excellency." He warmly eulogised the spirit of mutual forbearance which the Marquis endeavoured to inculcate. He recognised his disposition to administer the laws impartially, but he showed that then, as in the days of Cicero, tyranny might remain though a tyrant were removed, and that the spirit of bad laws can continue unabated after the letter of them has been partially effaced. "That the evils produced by a long system of misrule could at once be remedied, was not to be expected: to reform the courts of law—to purge the magistracy—to cleanse the various offices connected with the revenue—to establish a regular system of police—to educate the people—to promote public morality—to abolish abuses which created spies and promoted perjury, with all the viciousness consequent on nightly revellings and fraud; these measures, and such as these, could not altogether and at once be carried into effect; but their execution, whether slow or sudden, should necessarily call forth the approbation of the wise and good, and could never produce a clamour which would reach even the precincts of your viceregal lodge." J. K. L. went on to notice the difficulties which Lord Wellesley experienced in the execution of the great trust committed to him, and the obloquy to which his personal and public virtues were exposed; and he endeavoured to console him

with the reflection that he had suffered with an afflicted people, and borne persecution for justice' sake. Dr. Doyle then proceeded to offer some remarks "in vindication of the proscribed body to which I belong, and of the insulted Religion which I profess." These he considered peculiarly called for at the present time, in order to guard the small portion of the public mind which still deliberated, from being biassed by the profusion of religious frenzy or political hate that had latterly been poured out upon the Irish Catholics, their religion, and political principles. But before Dr. Doyle entered on this task he observed, that if the greater portion of what he was about to submit should be connected with religious or ecclesiastical subjects, and therefore, in the estimation of many, unfit for the Viceroy's perusal, he would beg to remind them that religion is the basis of society, and as such always important to a statesman; that it is the cause and the end of nearly all the political laws which affect Ireland; that its influence upon the state of the country was daily witnessed and felt by his Excellency; and that, as the representative of a King who was the head of a great Church, he should not be indifferent about what concerns any religious body of his subjects—still less ought his Excellency decline to hear the vindication of six millions of his own countrymen, for whom he had long and fruitlessly exerted his talents.

"The unequal state of the laws, my Lord, had created amongst us many interests, whilst it destroyed others; it raised one class to a degree of eminence seldom attained to even in a conquered country, whilst it depressed another far below the condition of free subjects—it reduced them to a certain degree of slavery. The privileged class were few in number; they acquired immense possessions, and amassed enormous wealth; they laboured unceasingly to secure both the protection and aid afforded them by England, often purchased at too dear a price; and in order to be more independent of the mother country, they employed all the resources furnished by her, as well by their own skill and power as by those of others, to reduce the nation with which they struggled to a state of utter darkness, and the most abject want."

J. K. L. took a review of the Norman invasion and the leading events throughout a period long subsequent. A Church was raised upon the ruins of that which had been proscribed; "they filled it with their own progeny, and the sanctuary was invaded by the same spirit and the same men who had devastated the country. The extravagance of the dominant race, the lights of the last century, and the humanity of the late king, mitigated those evils. The oppressed were permitted to breathe, and straw, wherewith to make their bricks, was given to them—not for their own sake, but that they might become more valuable to their proprietors."

He then reviewed the gradual relaxation of the Penal Laws, which has been already duly chronicled (pp. 139, 144 *ante*). The succession of Viceroys was next noticed:

"Few of these governors were like your Excellency; and those few were quickly removed. In general they gave themselves up to be directed by the rapacious and heartless men who had lingered about the capital, and whose sole object was to enrich themselves, and to oppress and to degrade the struggling people who had been deserted by their lords. In this work of oppression they were ably supported by the Corporations, but above all by the Church. This Church, my Lord, deserted by the Legislature, has since not ceased to tremble for her existence. She fears that England is not greatly interested for her, and that her natural protectors are now weak or indifferent, or too far removed. She knows that her wealth and possessions are immense, calculated to awaken the jealousy of her friends, and excite the envy of her enemies. She fears the Legislature would examine her title, and inquire whether she holds by any other than their free gift; and knowing that she does not answer the ends for which any Christian Church has ever been erected, she apprehends that they might new-model her constitution, or lay claim to some portion of her spoils. She looks with extreme, and yet an idle jealousy to what she considers a rival Church, but what in reality is no Church, in her acceptation of the term; and she exerts all her energies and lavishes her wealth, to oppose the freedom of the Irish people, or the equalization of the laws, thinking that if the reign of British justice prevailed in Ireland, her utility might be questioned, and her income and possessions proportioned to the services she renders to religion and to the state."

J.K.L. examined the huge monopoly and arrogant demeanour of the ascendancy.

"Whilst this faction was thus arrayed in hostility to the measures of your Excellency, they omitted no opportunity of insulting and misrepresenting the prostrate race whom they were accustomed to oppress. Their printing offices (of which they retained the old and erected new ones) teemed with daily and periodical publications, all tending to connect the disturbances in the South with the Catholic people, with their religion, and with their policy; hoping, if they could not succeed in their efforts to remove your Excellency, that they would at least mar your efforts for the public good. They laboured with the most unhallowed zeal, and the most persevering industry, to excite the fears of the timid, to arouse the indignation of the people, and, if possible, to produce an insurrection against the government and laws; they branded the Catholic body as abettors of treason, as the enemies of the

constitution, as hostile to every mental and moral improvement; and their religion they represented (when they allowed them to have one) as a degrading superstition, unfit to be tolerated amongst Christian men.

"If the population of a district in which, until within a few years past, the laws made it felony to educate them, were ignorant, this was imputed to their faith. If a ferocious or vindictive spirit appeared amongst rude tribes who had been enslaved by the laws of centuries, this was said to be the fruit of their creed; and if men, writhing under wrongs and oppression, struggled against the chains which bound them, their savage and senseless efforts for relief were construed into acts dictated by their religious profession. Look to the North, said the calumniators, where the people are Protestant, and see them employed in industry and the works of peace; turn to the South, and view the scenes of blood and devastation, but do not investigate the cause. No; it is obvious—the population is Catholic. They feared the Legislature would have time to reflect that the North was inhabited by a race of freemen, who enjoyed all the blessings of the Constitution, whilst the South was the refuge of slaves who had never tasted the sweets of liberty, and had, until of late, groaned beneath a bondage more cruel than that of Pharaoh. Thus, my Lord, has this vile and malignant press—supported, conducted, and patronized by the churchmen, the placemen, and the whole train of corruptionists, even by those on whom your Excellency was compelled to bestow your favours and your smiles—maligned, insulted, and calumniated the Catholic people."

Drs. Doyle and Murray having been loaded with opprobrium by the same party for promulgating some of the miraculous cures wrought through the prayers of Prince Hohenlohe, J.K.L. entered into an able vindication of their conduct. "They exhorted their own brethren to thanksgiving; they directed their thoughts to a better world; they besought them to bear with injuries rather than inflict them, and to give glory to God, and to God alone. Why then, my Lord, have they been rebuked, assailed, reviled? Why has their religion been abused and insulted? Why have the most sinister and malignant views been attributed to them? Why has the degraded scribe dipped his pen in gall to give vent to the feelings of the party for which he wrote and toiled? Why has the ermine been all but stained, and one of the princes of the people almost unrobed on the bench, that Irish Catholics and their religion might be scoffed at? Are they alone unfit 'to abound in their own sense?' Are they alone not to be permitted to exercise their own judgment? Is it not only their faith, but even their piety, however harmless, which is to be converted into a crime?

But, my Lord, they suffer all this because they are a people struggling, by legal means, to obtain their birthright, against a faction who would live by wrong and fatten on the vitals of their country."

Some persons may wonder that Dr. Doyle should have deigned to notice the stream of ribaldry and slander which flowed without interruption from the Orange press of the time; but, as he very truly said, odious and degrading names and imputations, when frequently repeated, affix contempt to the party against whom they are levelled, and often lower him, too, even in his own estimation. An elaborate vindication followed, in which his irresistible force of learning, and logical rapidity of argument received, if possible, an additional impetus from the lash of sarcasm which J. K. L. ever and anon wielded. With manly tone and striking language he gloried in the Church—though politically oppressed—of which he was a dignitary:

"It was the creed, my Lord, of a Charlemagne, and of a St. Louis, of an Alfred and an Edward, of the monarchs of the feudal times, as well as of the emperors of Greece and Rome; it was believed at Venice and at Genoa, in Lucca and the Helvetic nations, in the days of their freedom and greatness; all the barons of the middle ages, all the free cities of later times, professed the religion we now profess. You well know, my Lord, that the charter of British freedom, and the common law of England, have their origin and source in Catholic times. Who framed the free constitutions of the Spanish Goths? Who preserved science and literature during the long night of the middle ages? Who imported literature from Constantinople, and opened for her an asylum at Rome, Florence, Padua, Paris, and Oxford? Who polished Europe by art, and refined her by legislation? Who discovered the new world, and opened a passage to another? Who were the masters of architecture, of painting, and of music? Who invented the compass, and the art of printing? Who were the poets, the historians, the jurists, the men of deep research and profound literature? Who have exalted human nature, and made man appear again little less than the angels? Were they not almost exclusively the professors of our creed? Were they who created and possessed freedom under every shape and form unfit for her enjoyment? Were men, deemed even now the lights of the world and the benefactors of the human race, the deluded victims of a slavish superstition? But what is there in our creed which renders us unfit for freedom? Is it the doctrine of passive obedience? No, for the obedience we yield to authority is not blind, but reasonable; our religion does not create despotism; it supports every established constitution which is not opposed to the laws of nature, unless it be altered by those who are entitled to change it? In

Poland it supported an elective monarch; in France an hereditary sovereign; in Spain an absolute or constitutional king indifferently; in England, when the houses of York and Lancaster contended, it declared that he who was king *de facto* was entitled to the obedience of the people. During the reign of the Tudors, there was a faithful adherance of the Catholics to their prince, under trials the most severe and galling, because the constitution required it; the same was exhibited by them to the ungrateful race of Stuart; but since the expulsion of James (foolishly called an abdication), have they not adopted with the nation at large the doctrine of the Revolution—'that the crown is held in trust for the benefit of the people, and that should the monarch violate his compact, the subject is freed from the bond of his allegiance.' Has there been any form of government ever devised by man, to which the religion of Catholics has not been accommodated? Is there any obligation, either to a prince or to a constitution, which it does not enforce?"

Dr. Doyle met the various objections to Catholic Emancipation. "What, my Lord! is the allegiance of the man divided who gives to Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar, and to God what belongs to God? Is the allegiance of the Priest divided who yields submission to his Bishop and his King?—of the son who obeys his parent and his prince? And yet these duties are not more distinct than those which we owe our sovereign and our spiritual head. Is there any man in society who has not distinct duties to discharge?" If the Church desired that on Fridays her children should abstain from flesh meat, it did not follow that they were thereby controlled from obeying the King when he summoned them to war. He continued:

"To me, my Lord, who am tolerably well acquainted with the obedience I owe the Pope, and the allegiance I owe my Sovereign, there is nothing more fulsome, more tasteless, and absurd, than the grave discussions I am sometimes induced to read, or forced to hear, about the divided allegiance of Catholics, and all the plausible nonsense which follows it, and of the essential Protestantism of the constitution. The essence of the constitution is, my Lord, to make all who live under it free and happy; and the hoary bigot, or the selfish monopolist, who would exclude us from it on account of our religion, neither understands that religion nor the law of nature, which has been written, not with ink, but with the finger of the living God, on the fleshy tablets of our hearts. Such a one does not, cannot understand the heart-burnings of a high-minded man who is unjustly excluded from his rights, nor that first fruit of the law of self-preservation which makes us love our country, reject whatever could diminish her glory or independence, and labour to make her free and happy. When I am told that I

am unfit for freedom, on account of the religion which I profess—when I have considered all that has been said in support of so heinous a proposition, I feel amazed and confounded, and ask, is it possible that any man could suppose, that were I in possession of the rights and privileges of a British subject that all the power on earth could induce me to forego them; that I could be influenced by any consideration to reject the first and clearest principles of my religion, to hate my country, to subject her to the sway of a stranger, to destroy my own happiness and that of my kindred? No, I conclude it is impossible that any rational man could suppose that the Catholics, under equal laws, would be less loyal, less faithful subjects than any others."

J. K. L. having disposed of divers charges against the Catholic Church, proceeded to reply to another fashionable accusation, which attributed to it the design of overthrowing the Established Church, and entering upon her possessions. Dr. Doyle's views were dexterously expressed. He was an uncompromising foe, not to the Protestant Church, but to the Church Establishment. Catholics in general respect the Church of England, on account of the rock from which she has been hewn; they prize her liturgy as only less perfect than that from which it has been extracted; they admire her translation of the Bible, with all its imperfections, as a noble work; they esteem her hierarchy as the image of the truth, "for we Catholics give veneration to images on account of what they represent; but as to her Establishment in Ireland, it is such, in the opinion of many Protestants as well as Catholics, as should not be suffered to exist in any civilized country, still less in a nation employed almost exclusively in the tillage of land."

Elaborately, eruditely, and eloquently, J. K. L. proceeded to trace the origin of tithes, and their first introduction into Ireland by Henry II. and Paparo, under circumstances in themselves sufficient to make that impost odious to the Irish people. He reminded his readers that for the lucre of tithes, like Esau's mess of pottage, national independence and the birthright of the people were bartered away. "From that day the history of our misfortunes may be dated. They were not only the cause, but an efficient one of the calamities which followed, and whilst they subsist—peace or concord will not be established in Ireland." "But, my Lord," he went on, "do these selfish men who impute crimes to us, suppose that they can extinguish within us a sense of our wrongs? Do they imagine they can stifle the complaints of six millions of men? Do they flatter themselves that a vote of Parliament—a Parliament which is always deliberating, always receiving new lights, always growing in wisdom—cannot be revised, and that when our appeal is deferred, we are to think no more of

the prosecution of our claims? Can they prevent the ebbing of the tide? Can they stay the winds, or stop the progress of the light? As well could they do so as prevent oppression from producing complaint, or injury from seeking redress. We will never cease, my Lord, whilst our tongues can move or our pens can write, to keep alive in the whole empire, as well as in our own people, a sense of the wrongs we suffer, and to exhibit to an indignant world all the privations we endure. Our fetters are too galling, our chains are too closely riveted, our keepers are too unfeeling, for us to remain silent, or permit them to enjoy repose.

"When we speak of tithes they may tell us we are the allies of Captain Rock; but we reject the imputation, and reply, that the savage and the philosopher have the same sensibilities, and that the language of pain which they utter can scarcely be distinguished in its sound. Let only the grievance arising from tithe, like the thousand evils we suffer, be removed, and the savage will return to his rock, and the philosopher will retire to his books. Let us not be told it is the law; we know it is, and it is of the law we complain. But are the laws of a Draco always to continue? Are they not only to be written in blood, but also, like those of the Medes and Persians, never to be repealed?" Among other groundless charges, that of intolerance and an obstinate opposition to the diffusion of knowledge, were next conclusively disposed of by J. K. L.

This letter to the Marquis Wellesley filled seventy-one closely printed large octavo pages. We must declare our inability to condense, within any reasonable compass, the mass of varied matter which it embraced. Many of the questions discussed have since been settled; and we will be readily excused for not re-opening wounds now happily closed. While this valuable essay was in process of composition, Dr. Doyle asked his old and gifted friend, the Rev. Jeremiah Donovan, to hold his pen in readiness for the prompt defence of those positions on which critical assault would be sure to press heaviest. "I was glad," he writes, "to hear from you this morning; but would infinitely rather have seen and embraced you after your travels. Why did you not come to see me? Shall I begin to doubt of your affection, or is it true of you *cœlum non animam mutant qui transmare erisrunt?* With respect to 'J. K. L.' you will find, I hope, that Coyne has not excited an interest which will not be realized—but, even now, I must bespeak the friendly labours of 'Clericus' to defend what may be unjustly assailed. He can do it much better even than 'J. K. L.,' and I beg of him not to withhold his friendly succour. I leave this to-morrow; and when you come to preach for me on Corpus Christi Day (if the Orangemen do not kill me) I will appoint the day to dine with you."

"His 'Vindication,'" observes the late Frederick William Conway, "made a greater impression on the public mind, perhaps, than any writing since the days of Swift. He was attacked on all sides; but he had ardent friends, and was himself a host. His active pen seldom rested until the victory was obtained."

Dr. Doyle's spirited pamphlet excited, indeed, a very considerable sensation, and assailants without stint soon thronged forward. Dr. MacHale, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, parried a few of the passes which were made at J. K. L. "The interest which has been excited by this publication," he wrote, "and the hostility which it provoked, are no equivocal proof of its merits. The novelty of an Irish Catholic Bishop placing himself in the presence of the Viceroy, and pleading with respectful firmness the cause of his injured countrymen, was calculated to excite surprise. Surprise was soon succeeded by resentment, and those who were hitherto in the habit of exclusively approaching the Lord Lieutenant, have felt and expressed their mortification that their monopoly has been invaded. The respectful use of a privilege, which is extended to all who feel themselves aggrieved, has been characterised as an insolent intrusion. . . . . The Bishop has been accused of warmth in his language. Yes, he has been warm; and in his portrait of our unmerited sufferings, his language rose to a tone of firm but respectful remonstrance. But if he was eloquent and impassioned, his feelings were not pointed against the Chief Governor, but against those who had accused him of sedition and dragged him before his tribunal; and if, like the apostle in presence of Festus, he exhibited the chains which he wore, the persecutions we underwent, and the religion by which we were sustained, the theme was suggested by the calumny of his accusers; and if he sought for redress, it was not by acting on the irritated passions of the people, but with a high consciousness of the justice of his cause, and his rights as a Roman citizen, he sought protection from the frenzy of a persecuting multitude, by throwing himself into the arms of the laws and appealing to the majesty of Cæsar."

The first meeting of the Catholic Association—that subsequently powerful moral engine—was held this year. Dr. Doyle was the first Prelate in Ireland to join its ranks. "He threw into the Catholic Association," writes Sheil, "all the influence of his sacred authority; and having openly joined that body, increased the reverence with which the people had previously considered its proceedings, and imparted to it something of a religious character. The example which was given by Dr. Doyle was followed by other dignitaries of the Church." Monsignor Meagher, in an unpublished MS. now before us, thus notices the same event: "At this

juncture arrived an accession of strength of overwhelming importance, and from that hour no man doubted the results. Oh! shall Ireland ever forget the day when he added his name to the list of her patriots, and all the Prelates of the land and all the ministers of faith followed in his train! At once every district and hamlet found in its Priest a leader, active to stimulate and cautious to restrain."

Dr. Doyle did not content himself with merely arousing the Catholics of his own country to action. His patriotic labours extended indirectly to England also. We find among his papers several letters conclusive of this fact. The following is from the great Catholic delegate of 1793:

"London, 14th November, 1823.

"RIGHT REV. AND MY DEAR LORD—Some anchorite of the Thebaide was, if I recollect right, ordered daily to water a planted stick to exercise his patience. Your Lordship has prescribed to me a task almost equally trying—that of stimulating into action our worthy frog-blooded Catholic Britons. However, I shall try.

"The more I have conned over the admirable production of J. K. L., the more I see the necessity of its being made public here. After a few days I shall again write to you on the subject, as in the meantime I shall ascertain whether I may not get some person to print it here. This would be infinitely better than sending the copies from Ireland, which are printed too close, and not in the form liked here—for, however it may surprise you, it is the fact that, in this as in articles of merchandize, John Bull prefers the fold and manner he is used to.

"I wish you would send me a copy of the letter to the Marquis of Wellesley, with whatever alterations you may have made; also, your Lordship's letter to Dr. Magee, with his charge, and the address to the peasantry; also, one of Father Hayes' numbers, in which he points out the Catholic authors from whom Dr. Magee took the whole scheme of his book on the Atonement. The Rhapsodies [by Baron Smith] announced in *The Evening Post* as to be sold at Longman's, are not to be had there.—I have the honour to remain, my dear Lord, with sincere respect and affection,

"J. E. DEVEREUX.

"P.S.—Tell O'Connell that I apprehend that he will find there is an Act of Parliament which permits Jews to purchase ground and establish cemeteries. This, however, I am not positively certain of."

CHAPTER XI.

Dr. Doyle continues to enforce reformatory regulations with a firm hand—He trenchantly rebukes careless Priests—Public admonitions—What was found in the thatch at Snipe Lodge—Anecdotes—Reprimand administered at a Conference—Amusing incident at Braganza—Affection of the Priesthood for their Bishop—Dr. Doyle's eulogy on the Catholic Priesthood as a body—Striking scene and dialogue—He forbids a month's memory for a deceased Priest—Abuses suppressed—New statutes—Remarkable conversation—Evidences of the innate tenderness of his heart—He pleads for a poor Priest before his angry Superior—Scene at Old Derrig at five o'clock on a winter's morning—Dr. Doyle on the morality of the Irish people—He reconciles differences—"Has not forty shillings to spare"—Conducts a retreat at Maynooth—Letters to Mariana and Catharine—Another miraculous cure—Surgeon Collis's remark, that Prince Hohenlohe ought to mind his own business—Letters—Mariana's account of the Bishop's mode of living at Old Derrig—He has a narrow escape of being burned to death—The scandal-mongers of Carlow—What he said to the tithe proctor—Remarks addressed to Lord Wellesley on tithes—Laughable tithe notice.

When Dr. Doyle assumed the government of the Diocess of Kildare and Leighlin, he found the Priests, with some few exceptions, a zealous and thoroughly worthy body of men; and although several of them had contracted certain worldly manners and customs which had tended to lower the dignity of the priestly character, they were not, strictly speaking, open to reproach for having mechanically followed in the footsteps of their predecessors. Their mode of living had become a second nature to them; they remained utterly blind to things which a stranger would at one glance detect and condemn; and although they seemed to lend their countenance and agency to a few abuses, we are convinced that to many the thought never occurred that the practices in question came really under the category of abuses.

In a former chapter we have referred to some of the reformatory regulations which Dr. Doyle, on assuming the duties of his office, laid down. These he constantly continued to enforce with a firm hand, and his reputation as a rigid disciplinarian soon spread far and near, rendering him, among a certain narrow class, more respected than beloved. Wherever he could lay his hand upon them, he tore up abuses root and branch, while with the other he sowed broadcast the seeds of a well-organized perfection. From the moment he became a Bishop, he felt that the words addressed to the prophet were directed emphatically to him: "Behold, this day have I set thee to root up, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to build, and to plant." If, after rebuking a Priest for culpable carelessness, Dr. Doyle again found the vestments or

altar-cloths soiled or shabby, he tore them into ribbons, and the Mass-book not unfrequently met the same fate. If he observed a Parish Priest, through laziness or apathy, deferring year after year to lay the foundation-stone of a new chapel, on a scale befitting the increased requirements or importance of his flock, the Bishop has himself taken the initiative in tearing off the straw thatch which covered the crumbling, old edifice; and made such arrangements, then and there, as led to the speedy erection of a suitable place of worship for the parishioners. But Dr. Doyle was too just a man to adopt this course hastily or without ample investigation into the circumstances of the Priest or the parish. During his examination in the Commons on the 25th of March, 1825, he was asked: "Do you conceive that the present state of your chapels and the insufficient accommodation which they afford impedes the efforts of the Roman Catholic clergy in giving religious instruction to the people? *A.* Perhaps one of the greatest obstacles to the instruction of the people in Ireland is the want of sufficient room in our chapels; but this is an evil which it is not in our power to remedy. The pressure upon the peasantry is so great, from various causes, that they have not the means of enlarging their chapels, still less of building them anew, without making sacrifices which are peculiarly oppressive to them; and I have myself often ordered a chapel to be enlarged, or said that otherwise I would not permit Mass to be celebrated in it, and yet, upon the representation of the Priest as to the distress and extreme poverty of the people, I have withdrawn such orders, and suffered them to proceed as well as they could."

Dr. Doyle's attention to the furtherance of everything connected with the decency, and if possible the splendour of God's altar, was indefatigable. He constantly endeavoured to promote the veneration of the faithful for the grandeur of the Christian sacrifice, and to elevate their souls by the majesty of divine worship. In conducting the ceremonies of the Church, he himself set the example of attending rigidly to the minutest liturgical detail.

Some persons might erroneously imagine, that an impulse of chagrin prompted so complete an annihilation as the reduction of a Priest's vestments to shreds and ribbons; but the Bishop, we need not add, had a worthier motive. On his first visitation to a remote parish of Kildare, he was disgusted to find the sacerdotal vestments soiled and threadbare, and deposited in a turf basket. Dr. Doyle admonished the Priest, but without effect, for, on the next visitation, matters appeared precisely in the same posture. Tearing the chausible in two pieces, he told the Priest that if unable to purchase a new one, which he greatly doubted, at least to

make up the price in halfpence and pence among his flock. The old pastor's habits were irrevocably formed, and he remained so utterly deaf to the young Prelate's wishes, that instead of doing what had been prescribed, he got an old woman to re-unite the pieces of the chausible, and in this condition he used it until his death, which occurred soon after. The manner in which Dr. Doyle dealt with objectionable vestments on all subsequent occasions precluded the possibility of their again coming into use. He not unfrequently consigned them to the flames of the sacristy fire.

These proceedings, though apparently harsh, are perfectly canonical. No churchman could condemn them, however some may disapprove of rebuking a Priest in presence of his flock and fellow-clergy. When Dr. Doyle found that a private admonition, once or twice given, failed to take effect, he repeated it before many, as Scriptural authority justified him in doing. He rarely pursued this course, however, unless in the case of Priests whose parochial income ought to have rendered it an easy task to provide every necessary article for the sacerdotal wardrobe. On one occasion he told an incorrigible Priest that the habiliments which clothed his person in society were spotless, but that those in which he communed with the King of Heaven were disgraceful and degrading.

The Bishop having, on another occasion, found that all his previous admonitions and menaces had been totally disregarded, he came out of the sacristy and thus addressed the congregation: "I regret there cannot be Mass to-day. I have repeatedly impressed on your pastor the necessity and duty of providing himself with vestments befitting the dignity of the Holy Sacrifice. He has not only neglected to do so, but he has thought fit to omit to call on you for that trifling aid which would at once have obtained the amount needed;" saying which, he destroyed the vestments which had so long been a cause of general disedification.

There were few parochial Priests of the diocess with means so straitened as rendered the purchase of a respectable suit of vestments difficult. Dr. Doyle, during his examination in the House of Lords, was requested to furnish a general idea of their incomes. "About five years ago," he replied, "I required of each of the Priests to give me a return of the amount of income which they received. There were three parishes in the diocess where it was stated at, I think, £500; two of these parishes since became vacant, and I divided them, or separated the unions which before existed. There were fourteen parishes where the income exceeded £200, and some few approached to £300, and I recollect one where the income was stated at £300. In the remaining parishes, the sum stated to me varied from £100 to £200." From the

Bishop's evidence in the Commons, it appeared that there were four parishes where the Priest's income reached to £400.

When it is known that one of the Priests whose vestments Dr. Doyle tore in pieces, because of their shabbiness, was able at his death, in 1843, to bequeath £8,000 to the funds of Carlow College, few readers will blame the Bishop for administering a reproach so decisive.

Mr. T. F. Meagher in some of his interesting Recollections of Ireland, published in a New York journal, devotes a very amusing chapter to this Priest. He thus concludes: "He put together a large sum of money. His will broke it up, and distributed it amongst the sweetest and noblest charities of the country. Two months after his death, it was all found in a tin box, under the thatch, over the front door of Snipe Lodge." Father —— would seem not to have been impressed with the truth of the aphorism, "Charity begins at home."

Of public admonitions, several cases occurred. We have already mentioned that Dr. Doyle, when he assumed the government of the diocess, found many of the Priests attending races and hunts. It was, we believe, on his first or second visitation that a Parish Priest of St. Malins, long since in his grave, came out to say Mass with spurs on his boots. The Bishop reprimanded him in presence of the congregation, with an impressive severity which is remembered by many with terror to this day.

Among others whom the Bishop very sternly rebuked for habitual carelessness regarding vestments, was a very worthy man, the late Rev. Dr. D——, who to the day of his death never forgot Dr. Doyle's reproachful demeanour towards him. When dying, in 1825, he would not even appoint, as executor, a Priest in Dr. Doyle's diocess; and he bequeathed his property to Rome, for the establishment of a burse. The Bishop, some years before his death, was occasionally heard to regret that in the unflinching discharge of his duty he should have hurt the feelings of several aged and pious men. He could never be said, however, to have acted hastily or with irritation. Whatever he may have said or done, was in conscientious obedience to the dictates of a rigid sense of duty and discipline. His manner often wore an appearance of hastiness, when a perfectly opposite feeling moved him, as the following anecdote will show.

On the occasion of a Conference which was held within some eight miles of Carlow, Dr. Doyle reprimanded a Priest so trenchantly, that a clergyman who was exceedingly intimate with the Bishop, and received the appointment of Vicar-General soon after, ventured to remonstrate with his Lordship privately. "My Lord," he said, "do you not think it was rather rash to chastise

Father —— so sharply in the presence of his brother Priests, and for an offence of certainly no very grave character? His temper is excitable, and I would be apt to fear that such a rebuke might drive him refractory, and dispose him to set your Lordship altogether at defiance." "Well," replied the Bishop, "if he chose to act so, he would answer for it." "Of course," continued the Priest, "but you know retaliation is an impulse of human nature, and men are not always under the control of their better feelings." "You have no conception," said Dr. Doyle, "of the amount of trouble which that man has cost me. I remonstrated with him three times in private, and I warned him that if he did not mend I should chastise him before many. I might have imparted an additional sting to the rebuke by mentioning this instance of his obstinacy; had I done so, it would have exonerated me from that appearance of hastiness and undue severity into which my reverend hearers no doubt imagined I had been led; but what matters it," he added, "how people may speak or think of me here, provided that I discharge, unflinchingly, the duties of the office which God has imposed on me. You think I said too much; but I have always been of opinion that when a Bishop reprimands, it should be done in the most indelible manner. Let him never chastise, unless when unavoidable; but whenever he does do so, let it be in such a way as will render the chastisement felt and remembered. A mild and faltering rebuke, which enters at one ear and goes out at the other, is worse than nothing." Dr. Doyle endeavoured to imitate, as far as possible, the Master whom he served. He was, no doubt, acquainted with the MS. of Publius Lentullus, still extant, which gives a minute contemporary description of Christ's appearance and manner. One passage we extract: "A man of stature somewhat tall and comely. His eye grey, clear, and quick. In reproving he is terrible: pleasant in conversation, mixed with gravity. Many have seen him weep."

An amusing anecdote or two might be told, illustrative of the burning force with which Dr. Doyle's rebukes rarely failed to sear their way into the bosoms of men who had long been filled with indifference and self-complacency. A very worthy Priest, but a little worldly in his tendencies, dined a few years ago, with several other clergymen, at the hospitable table of Dr. Haly, the late Catholic Bishop of Kildare. A full-length picture of Dr. Doyle, mitre-crowned and with crozier grasped, hangs over the chimney-piece of the dining-room at Braganza. The Priest took his seat, but he seemed fidgety and ill-at-ease. The quick and kindly eye of the host was at once attracted by his gestures. "I fear you're not comfortable there," said the Bishop. "Indeed I am not, my

Lord," was the candid reply; "his eye is upon me, and I was under it long enough;" saying which he moved round to the opposite side, and having taken his seat with his back to the picture, forgot his past sorrows in the pleasures of the table..

It is, no doubt, unnecessary to add, that the peculiar feeling of the Priest to whom we allude is quite an exceptional case. Nearly every Priest with whom we have conversed refers to Dr. Doyle's memory in terms of strong veneration and love. "I could speak of him for ever," writes Rev. Dr. Cahill; "he could put on the terrors of an angry judge, and then relapse into the playfulness of a fond companion." Canon Dunne, in a letter expressive of pleasure that the author of this work should have selected such a theme, observes: "The intelligence has awakened within me, if possible, a deeper and more vivid sensation of my associations with my exalted guide, than I agreeably yet gloomily experience, when I daily call him to mind. The most endearing ties must ever closely bind me with everything regarding his memory." Canon Dunne expatiates on "his paternal regard, and my filial reverence and love." The Rev. Dr. Donovan, formerly Professor in Carlow College, writes: "Every moment of my life serves but to exalt and endear his memory to my head and heart." The Rev. Dr. Fogarty writes: "I knew him well; I loved and admired his extraordinary zeal, his sound and solid piety, and his love of country. His teachings of my youth are impressed on my very soul. His premature removal was an irreparable loss to Church and State." The Parish Priest of Arles writes: "I was quite a boy when Dr. Doyle honoured me by his notice, and for ten years I lost not his regard." The Rev. Dr. Meagher alludes "to the noble simplicity of his manners, the bright candour of all his thoughts, the goodness of his warm heart, the charity of his benevolent soul." But such evidence might be cited *ad infinitum*. When the events of the year 1825 are described, the reader will find a beautiful address to Dr. Doyle, from the entire Clergy of his diocess, expressive of respect, admiration, attachment, and gratitude. The sincerity of their language was proved by presenting Dr. Doyle, at the same time, with the splendid mansion and demesne of Braganza, purchased for £2,500 from the executors of Sir Dudley Hill.

It is pleasant to read Dr. Doyle's favourable opinion of the priesthood as a body, as expressed by him in 1825: "The ministers of the Catholic religion are invited to their office by the impulse of divine grace; but as the Almighty disposes all things wisely, he makes use of external objects to determine the will of those who deliberate on entering the ministry. This ministry is seen amongst us, encompassed by dangers and privations of no

ordinary kind; labour and toil are inseparable from it; the necessaries of life which it offers, are to be obtained by soliciting contributions from men, a vast majority of whom are unable to bestow them. When the youthful mind is deliberating on the choice of a state of life, the flesh lusteth against the spirit; and if the person in whom grace and nature are thus contending have worldly prospects before him, of even a moderate kind, he will generally be deaf to the breathings of the spirit, and prefer some secular pursuit to the service of the Church. The ministers of this religion, however, are in general well stored with classical and scholastic knowledge, less refined, perhaps, than persons who are unacquainted with their vocations might desire, but not deficient certainly in those qualifications which the parochial Clergy of a young nation (for such Ireland may be deemed) should possess. They are energetic, active, laborious, shrewd, and intelligent; they are the most moral class of persons, not only in this country, but, I think, existing on the earth; they are exact, or rather they are filled with zeal in the discharge of their duties; their office, their connexions, their necessary habits of intercourse mix them up and identify them with the people; they are acquainted with, and take an interest in the domestic concerns of almost every family; they possess the full and entire confidence of their flocks; they are always employed; there is nothing dull or quiescent about them. Such are the ministers of the Catholic religion in Ireland—a class of men who either direct the general feelings of the people, or who run with the current in whatsoever direction it may flow."

Dr. Doyle speaks highly of the Priesthood as a body; but it was his lot to encounter a few exceptions which grievously afflicted him. The Rev. Mr. —— was an indolent and careless pastor, who had received his appointment during a previous episcopal administration, characterised rather by its simple piety than for vigour or sagacity. He had not only amassed some money in virtue of his office, but erected a very comfortable glebe-house; and at his death, instead of bequeathing this property to the Church, or to some charitable purpose or institution, as the statutes of the diocess ordained, he let it get into the clutches of some needy relatives, who scuffled and scrambled for it in a manner more vigorous than edifying. He had besides occasioned some scandal by manifesting no disinclination to the use of alcohol. At a Conference near Ossory, some Priests inquired from the Bishop on what day it would meet his Lordship's convenience to hold a month's mind for the late Father ——. "Such would not serve either the living or the dead," exclaimed Dr. Doyle; "I shall never attend it—and what is more, gentlemen, I forbid you, under pain of my displeasure, to countenance any month's me-

mory for Mr. ——. He has brought scandal on that Church of which he was the unworthy minister. He first amassed and finally scattered to the winds the money realized from celebrating and dispensing God's mysteries." "But, my Lord," interrupted an old cleric, "you know a man can't live upon air." "A man can't live upon air," echoed the Bishop with a scathing sternness. "What a learned apothegm for a venerable Priest to stand up and utter at a theological conference! Keep that wisdom for the old hags of the village; but don't dare to tell your Bishop that a man can't live upon air." "But, my Lord," remonstrated another, "it will be remarked upon if no month's memory takes place." "That is precisely what I desire," he exclaimed; "I wish to mark that man's grave with my reprobation." "I certainly grant you, my Lord," proceeded the spokesman, "that Father —— was indolent; but it was the man's nature, and he could not help it. Your Lordship may remember that latterly he was even too lazy to collect his own dues." "Dues!" echoed the Bishop loudly, "pray what is there due for negligence? His flock owe him nothing: he neglected to break and feed them with the bread of eternal life. The labourer is worthy of his hire, but the idler deserves naught. We are not called by God to lead lives of indolence. He himself declares that the kingdom of God suffereth violence, and the violent bear it away. Once more I forbid the month's mind; but you may pray for him fervently in secret. Rather let his memory be buried in oblivion, than perpetuated by a public ceremonial in his honour."

This, and one or two other instances which might be cited, determined the Bishop to frame an express statute for the prevention of clergymen dying intestate. In the sixth chapter of that admirable little volume, which every pastor of the diocess is obliged to possess, we find it decreed that "whenever a Priest falls into any dangerous illness, the Vicar-Foreign within whose deanery he lives shall visit him, and piously minister every spiritual aid to his sick brother in the Lord. He shall inquire whether the sick man has made his will, as commanded in the first chapter, and he shall use the greatest diligence, lest the registry of baptisms and marriages, or the holy vessels, vestments, coverings or ornaments of the altar, whether they belong to the parish or the Priest, should fall into the hands of any layman. He shall put them into a safe place, and carry home along with him the copy of these statutes." The latter injunction accounts for the extreme scarcity of the book—a fact sufficiently evident, when we remember that a noted Evangelical offered seven guineas for a copy, at the sale of the Rev. P. Wood's effects, and failed to obtain it, even at that price.

Dr. Doyle was, of course, a great advocate for Priests paying prompt and frequent visits to the bed of sickness. A curate once sought to extenuate his conduct for omitting to attend a sick call, by declaring that he had no horse. Dr. Doyle's rebuke has somewhat of a ludicrous sound; but it was accompanied by an expression so full of reproach, that the Priest regarded it as anything but a laughing matter. "Horse, sir!" exclaimed the Bishop, "and a poor, dying soul at stake: you should have mounted a cow if no other mode of conveyance had presented itself." Dr. Doyle's pastoral instructions were especially stringent as regards the vigilant administration of the sacraments. "Nothing can excuse you from the discharge of this duty; nothing can exempt you—not labour, not fatigue, nor watching, nor hunger, nor thirst, nor heat, nor cold; you can have no just cause of delay, when pressed on by an obligation so strict and so important." In inculcating the necessity of comforting the sick, Dr. Doyle was equally zealous. "At that awful hour which is, perhaps, to decide their eternal lot, the sinner—seeing that everything is disappearing from his eyes—that this world and the desires thereof have passed away—that he himself is passing like a shadow—will listen with more attention to your pious exhortations; he will yield to your sighs and your tears." Dr. Doyle practically set the example. If he filled the high office of Bishop of Kildare, he also discharged the humble and laborious duties of Parish Priest of Carlow, and with a more than human disregard of personal safety often hurried in order to soothe the miseries of the dying.

Funeral entertainments and office dinners were customary in those days. In 1810, Mr. Doyle, being then attached to the Convent of his Order in Ross, attended the office of a lady who had died suddenly in Wexford. Disedified at the unseemly joviality which characterised the entertainment, he left the table, and pausing before an adjoining room where the corpse had lain grimly extended, he elevated his eyes to heaven, and with clasped hands exclaimed: "Oh; Lord! pardon this unseemliness. You send death to warn us, and we receive it with a mocking defiance." These and station dinners were among the first abuses which Dr. Doyle, on succeeding to the episcopal chair of Kildare, uprooted.

The clergyman already referred to, who possessed Dr. Doyle's entire confidence and friendship, having overheard a dialogue among some Priests, which aimed to prove that they had fallen into a great error in nominating to the mitre a man who had no missionary experience, he repeated the substance of the conversation to Dr. Doyle. "They say I had not the necessary qualifications for an office too exalted, as the Spirit of Truth declares, for even an angel of light. I am well aware of my own incompetence

and worthlessness; but if I possess one qualification more than another, it is that I had, at no period, any interest in, or personal experience of those errors which I am determined to uproot. It is all for the better that I had no missionary experience; for had I, at any time, been a party to the abuses in connexion with it, how could I, with unfaltering tone and steady consistency, lift my voice in denunciation of them?"

Dr. Doyle's disposition was naturally of the most amiable and kindly character, and it frequently cost him a severe struggle to put on, in the conscientious discharge of his duty, an aspect of severity. We possess the records of numberless touching traits which show to perfection the innate tenderness of his heart.

Father John Crane, Prior of the Augustinian community at ——, a most good-natured and hospitable man, was led by an excess of those qualities to involve both himself and the Convent in some pecuniary embarrassment. This circumstance gave great offence to the Very Rev. Dr. Gibbons, Provincial of the Order, who resolved to visit Father Crane with a canonical censure in consequence. Dr. Doyle did not forget the kindness he had received from Father Crane when a boy, and the following letter finds him pleading the Friar's cause before his angry Superior:

"Old Derrig, Carlow, 17th October, 1823.

"My dear and Rev. Father Provincial—You will not deem it foreign from my duty to write to you at the desire of the Rev. Mr. Crane, when I tell you that there is no person now living, with the exception of one brother, to whom I have been so long allied by affection and friendship, or to whom I am under more weighty obligations.

"I had heard, when in ——, how the young men appointed to execute poor Father Philip's will had acted irreverently and disrespectfully towards Father John at the time of his greatest affliction. I could not but consider such conduct on the part of young —— as unnatural, and I felt great disgust towards him; for however just his proceeding, the time and manner of it were highly improper; and as to the other executor, though I suppose he is almost a saint, I know that he was always wrong-headed, and that his notions on right and wrong were generally such as could not be acted upon in this world. To place Father John, with all his faults (for the goodness of his heart has often betrayed him into faults), in the hands of such a pair—the one an unnatural child, the other an eccentric—was not the wisest act of poor Father Philip's life; and if I had seen him previous to his death, I would have besought him on my knees not to appoint them his executors. The customs of that house in ——, my dear Father Provincial,

are old, and perhaps unwise; but yet, being established, some remnant of them must be continued, or the Convent will lose many friends, and what is of more value—its character in the public estimation; for you may depend on it that Father John, whilst he lives, will be its best support, though he were dunned by every butcher and baker in the town. He has, moreover, the legal title of a fine property, and is it prudent to tempt him to seek, by application at Rome, to alienate it, or to avail himself of the law of the land? Or is this the moment your prudence would select, when he has been discarded by his brother from the administration of his will, and insulted by two young fools, to change, in his regard, that license which he and almost every Friar in the kingdom has had for two centuries—to enjoy for life what they were permitted to acquire. When in Dublin, Mr. F—— showed me a correspondence between himself and you and Father John. I regretted very sincerely the proceeding threatened to be taken by the latter, and still more, that the moment of his anxiety and affliction should have been selected to make arrangements for him, and thus betray him by his feelings into what I must regret. But, my dear sir, when you reflect on the character of Father John you will, with me, overlook that, and take him back to your bosom, for he is worthy of your utmost attachment. He is old and infirm—he is incumbered with debt, but his property is more than sufficient to pay all demands upon it. Let his case stand before you and your Definitory to judge of it, and allow me, whom he has long called his child, and who revere him as a father, to plead for him before you. Let us leave Rome undisturbed; let us not send there the dissensions of our own family; let us have charity and wisdom enough to settle them ourselves.

"Let the rules for the government of the house in —— which your prudence has prescribed, and which I have read, remain, if you please, as they are; but let Father John, as he is excluded from everything which his brother could control, be permitted to enjoy undisturbed for life whatever he can advance a just claim to, that he may be enabled to pay off his debts, and supply himself with those little comforts without which he cannot now exist for the short time he has to remain. I saw him building almost with his own hands, and certainly by his own personal influence, the house in the Bowling-green; he let it for £20 a-year as a College to the Order, and of this £20 he gave £10 as his subscription. He did more—he almost supported us whilst there. Why, then, should this house be taken from him in his present distress, and the £50 rent due to him overlooked? Yet on this point he probably would concede something, if his other claims were admitted. [The Bishop here enumerated some accounts due by the late

Father Philip Crane, quite unconnected with the Convent, which Father John had paid out of his own pocket. Dr. Doyle assured the Provincial that he believed Father John's extravagance had been much overrated; and that, in his opinion, the present pecuniary embarrassments were not owing to it, but rather to the recent erection of the Convent and the repairs of the Chapel, which amounted to near £1,500. The Bishop thus concluded:] "I have tired you, my dear sir, but nothing can weary my own patience when Father John is concerned, and therefore I have trespassed on yours. I shall be greatly gratified to learn your decision on this subject, and remain, with affectionate regard to all with you, your most humble servant and brother in Christ,

"✠ J. Doyle."

The appeal proved unsuccessful, and a new Prior was appointed by Dr. Gibbons. On the 30th October, we find the Bishop thus addressing his old friend, Dr. O'Connor: "I wrote to Father John when I received your letter, by the Provincial's command; and whilst I exhorted him most earnestly to an unqualified submission, I may tell you that should his case go to Rome, I will interest the Sacred Congregation in his favour; but this, my intention, I have not made known to him as yet, hoping he may be induced to submit without appeal. I think you might write to him as an old friend, and solicit his determination, or offer, on the part of the Provincial, to leave the decision to Drs. Keating or Kelly, men who are disinterested."

On the 11th November, the Bishop writes: "I have just posted a note to Mr. Crane, stating the Provincial's determination, and recommending a submission to his just authority. No person can attach blame to you for discharging your duty faithfully and temperately, as you do. May God prolong your life and grace it with every virtue! I wish I could repay you the many kindnesses you have always been doing to me. Please to give my affectionate respects to the Provincial and to each of our brethren with you." Father John Crane died soon afterwards. Dr. Doyle writes: "I sincerely condole with you and my good friend the Provincial, on the departure of our worthy brother to, I trust, our eternal home. His works have followed him; we may presume to hope, and my suffrages will not be wanted to secure his repose."

Shortly before the death of Richard Coyne, the well known publisher of the letters of J. K. L., we had an interview with him, and received some interesting reminiscences of Dr. Doyle. Mr. Coyne, having had particular business with the Bishop, left Dublin, by the Carlow night coach, for Old Derrig, and arrived at his destination at 5 o'clock on a piercing cold, winter's morning. What

was his astonishment to find Dr. Doyle not only up and dressed, but surrounded by at least a dozen persons in the humbler ranks of life, all victims, apparently, to much mental inquietude. The Bishop stood in the midst of them, his eyes suffused with tears, listening to their sad recitals, offering pecuniary relief to some, expressing sympathy for those he was unable to assist, and consoling all. Mr. Coyne at length obtained an interview. "Richard," he said, when they had conversed for a few minutes, "as I celebrate six o'clock Mass I must now retire, but do not fail to join me at breakfast." Upon enquiring, Mr. Coyne ascertained that the conduct he had on that morning accidentally witnessed, was only a picture of Dr. Doyle's daily life.

There was another duty which the visitor arriving unexpectedly at Old Derrig would not unfrequently find the good Bishop engaged in performing. The following extract from the Fifth Letter of J. K. L. on the "State of Ireland" alludes to it: "From what has lately appeared in evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, I am inclined to think, that if in England the poverty, and the habits of life occasioned by it, were the same as in Ireland, the illicit intercourse of the sexes would be as extensive and unblushing as it is at Madras or Calcutta. But amongst us this appetite is restrained, as well by a natural decorum which has characterized the women of this country, as by a strong and reverential fear of God, constantly kept alive and strengthened by the Priests.* But as love, like death, *æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas regumque turres*, when it once enters into our hamlets, it seeks its object, not by degrading the person and tainting the soul, but in that holy wedlock which our Redeemer has sanctified, and His apostle declared to be honourable in all, without distinction of rich or poor. The clergy often dissuade it; they calculate

* At a visitation of the Bishop of Ely, in July, 1858, the subject of the crowded state of the dwellings of the poor was introduced by his Lordship, when the Rev. E. Phipps observed that "the majority of the English poor were mothers before they were married. He did not believe that this state of things arose altogether from their cottage arrangements, for in Ireland the morality of the peasantry was infinitely higher. In Ireland an institution was in full force, which, in the opinion of a vast number of the most intelligent and unprejudiced people, was one great means of maintaining that social purity for which Ireland was so remarkable. This institution had existed, in fact and principle, in the Church of England, though it had hitherto been suffered most culpably and grievously to fall into desuetude, from which a vigorous and what would be, he believed, ultimately a successful effort was being made to recover it—he meant the blessed and important practice of confession."—W. J. F.

"The prostitution of great cities is mainly recruited from the rural districts; and in country villages, by the deliberate choice of the woman, a sort of bundling is the rule of English life. Few young women are ignorant that the safest road to the altar is so to contrive matters that the christening service comes in very unseemly proximity to the marriage ceremony. This is rural life in England."—*The Saturday Review, 6th October*, 1860.

for the young lover; they represent to him the difficulties and distress which probably await himself and the object of his affections; they recommend to him the necessity of restraining the ardour of his attachment; they even plead their own example. But how often have I myself yielded to the sighs of the virgin, or the tears of the youth, and blessed the nuptials which I could no longer prevent. Good God! how little are we, the Catholic Clergy of Ireland, known even to our friends, when one could represent us in Parliament as encouraging the intermarriage of the poor for the sake of 'base lucre!'—those poor who have nothing to bestow but their prayers and affection, and with whom we gladly divide every shilling which Providence places at our disposal."

The Bishop not only contrived to find time for comforting the afflicted, and reconciling the alienated *in propria persona*, but often worked his pen zealously for the same good end. Writing to a kinswoman, he says: "It is most afflicting that M—— and J—— should have disputes. When the Lord was pleased to bless their industry, they ought not to become miserable by forgetting Him and quarrelling with one another. It would not be easy to compose their differences, for both are attached to their own opinions; but what I should propose, were I present, is—[here Dr. Doyle made some very judicious suggestions]. I am fully satisfied that I have no partiality for one more than the other, but this is precisely what I should recommend to two strangers, circumstanced as they are, and which, if your husband approve of it, earnestly recommend to them in my name and your own. Beg of them, for God's sake, to preserve their good name with the public, and peace between each other, lest the Almighty, who has blessed them, should afflict them for not being thankful." A letter written a few days later records the success of his mediation: "I am sincerely glad of the reconciliation between J—— and M——. May the Lord in his mercy preserve them in peace."

Dr. Doyle was not content with being himself a peacemaker—he constantly impressed upon his clergy the duty of amicably adjusting quarrels and disputes. "Seat yourselves down like angels of peace in the midst of the dissensions which may, through human infirmity, occur between your people, and reconcile, by the sweetness of your manner, and the attractions of grace, hearts which for a moment may have been alienated from each other."

Unbounded charity to the poor was, like Fenelon, among Dr. Doyle's most striking virtues. "Give and it shall be given to you," and "Whatever you give the poor you give to God," were his mottoes. He gave with such liberality that his means often became seriously pinched. No wonder that the Bishop should not have "forty shillings to spare." There never was a man

more utterly negligent of enforcing payment of "the dues" to which he was entitled. He constantly inculcated—"I seek not yours but you—give me your souls, not your means." On the 20th of November, 1823, he writes:

"I cannot buy the horse, my dear Mary. I could not at this time dispose of those I now have. I will not want a gig mare till next summer; but, above all, I have not forty shillings to spare, and this last reason puts the matter completely out of sight. I am too poor to purchase a good horse, and too proud, I suppose, to accept of one as a present, so you must confide the care of myself and my stumbling mare to that Providence which regulates and preserves all things, even to the hairs of our head. I confidently hope that with the divine assistance you will continue to improve in health. I am confident you will improve in virtue, which is better than bodily strength, and it is perfected in infirmity. May God bless you, my dear Mary; let me know from time to time how you proceed. I have to answer a large pile of letters before me from all parts of the country. Had I leisure I should fill this sheet, though it were with nonsense. Adieu!"

A portion of the "large pile of letters" no doubt remained for some time unanswered, for soon after we find the Bishop called upon to conduct a spiritual retreat for the students of Maynooth College. Its President, the late Very Rev. Laurence Renehan, a few weeks before his death, writing to the author, refers in terms of admiration to the nervous eloquence and masterly use of the Scriptures which Dr. Doyle manifested on this occasion. Dr. Doyle's exposition of the Epistles of St. Paul was a masterpiece of perspicuity and impressiveness, and the detail of his meditations was not less striking.

The Bishop meanwhile did not forget Mariana or her suffering sister. Such letters as the following he threw off with great rapidity, and generally whilst in the act of conversing with a visitor. He never read his letters over after writing them. Sometimes words are written twice; sometimes two words to express the same meaning occur; and occasionally words are altogether left out. Letters written under such circumstances cannot fairly be subjected to the ordeal of criticism:

"Saturday Night, 29th November, 1823.

"MY DEAR FRIEND—An opportunity having occurred of sending you the book, I avail myself of it to condole with you on the melancholy state of our dear Catharine, whose increased debility is but too much manifested in the few lines which the over-goodness of her heart compelled her to write to me. Her letter and yours filled me with sensations such perhaps as you feel yourself, or at

least bearing some resemblance to them—sadness, mixed with hope, scarcely suppressed by religion, and the anticipation of what may be far removed from us, but which will one day come if, like her, we be faithful to the end. Her suffering is light and short; repose and security draw nigh; but shall we who remain go also to meet Christ in the air—as St. Paul describes the passage of the Christian—and be always with the Lord? Perhaps we may; but blessed indeed are those who are cut off in the midst of their days, before malice has corrupted their mind, and who bring with them a pure heart, filled with those youthful sensibilities which fit it peculiarly for the workings of grace. I would almost fear to interrupt her intercourse with God by a prolongation of her life—for the separation from you and all that is dear to her must one day be made; and even now it can be borne, though it almost severs the marrow from the bone, and separates the life from the spirit. But surely this is the very pain which the Lord testifies that the sword, not peace, which he came to send, would produce. His ways, his time cannot be investigated; but all his ways are justice and truth. Let us, my child, bless his name, and not seek for gratifications which he is pleased perhaps to interrupt. Let us not embitter her chalice by mixing our grief with her sufferings, but rather be of one mind with her—meek, gentle, and resigned, leaving all things to God, and resting in Him above all, as we are taught by A'Kempis (book iii., chap. 21), which I beg you may read for her in my name.

"Since I saw you I received a letter from Prince De Hohenlohe. He was then at Vienna, and not disposed to return to Bamberg. I believe he is gone to Hungary, where he has accepted of some church preferment, so that I do not know where I could direct a letter to him. It is likely that we shall shortly have a reply to the application written when you were here, and if we do I shall lose no time in informing you of it. The prayers of our congregations here will be offered on to-morrow for one of the Bishop's friends (I need not say for his own dear child), and I am sure they will be composed of the petitions of many just men, and *even women*, and they must be acceptable to God. I cannot conclude without addressing a line to your dear patient:

"My dear Catharine—I almost regret your having endeavoured to gratify me by writing even the assurance of your affection, and giving me but too much proof of the state of suffering in which it has pleased God you should continue. I cannot yet divest myself of the hope of your recovery, for debility is not always a necessary sign of dissolution; but I seek to be satisfied, like yourself, with the good will of Him who has numbered all our days, and fixed the limits beyond which we cannot pass. This perfect

resignation, by composing the mind, assuages also the fever of the blood, and contributes to restore the frame where remedy is yet possible. I should not hesitate to pay you a visit, even now; but I know such visits bring with them more pain than pleasure, and when unnecessary are not commendable; they are the fruit of affection, which, thanks to God, can best be indulged by placing restraint on the feelings. I commend you to God and to his holy angels, to watch over you and to extinguish within you everything connected with this world, that as you bear (unworthy as you are) some of the marks of his suffering, you may in affection be crucified to the world and the world to you—for thus no person, absent or present, can be troublesome to you, but peace and mercy will be upon you, as the Israel or elect of God. Too long, my child, have you permitted your affections to light on creatures, and though not suffered to attach themselves to anything, yet you have felt how difficult it is to collect them on the invisible, and immortal, and only God. Leave us to His providence; pray that pride and passion may never prevail over us, and that when, like you, we are oppressed with sickness (perhaps our last), we may be found disengaged from all earthly things, and reposing only on God.

"I hope to see you in January with God's help, and if you be better, to conduct you to our place of repose in Old Derrig. Should the Lord ordain otherwise, you will remember your attached friend and servant in Christ,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

Prince Hohenlohe offered up his pious prayers as Dr. Doyle had requested, and a rally of health, almost supernatural, promptly ensued. Three of the first physicians in Dublin had been in constant attendance on the suffering girl, and held out to her anxious family but slender hopes of recovery. One was the late distinguished Dr. Abraham Colles, "who honestly showed great joy and surprise," writes the surviving sister, "and said, 'Eh! this is some Hohenlohe business; that fellow ought to mind his own affairs.'"

This miraculous cure occurred on the 1st of January, 1824. Mariana promptly reported progress to Dr. Doyle, who thus replied:

"Old Derrig, Carlow, 3rd January, 1824.

"MY DEAR FRIEND—I am sure your letter of yesterday excited in me feelings similar to those which dictated it, and amongst the numerous friends of the enviable and dear child whom God has restored to them, there is no one can offer to her and you congratulations with a heart more filled with gratitude to heaven than mine. I intended to have had the pleasure of seeing Catharine on my next visit to Dublin, and since you wrote to me, a few days since, I

have had the most lively confidence in the providence of God that it would re-establish her health; and you may be sure I joined my prayers, with all the fervour I was capable of, to those which were presented for her before the throne of mercy; nor shall I be remiss in returning thanks for a benefit conferred on one so truly dear to me. I hope before the end of this week to see my dear child, and tell her myself how grateful I am to God for her recovery. I only fear she will be oppressed by the kindness and curiosity of her friends; and though it might be to manifest the goodness of God, she should be prudent in not trespassing on a frame which must bear the traces of infirmity, and might become again feeble if not treated with care. I expect to remove her for some time to Old Derrig that she may breathe the air of solitude, and re-establish whatever is capable of improvement in her mind or person, under the care of my holy guardian, St. Bridget. Should that ill-natured other child of mine accompany Catharine, her appetite would be gratified, as the Hermit of this mansion has now a most *excellent cook*, and probably she might forget in the luxury of a pie or fricassée those piques which are now more annoying than even a naked table. At all events, if her friends do not insist on her flight from the world, she would do well to prepare for it by sojourning for awhile in this desert.

"But as I may stay in Dublin for eight or ten days, there will be time enough to deliberate on these matters. In the mean time let this happy girl spare from heaven and earth leisure to peruse what follows, whilst I beg you will believe me, &c.,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

"MY DEAR CHILD—I could not express the feelings and sentiments with which the account of your recovery has inspired me; for though we are accustomed to adore God in all His works, yet the place or person in whom His mercy is manifested, or His presence rendered sensible, are calculated to fill us with awe. The ground which adjoined the bush illuminated by the glory of an angel was rendered holy, and the traces of our Redeemer's footsteps have been consecrated by many a penitential sigh or tear of love; but the inanimate earth of the wilderness, or of Judea, were not so holy as that clay of ours, which is sanctified by the presence of our God; and yet we are all this—and you, almost above us all, to whose faith the Lord hath looked, and by His presence made you whole. It were well if the powerful influence of His grace secured for ever, and from all defilement of sin, that soul and body to which He has given so great a pledge of His predilection, and that it become from henceforth and for ever a holocaust of thanksgiving and praise—for 'what is it, that He has

been mindful of it?' It must be something worthy of His care—dear even to God who fills the world, and before whom the seraphs veil their faces. 'How great is the glory of the Lord, and how mighty the place of his possession,' says the prophet Habacuc. We see it through a veil, but even so it is great and mighty, surpassing all things, and alone worthy of love and praise. Yet you, dearest Catharine, have been His special abode, where He has shown his glory—His possession which He has sanctified, and which I hope you never will profane!

"But I must stop to ask you how you are, and whether you will not rescue yourself from the intrusion and caresses of your friends, to recruit your strength and re-establish whatever is decayed about you, in the seclusion of Old Derrig. You will require some ease, and relaxation, and time for thanksgiving to God, and for the perfect re-establishment of a frame, broken and exhausted by pain and watching; for though all your diseases are removed, many effects of them perhaps remain—but however you may be, where could you be more at ease than with your dear friends, the Hermit, and St. Bridget of Kildare?

"I shall, I hope, surprise you some morning or evening, about the end of the week; and till then remain your sincere and affectionate friend,

"✠ J. Doyle."

On the following day the Bishop addresses another fair friend, and alludes, at the close of his letter, to Catharine's cure.

"My dear Mary—The intelligence of our poor friend's death distressed me somewhat; yet, when the Almighty was pleased to prepare him for it by some years of a religious life, we have less reason to regret his loss. We are all doomed to die, and if life be only given to employ it in preparing for removal to our home, 'whose foundations are eternal,' the sooner the preparation is made and that we are summoned away, the better for us. I hope you will begin this year, and pass through it, blameless in your conduct, and laying up for yourself a store, 'where thieves cannot break in and steal!' If you do, as I have no doubt you will, it will be a blessing; otherwise it would be better you should not see it. Your poor mother is a bad subject for sickness, but she has never been without a cross. Many of them are necessary to wear out the sins of her youth; and I pray God that He may enable her to bear them with resignation if not with joy. Your loss, alone, would be insupportable to her, but God is faithful, and does not suffer us to be tempted beyond what we can bear. I hope He may leave you to support her old age, and close her life in peace. I have little doubt but a strict adherence to Dr. Mills' prescription

will ensure to you tolerable health; and if it were entirely good, you would be more vain and worldly than you are; so that what gives you trouble in one way, frees you from those evils which are not felt here, but will be lamented hereafter. The dispensations of Providence are all wise and good, and all things, even sickness, 'co-operate to the good of those who are called to be saints.' I am, indeed, exceedingly rejoiced to have found always in you these sentiments which are a mark of predestination;-and whilst you continue to hate evil and do all the good within your reach, persevering in prayer and patience, charitable always to the poor, you will be under the special protection of heaven, and continue to give me more comfort than I usually receive from those who should be if possible more dear to me than you.

"I am told that the 15th of this month is set apart by the good Prince de Hohenlohe for praying for us. Some nine days' devotion in honour of the holy name of Jesus should precede the day, and as many devout persons as possible should be invited to join in it. The hour for Mass and communion is a little before eight o'clock. On the 1st of this month, one of my most dear and intimate friends in Dublin has been suddenly restored in virtue of these devotions. She had been absolutely prepared for death, and despaired of by all who saw her. She was attended by Drs. Crampton, Colles, and Lee. She is now well, thanks to God. Her heart and lungs were entirely diseased, and her arm had been palsied from disease of the heart. In an instant she was cured! . . . .

"I am rejoiced to think that my friend John is the principal heir. I was thinking of providing him with an amiable wife in this county; but the recent accession to his means may lead him to look for more fortune than she has, which at most does not exceed £1500.

"I should request of him or Richard to come up to see me; but till now I have been harassed day and night with business, and on Friday I leave this for Dublin and Maynooth, where I shall be unavoidably detained ten days or a fortnight. Give to all my friends my affectionate compliments, and wish them for me the choicest graces of this holy time."

Mariana and her miraculously convalescent sister acceded to the Bishop's kind invitation, and, accompanied by the late Rev. Mr. M'D——, proceeded to Old Derrig. "It was a large, wild, and neglected, though picturesque place," writes Mariana, "the house scantily furnished, except with old books, especially Latin. His visitors wanted nothing, because (as went his apology for this) St. Paul said that Bishops should be hospitable. His own usual

mode of living was as simple as possible; his little St. Bridget's Chapel, in the garden, was a room about twelve feet long, and about ten in breadth, with plain, whitewashed walls, and there he daily said Mass, and there I have seen tears roll abundantly from his eyes, after the Consecration in the Holy Sacrifice. But oh! our evening conversations with a chosen few—the wonderful versatility of thought and language—the sudden, and yet connected transitions from divine subjects to the most amusing trifles. We would often have, in half-an-hour, quotations from Job, David, Augustin, Byron, Moore, Shakspeare, and Swift—in a word, hours would seem moments in his company. One favorite exercise of his amazing intellect, and clear reasoning powers, and tact of persuasion, was to argue in favour of any proposition till all his hearers agreed that it was the most desirable thing that could be; whereupon he would begin to argue against the conclusion, and as he went, we would all go with him, and end by restoring the question to its original doubtful position."

This was one of the very rare occasions on which the Bishop entertained female guests at Old Derrig. He assembled a few friends to meet them, and St. Paul's model Bishop could not have dispensed more kindly hospitality. A pleasant evening was passed. Dr. Doyle at length retired to his chamber, and being greatly fatigued, he went to bed, but did not like to go asleep until he should have read some chapters of the "Imitation of Christ," by Thomas à Kempis. Whilst engaged in this way, sleep weighed down his eyelids, his hand fell, the book dropped, and in doing so overturned the candlestick. In a moment the bed-curtains were one sheet of flame. The Rev. Mr. Maher having heard a cry, rushed up stairs, and found the Bishop standing in the midst of the fire, endeavouring to extinguish it. Mr. Maher pulled down the flaming curtains of the bed, and flung them on the floor. The Bishop, with that indomitable impulsiveness and contempt of all personal pain or inconvenience which formed a striking feature in his character, rushed at the flaming mass, and although barefooted and barelegged, stamped upon it with such vigour and promptitude that the devouring element became extinguished; but the Bishop's legs were burned sadly. It was not until long after, that he ceased to experience great bodily pain from the burns. His hands, too, were scorched and inflamed to such an extent, that it was found impossible to withdraw the episcopal ring with a view to proper surgical treatment. As the bed had been inundated in attempting to put out the fire, the kind curate led him to and placed him in his own chamber and couch. "I charge you," said Dr. Doyle, half jocosely, "to keep this matter private. The report would soon spread through this censorious town that the Bishop had

company, went to bed tipsy, and set his room on fire!" The good Bishop, though he must have suffered a little hell of agony, kept up appearances unflinchingly, and zealously discharged next day as much professional duty as though nothing had happened.

Dr. Doyle's remark to his curate was a shrewd one. Thomas Furlong, writing in 1825, states: "Carlow is a thriving place, and not an unpleasant spot for the passing residence of a mere idler. It possesses its portion of *old maids*, of tea-drinking devotees, of *scandal-mongers*, grave-looking politicians, clerical meddlers, and *professional gossips*. These nuisances, however, affect a mere sojourner but slightly: he is prepared for a reasonable mixture of the disagreeable and the delightful. If he is wise, he will endeavour to imitate the bee, by trying to extract some sweets even from the midst of the poison which surrounds him."

"As my sister and I," writes Mariana, "were walking on the avenue, watching his return from Carlow to Old Derrig, a man with a paper in his hand approached the Bishop just as he rode in at the gateway. Dr. Doyle reined up his horse, and asked, 'Who are you, sir, and what is your business?' 'I am a tithe proctor,' replied the intruder. 'What! a tithe proctor! Your tribe is less worthy than those who traverse the field of battle to despoil the dead. Begone, villain!' The man fled as if from a troop of dragoons, and I understand that none of his calling again appeared at Old Derrig."

Dr. Doyle hated tithes as ardently as he loved truth and justice, and for many years previous to the adjustment of that irritating impost, he laboured publicly and privately to awaken a wide-spread feeling of prejudice against it. In a letter addressed to the Marquis Wellesley he says: "I might, my Lord, refer to Greece, oppressed and insulted by the Mussulman—to Egypt and the coast of Africa, trampled upon by the Janissary and Mameluke—to South America, enslaved by the proud Castilian—to Hindostan, under the sway of Hastings—and to Poland, partitioned and plundered by the tyrant of the north, and challenge these countries, or any person on their behalf, to produce a case of more bitter, grinding, and insulting injustice, than to compel the Catholics of this country to pay the tithe of their substance to a Church which, for three centuries, has not ceased to malign and persecute them! Can heaven, my Lord, witness, or the earth endure, anything more opposed to piety and justice than a man, professing to be the minister of Him 'who, being rich, became poor for our sake'—the teacher of His gospel, the follower of His law—taking the blanket from the bed of sickness, the ragged apparel from the limbs of the pauper, and selling it by auction for the payment of tithe? Who with patience can hear or behold the

hundreds of starving peasants assembled before the seat of justice (O Justice, how thy name is profaned!) to await the decrees of some heartless lawyer, consigning their persons (for property they have scarcely what deserves the name) to ruin or imprisonment for arrears of tithe? In this group of harassed, hungry, and afflicted paupers, you, my Lord, could recognise the widowed mother and the orphan child—the naked youth, whom individual charity had just clothed; and the common mendicant, whose cabin and rood of earth could not supply with food and shelter for one half of the year. But to view this assemblage of human misery which I so often have beheld, and reflect that, perhaps, a moiety of them were the very objects for whose relief or comfort tithes were consigned by our fathers to clerical trust—that these paupers were the legal claimants on the funds now extorted from them under the very colour of law; to consider all this, and that the religion of him who claimed this tithe was a religion unknown to them—that the priest who fleeced them never prayed with them, never consoled them, never ministered for them to Almighty God; to reflect on all this and yet be silent or unmoved, should not be expected, unless of some atheist whose god was his belly, or of some fanatic whose heart was hardened, and whose sense was reprobate. These are the exhibitions, my Lord, which I have seen and touched, and which led me, as they have led the best men that Ireland ever saw, not to conspire against tithes, but to denounce them as unjust in principle, destructive of true religion, and subversive of the peace and happiness of our native land. Some man whose ancestor was a groom, perhaps, or a footman to one of the Henrys or Edwards, and who, raised by the vicissitudes of human things to a place of dignity or power, may look with alarm at the unveiling of these abominations—he may fear and hate those who expose them, and hold them up as sowers of sedition, and conspirators against the abettors of inveterate abuse; but, my Lord, he is unworthy of the respect of men or the favours of heaven, who would be deterred by such considerations from proclaiming the wrongs and the sufferings of the poor—from 'declaring to Israel her crimes, and her sins to the house of Juda.' It is not imputations that can subdue the spirit of a man. Let his principles be examined, his assertions investigated, his arguments replied to; but let not the *argumentum ad magnates* be employed as the only confutation of his doctrine. Of what avail is it to stifle opinion by alarming power—by an appeal to privilege—by threats of prosecution? Power may incarcerate the body, but cannot imprison the mind."

There was an ignorance, vulgarity, and miserable cupidity not unfrequently mixed up with the despotism of the tithe system,

which, if possible, increased Dr. Doyle's sentiments of disgust in its regard. It will hardly be credited, now-a-days, that the following is a *verbatim* copy of an original notice of a sale for payment of tithes, which, at the present period of our narrative, was posted in the market-place of Ballymore :

"To be *soaled* by *Publick* Cant in the town of Ballymore on 15 Inst one *Cowe* the property of Jas Scully one new bed and one gown the property of John quinn seven hanks of *yearn* the property of the Widow Scott one *petty coate* & one apron the property of the Widow Gallaher seized under & by virtue of a *leusing* warrant for tythe due the Revd. John Ugher.

"Dated this 12 day of May 1824."

O'Connell, at one of the meetings of the Catholic Association in 1824, after adverting to the necessity for establishing poor-rates in Ireland, said : "There were at this moment, in the town of Carlow, *two hundred men seeking employment* at twopence per day, and who, but for the exertions of the Catholic clergy and Dr. Doyle, would have ere now perished from famine, leaving numerous families to share the same horrible fate. Yet in this neighbourhood, where there are but thirteen Protestant families, and a church capable of affording accommodation to thirty times the number, they are about erecting a new one, towards which the famishing peasant, when his potato-garden yields a return to his laborious toil, must contribute."

CHAPTER XII.

J. K. L. is assailed by pens whose name is legion—His incognito is lost—He dashes through his adversaries—Note to Dr. Donovan—Catholic Bishops in the House of Peers!—Erasmus and the Nervous System—"Doctors differ"—Blasphemy and Idolatry—Transubstantiation—The Church of Ireland never independent of the Pope—"The Fudge Family"—Sheil's description of Dr. Doyle—Sketch of the Rev. Dr. Phelan—Fearful Destitution in Carlow—Dr. Doyle's efforts to stem the fury of famine—He rescues a Physician from legal Execution—Illustrative reminiscences contributed by the Very Rev. Dr. Cahill.

"THE adversaries of a good cause," observes Goethe, "remind us of men who strike at the coals of a large fire. They scatter the coals and propagate the fire." A perfect avalanche of heavy rejoinders fell upon Dr. Doyle's "Vindication of the Civil and Religious Principles of the Irish Catholics;" but, like those who seeking to prove too much prove nothing, instead of crushing him beneath their weight, the allied retort merely acted as a sti-

mulus in provoking J. K. L. to make a second and more vigorous bound.

To enumerate in detail the various replies to his "Vindication," would prove a tedious task. Many of them may be found noticed in *The Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxi., pp. 491-2. Dr. Doyle paused until a sufficient number of adversaries had assembled, and then dashed his pen steadily through the literary phalanx. The Rev. Dr. Phelan, under the pseudonyme of "Declan," was one of the first to enter the lists; and he and "Walsingham" had no sooner done so, than a friend of the Bishop's urged him to expose, without further delay, some ingenious special pleading which characterised their writings. "Not yet," said Dr. Doyle, "they are the mere vanguard; when more foes advance I will club them together, and make one *brochure* answer all."

It had been by no means generally known at first, that "J. K. L." implied "James, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin," and considerable curiosity was awakened on the subject. Many persons imagined that they were not veritable initials, but a capricious selection of three consecutive letters from the alphabet. This seemed the more likely, as "X. Y. Z." was the not unfrequent signature of a pen which loved to impugn Catholic doctrine. It is said that Dr. Doyle's incognito ceased from the day that Richard Coyne, his publisher, entered Cumming's printing-office in Temple-lane, and, indignant that greater expedition was not used in getting Dr. Doyle's Letters out of hand, declared, with an oath much longer than himself, that Cumming had only children on the *Bishop's* work.

Early in 1824 appeared "A Defence, by J. K. L., of his Vindication of the Civil and Religious Principles of the Irish Catholics." It is an elaborate pamphlet, embracing a wide range of illustration and proof, written rapidly, but with a nervous eloquence, and in bulk not inferior to one of the largest Quarterly Reviews. The composition of this defence had been beset with frequent interruptions. Writing to the Rev. Dr. Donovan he says: "From illness, a loss which I have just sustained, as well as my being obliged to attend the examinations here daily, I will be unable to prepare the MS. for Coyne at the time I mentioned. Meanwhile, if you thought well of giving a "Clericus" to Sullivan, and another to "Declan," in *The Evening Post*, you would oblige me; nor would that injure any future effort you or I might make."

Referring to his various literary opponents, J. K. L. said: "Of these lucubrations, some are interesting for the science, the ingenuity, the taste, the eloquence, the piety or enthusiasm which

they display; but the greater part are coarse and vulgar, nauseous and unclean, filled with ribaldry and irreligion."

"As to the personal abuse," wrote J. K. L., "which has been profusely lavished upon myself, I submit to it, if not cheerfully, at least with resignation; and if, *en passant*, I should drop a line of exculpation or complaint, I engage it to be short. When I undertook to vindicate the principles of the Irish Catholics, I did not suppose that I could labour to stem the torrent of abuse which threatened to overwhelm them, without affording to the captious and malevolent new subjects of obloquy, new topics for vituperative declamation; but as no reasonable man courts detraction, yet should it follow on the discharge of his duty, he opposes himself to it 'as a pillar of iron or a wall of brass.' On this principle it was that I felt regardless of every personal inconvenience which might result from the publication of my thoughts, provided I could but merit the attention of the most noble the Chief Governor of Ireland, and direct the minds of those who are deeply interested in her welfare to the contemplation of her present wants and sufferings, as well of the sources from which they spring. I could have suppressed or disguised in my letter those sentiments which were most likely to provoke the hostility of faction, and whilst I touched its core, I was fully sensible of the aphorism of the poet, '*incedo per ignes suppositos cineri doloso*.' But their hostility had already been pushed to an extreme; the late exposure of them in Parliament had only rendered their hate more unrelenting, and it became necessary to exhibit them in their true position, before they could succeed in merging themselves in the Protestant community, and poisoning the source of public virtue and national redemption."

Various were the charges sounded against Dr. Doyle and his brother Prelates. One opponent alleged that with the perverse spirit of a professional demagogue, J. K. L. would regret to see Emancipation conceded; while another argued that his ambitious aims only terminated in a seat in the House of Lords. It was a favourite piece of clap-trap with the Ascendancy, to declare that Emancipation would admit not only Catholic Members to the Commons, but Catholic Bishops to the House of Peers. "The decided opinion of this writer is," proceeded J. K. L., "'That the R. C. Prelates and the agitators would be seriously grieved, if the remaining remnant of the penal code was repealed.' He will allow me to disclaim the name of agitator, and to assure him I am not at all ambitious of that of patriot, though I think with Dr. Laurence that even a Priest has civil duties to fulfil; and that if, in the discharge of religious and civil duties conjoined, he can suc-

ceed in stating the case of his country, he should not shrink from any imputations which it may please the enemies of her happiness to cast upon her advocate; especially if he can reckon amongst the companions of his fortune such men, for instance, as those Catholics who, in Dublin, voted an address to the King at the conclusion of the last session of Parliament. As to the other part of the silly opinion quoted above, there is this advantage in it, that it acquits the Catholic Prelates of those ambitious views which a certain class of their opponents have not ceased to impute to them, and may, if adopted by the influential persons of the hostile party, induce them to labour for the abolition of the penal code, with a view of disappointing men who seem to be the objects of their peculiar hate."

J. K. L. having adduced a mass of well authenticated documents, in attestation of facts previously advanced, entered into a voluminous argumentative defence of miracles, which cannot well be examined here, but there is a piece of irony at the close of it too epigrammatic to be omitted: "The first argument of my opponent is one '*ad Verecundiam*,' by which, screening himself under the shade of Dr. Cheyne and some other doctors' authority, he advances, almost in silence, to the never-ending topic of the nerves. O happy nerves! Were Erasmus now living, he would not select folly as a theme for his praise, and pass by the unspeakable and incomprehensible beauty and convenience of the nervous system. This system, which can kill and cure with equal facility, or administer relief to the dumb and hypochondriac; which can rescue life from the grasp of apoplexy, and say to him or her who has been bowed down with infirmity for years, 'Take up thy bed and walk!' *Le medicin malgre lui* of Moliere was unacquainted with it, or bleeding and hot water would not have been his only specifics."

J. K. L.'s illustration of the homely apothegm that "doctors differ" is also good: "The authority of physicians, upon such points as these, is good thus far that they are the best judges of the nature of disease in a certain patient, and may explain to us, should the matter be within the sphere of their knowledge, how or by what means a cure was effected; but to set up physicians as judges of matters with which their writings prove that they are very imperfectly acquainted, is not reasonable, even where they are all agreed in opinion; but when the subject is to them as abstruse and unknown as to any other member of the community; when we find them arrayed in divisions against each other—Dr. Mills (as has been offered to be proved on oath) differing from Dr. Cheyne, Dr. Sheridan opposed to Dr. Crampton, Dr. Magee (not the Archbishop, but a doctor of Medicine) to Dr. Pseufor,

Dr. Tuomy to Dr. Jacob, and Dr. Baddely for both sides of the question—I do confess I pay but little attention to their opinions on a subject, which the difference of their sentiments sufficiently proves they do not understand."

A writer vauntingly talked of "the Scriptural foundations of Protestant doctrine," while he impugned the Catholic Church in very offensive terms. J. K. L. went on to say: "How, Sir—permit me to ask—do you know what is Scripture or what is not, but from her; and who can judge of its sense, as Tertullian observes with Vincent of Lirins, and every man not swayed by some religious system, but she with whom the Scriptures and their interpretation and sense, the whole property, right, and title of them were originally deposited? Is it Manes you would invite to tell their meaning? or Arius, or Vigilantius, or Œcolampadius, who paraphrased them into a most ludicrous ritual, whereby to wed his wife? 'Prove the spirits,' saith John, 'for many false prophets have gone out into the world.' Ah! we know this truth well, and having proved them, we frequently expel them, before like wolves they clothe themselves in the lamb's skin; but whether we cast them from us or they depart, we say with the Apostle, 'they went out from us, because they were not of us, for if they were of us, they surely would have remained with us.'"

"Declan," one of the ablest of the writers who took Dr. Doyle to task, was next lashed on his most vulnerable point. He had apostatised from the Church of his fathers—but of this anon. "Transubstantiation, an absurd and blasphemous doctrine! Yes, and this writer has sworn on the Evangelists, or declared solemnly before heaven, not what he believed of us, but that our belief in transubstantiation and in the sacrifice of the Mass, our invocation of saints, &c., is blasphemous—nay, pure, unmixed idolatry. This writer, if formerly a Catholic, knew as well as I do, that such oath, when taken by him, was pure, unmixed perjury, and such declaration by him absurd and blasphemous. For however Protestants may reconcile these oaths and declarations to their conscience, from their ignorance of our tenets, no person educated in the Catholic faith can fail to know they are such as I have stated; for though the blessed Eucharist were in reality nothing else than bread and wine, this writer knows that we do not worship either, nor adore those things which appear to our sight and touch, but Christ who is invisible. If Christ be present, as we believe He is, our worship is just and righteous; if He be not, we are in error, and our adoration has no object in the sacrament. It may be said that the adoration must terminate somewhere, and so it does; it terminates in Christ—if not upon the altar, certainly in heaven; but in no case does it terminate in bread. . .

"What then is transubstantiation, but the presence of Christ's real body in the sacrament? and who, as Calvin said, can believe in the one, and yet deny the other? All there is mysterious and incomprehensible, as the confession of Augsburgh well expresses it. But is not Christianity all mysterious? A God, supreme and one, whose eternal wisdom or whose word remaining in him, yet proceeds abroad and founds the heavens; whilst the connecting love of both, abiding always with them, yet proceeds from them and gives to the creation all its ornament and virtue; as light and heat from the sun proceed with powers as wonderful as the great source from whence they flow. And this Word-made-flesh—this God-made-man—giving of his fulness to all who believe—is not this mysterious? And the atonement which he made for man, and the propitiation of that fault which Adam committed—is it not incomprehensible? And yet we believe, because we know that God has told it; and if he walked on earth, and was seen by men, and lived and died amongst us in that servile form which he took, and promised to bestow upon those whose feet he washed an earnest of his love—a bond of union for his people—a source of grace for his elect—a pledge of resurrection and of future glory—shall we disbelieve him because he said it was his body, not cut into particles, as the gross Capharnaites thought, but veiled as bread and wine, to nourish and exhilarate the soul?

"Can he who called the world out of nothing, or who moved on the abyss putting chaos into order, who slept in Bethlehem, was numbered among the wicked, who bled between two thieves, whilst all the host of heaven worshipped him above—can he not take his place within the breast of man and disseminate his virtues through the soul, as the diamond sheds its lustre in obscurity? Surely he can, nor does he here deceive our sense, for he has told us he would be with us; and as we believe 'God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself,' though we could only see or touch the form of man in which he was; so when he says, 'This is my body,' we can believe the truth of what he says, just as we could believe that he was hidden on the cross. For surely that Deity who could conceal himself can also ravish from our eyes the glorious and impassible flesh, which in heaven or earth is always with him, and partaking, as far as it is capable, of his glory. This flesh does not corrupt in us, or feel vicissitude or change, but when the veil which covered it is dissolved, it then departs with that divinity and soul of Christ from which it never was disjoined. Wonderful and incomprehensible, if is true—yet only like the other mysteries of Christian faith!"

These remarks were succeeded by a touching and learned disquisition on the Mass.

The effect of some of J. K. L.'s quiet replies to the sophistry and new-fangled theological positions of "Declan" was striking. "We, theologians of the old school, are not accustomed to reason so," the Bishop would say. Having convicted his opponent of some theological misquotation, and turned the laugh against him by declaring, in the language of "a monkish author," that "Declan" had compelled him for his sins to write, Dr. Doyle gave full rein to his pen on the subject of church property, tithes, the falsity of their alleged divine right, the necessity of uniting tradition in the interpretation of Holy Writ, the propriety of observing a dead language in the celebration of Mass, with other controverted points and questions. He proceeded: "Human pride and petulance may repine and say that faith, like chemistry, might be improved by experiments, but we will believe, notwithstanding, that it admits neither of diminution nor increase, and was just as perfect when first established as at this hour, however sects may have served to unfold its tenets, or caused them to be published in councils or decrees. This faith may be good or bad with us, but if bad, the fault is not ours, but His who promised to be with us to the end: 'Lo, I am with you to the end of the world.' If His spirit has suffered the Church to err, we err with God, or our malice has forced him to withdraw and break his promise before the consummation came."

A considerable portion of the remainder of the book was occupied by a close yet comprehensive discussion on the ecclesiastical history of Ireland. Its long-existent devotion to the Holy See was adverted to by J. K. L. for the purpose of disturbing a position taken up by "Declan." The spirit of subordination to the mother and mistress of all Churches had never ceased in Ireland: "Whether by the purity of her faith, or by the correction of her errors in discipline, Ireland has uniformly proved her union with and subjection to that Rock on which Christ founded His Church, and from which alone flowed that fountain of living waters whereby this once Pagan hemisphere was cleansed from heathenism."

Dr. Doyle declared his conviction that St. Patrick had been at Rome, and received his mission from Pope Celestine; that "the Church of Ireland had never at any period been independent of the Holy See, however the intercourse between it and Rome may have occasionally been interrupted; and lastly, this Church is almost the only national Church in the universe that has never given birth to heresy or been torn by schism, while it has produced a greater number of holy and apostolic men than any other Church equally numerous upon the face of the earth—Rome, the mother and mistress of all Churches, not included in any comparison. The person, therefore, who would impugn the apostolic character of our

Church by such arguments as those used or insinuated by 'Declan,' either labours to sustain a bad cause by flimsy expedients, or shows that he is entirely unacquainted with ancient Church discipline.

"Communion between the head and members of the mystic body of Christ was at all times equally essential to Christianity: the modes of this communion have been as various as the customs of the several ages through which it has subsisted. But to infer that because Catholic discipline in this respect was not the same at a period when as many months would be necessary for strangers to hold communication with Rome as are now required of days, is to make our selfish and contracted notions the rule of what was just, useful, and becoming at all times for the great empire of Christ. It reminds me of the many members of the "Fudge Family" whom I met with from time to time upon the Continent, who were shocked at the bad taste of those who could prefer a French *ragout* or a Spanish *oleo* to the beef and pudding of an English board. So accustomed is ignorance to make *home* the standard of excellence, and to stare with wonder, perhaps with contempt, at what appears strange only because it is unknown to some unfledged traveller or essayist."

"Declan" declared that "there was no disruption of continuity when the Catholic Clergy gave way to those of the Establishment."

"With both our hands we protest against the impudent assertion! The hierarchy of the Catholic Church, the entire body of the Catholic clergy has continued in Ireland, through every vicissitude, uninterrupted and unbroken; they have been dispossessed of temporalities which the state gave, and again took away, but they are always the same. Dr. Curtis has succeeded as regularly and canonically to Dowdall and Plunkett, as those did to Patrick and Malachy. There was no disruption of continuity, it is true; but it is equally true, that no two Catholic Prelates ever ruled the same Church, or ever sat in the same see with the same title. The Established Clergy may have a good title or not, but beyond all doubt they were never engrafted upon our stock—never succeeded to our places, which were not vacated—never inherited jurisdiction from our Church, and have no just claim to an identity with us, or continuity from our fathers, who held no communion with them!"

The reply of J. K. L. to "Declan" and his colleagues is too voluminous to quote very freely here. Sheil, writing in *The New Monthly Magazine* for April, 1824, gives, in one page, a racy epitome of it. Alluding to Dr. Doyle's "Address to the Ribbonmen," which Lord Plunket had pronounced to be a masterpiece

worthy of the eloquent and virtuous Fenelon, Sheil goes on to say: "It was calculated to be of equal service to the Government and the Established Church; but a hierarch of the dominant faith was untouched by its merits, and in one of his addresses, or as it was more correctly entitled, his *charge*, responded by a puerile and blundering insult upon the religion of a man whom he should have embraced as a brother, and might, in many points, have studied as a model. This unprovoked anathema, combined with the various exciting events that followed in rapid succession, roused Dr. Doyle to a vindication of his creed, and (a still more popular theme) to some elaborate and cutting retorts upon the most precious and vulnerable attribute of Irish orthodoxy—its temporalities. He has boldly denied the divinity of tithes, and has brought to bear a most provoking array of learning and logic upon their *Noli-me-tangere* pretensions. A deadly controversy has ensued and still rages. J. K. L. has been answered and denounced by sundry beneficed alphabetical characters, and tithe-loving anagrams—for these champions of the Church seem reluctant to commit their names—and deep and wide-spreading is the interest with which the combat is observed. Upon the merits of questions so entirely beside my pursuits I cannot venture to pronounce, but as far as the mere exhibition of wit, and knowledge, and controversial skill is concerned, it seems to me that J. K. L. has hitherto continued master of the field. 'You are a Jacobin and a Catholic,' cries the Rev. F. W. 'You are too fond of gold and silver,' retorts J. K. L. 'Would you plunder the Established Church of its vested comforts, you Papist?' exclaims T. Y. X. 'Would you drive a coach and six along the narrow path that leads to heaven?' rejoins the pertinacious J. K. L. 'Where are your authorities for your monstrous positions?' demands a third adversary, muffled up in an aboriginal Irish name turned inside out. 'I refer you (replies J. K. L., here evidently quite at home) to the Fathers, whom you clearly have never read, and in particular to St. Augustine, who wrote the book *De Doctrina Christiana*, which you have blunderingly attributed to Pope Gelasius, and which book contains no such passage as you have cited from it, the said passage being in another book, to wit, that against the Eutychian heresy, which, in the opinion of Baronius and M. Cano, was never written by Pope Gelasius; and for further illustrations of my views, *vide passim*, Erric, Prosper, D'Marea, Cardinal Lupus, Cervantes, and Fijo—if you know anything of Spanish—Illiricus, Vincent of Lirins, Pallivicini, Vigilantius, Œcolampadius, and *The Fudge Family*.' Here is a good six months' course of reading for J. K. L.'s biliteral and triliteral opponents, and the happy results will, no doubt, be communicated in due

season to the public. The profusion of erudition and contempt with which Dr. Doyle plies his adversaries, led me to imagine, before I saw him, that he must be a man of pompous and somewhat overbearing carriage, but his appearance and his manners (which are courteous and playful) have quite a different character. He is not more than forty years of age, and does not seem so much. He is indeed the most juvenile-looking prelate I ever saw. His smooth, round face and ruddy complexion, and his slender and pliant form, seem to belong rather to a young recruit of the Church than to one of its established dignitaries."

Dr. Doyle apologized to the public for having placed himself so prominently under their notice: "But when I see not only myself maligned or misrepresented (for that I could overlook), but my country and religion traduced or defamed, I am forced to lay aside personal considerations, rather than suffer pride, arrogance, and a spirit of oppression to bear down or overwhelm what is more dear to me than life."

Dr. Doyle's "Defence of his Vindication of the Religious and Civil Principles of the Irish Catholics" filled 120 pages, and passed through three editions. He took frequent occasion in this book to speak contemptuously of his adversary, "Declan;" but it may readily be supposed that if "The Case of the Church of Ireland Stated, in Reply to the Charges of J. K. L.," had not been penned with considerable ability, the Bishop would never have noticed it. Dr. Philpotts, Bishop of Exeter, speaking of Declan's book, says that it is "written with great eloquence, strength of argument, and historical research—with much of moderation, though it occasionally rises into a tone of manly indignation." The latter is a mild epithet for some hurtful remarks which "Declan" levelled at Dr. Doyle; but we prefer to notice the work on its literary claims to attention. "In point of purity of language and pretension to theological learning," observes Archbishop MacHale, "Declan's is unquestionably the most creditable production by which the Bishop has been combated. But when he reflects on the character of the foes among whom he is distinguished, his just discrimination will doubtless appreciate the value of the compliment."

Dr. Doyle having considered Declan's antagonism worthy of notice, it may not prove uninteresting to subjoin some particulars of the career of the late Rev. W. Phelan, D.D., M.A. Born in Clonmel, of humble Catholic parentage, he was placed at the school of a Protestant clergyman, not less distinguished for his scholarship than esteemed for his amiable and engaging manners. It was the wish of Phelan's father to place him at a later period at Maynooth, with a view to the Priesthood; but the old man

altogether forgot the aphorism which tells us that "as the twig is bent the tree will incline." In 1806, Phelan entered Trinity College, Dublin, as a sizar, and gave his name as a Protestant. The academic heads encouraged the talented young convert, and his progress, we are told, was rapid. His tutor, Dr. Wall, acted very kindly towards him, and placed his books, his counsel, and even his purse at Phelan's disposal. Having carried off premiums in almost every branch of study, Phelan at length obtained a scholarship, a degree, and a gold medal.

He had some amiable traits; and it is recorded by his biographer, Bishop Jebb, that in the course of his unflagging study, which often lasted from four o'clock, A.M., until ten at night, he met with frequent interruptions from the visits of fellow-students in search of friendly assistance. "Often," writes the Bishop, "with a shade before his weak eyes, his temples bathed in vinegar, and his mind engaged upon some difficult problem, has he cheerfully applied himself to remove the scientific difficulties—not of his pupils (that was a distinct duty to be performed at stated intervals), but of some junior friend." In Latin composition Phelan was strikingly distinguished. "Whole passages," exclaimed Dr. Wall, "might be taken from Phelan's writings, and, without risk of detection, inserted in the works of Cicero." Spurred by ambition and applause, Phelan now sat for a fellowship. His answering was good, but other candidates got the preference. Plunket advised him to study for the bar; but his patron, Dr. Magee, the subsequent Archbishop, urged him to remain at Alma Mater, where he soon took orders.

In 1816, he published a pamphlet on Bible Societies, and in the following year we find him obtaining a fellowship, through the influence mainly of Dr. Magee. Miss Stubbs, however, an accomplished girl, completely won the Priest's heart, and he declared that without her he could never hope for contentment. Phelan petitioned the crown that the statute forbidding fellows to marry might, in his case, be suspended. The application was unsuccessful; but he received the consoling assurance that the first vacant living should be his. The object of his ambition was accordingly relinquished for the object of his affection, in May, 1823. It is said that, influenced by the example of the famous convert to Protestantism, Dr. O'Beirne, who received in acknowledgment the Bishopric of Meath, Phelan at last aspired to wear the mitre. He gave renewed attention to the study of logic, theology, and religious controversy, and thus endeavoured to earn the patronage of those who dispense the wealth and honours of the Establishment.

Phelan now proceeded to the curacy of Keady, which the Primate had, in consideration of his claims, kept unfilled for some

time. It was while here that he published his book against Dr. Doyle, under the pseudonyme of "Declan." "It is somewhat singular," writes Dr. MacHale, "that this opponent of the ecclesiastical authority of Rome has assumed the name of one of her earliest missionaries to this country. Such is the charm of early impressions, that are retained with a devout attachment, in spite of the affectation of riper years." Phelan's clever reply to Dr. Doyle was not unappreciated by his patrons. In 1824, he received a living in Armagh worth £1500 a-year, with the appointment of Examinator at Ordinations and a doctor's degree.

Phelan did not become idle in his affluence. He continued to attack Popery, and especially Dr. Doyle. His thirst for metaphysical study also increased from this date. Intellectual toil, from long habit, had become a passion with him, and an over-tasked mind eventually sapped the strength of his constitution. A nervous, intermitting pulse alarmed the physicians. They implored of him to cease all mental effort; but Mr. Phelan replied, that if he abandoned his mind to the alarm which the doctors sounded, his dissolution should inevitably follow. Dr. Phelan's thirst for lore had become almost a mania. Every tome he drank in, and every new thought he gave birth to, tended to wither his existence, and, at the early age of forty-one, he dropped into the deep grave, which had so long been yawning for his body.

It was during the year 1824 that the peasantry of many parts of Ireland became a prey to terrible destitution. Dr. Doyle, writing to his niece, says: "Mrs. D—— has written to me for money, and given me such a picture of her sufferings as made me sick at heart. I wish we could make all these things concur to the salvation of our souls, and I pray God that he may preserve you in life to assist in relieving the miseries of your fellow-creatures. As for my part, my whole time and thoughts are now occupied with the distress of the poor, who are almost starving in hundreds about me, and extorting from me what is necessary for my own subsistence—but I cannot withhold it from them for my own sake.

"I hope to go down for a week or two, about the end of July, to see Ally, and endeavour to advise her upon the affairs of her family. There is nothing regarding myself worth communicating to you. Devereux will tell you that my health and spirits are as good as usual, notwithstanding all my difficulties. Tell your mother I still read Thomas à Kempis, and often think of her advice on that subject; and that though she may yet live to pray for the repose of my soul, I hope that whilst I am here it will be my chief concern—even before that of the Orangemen, who occupy some of my thoughts."

When his own purse was not large enough to meet the many requirements of his compassionate heart, the Bishop invariably endeavoured to make good the deficiency by private solicitation among his friends. At a dinner party given by the Rev. Dr. Yore in Dublin, at which fourteen Bishops were present. Dr. Doyle, as soon as the cloth had been removed, unfolded a tale of peculiar distress. A Catholic physician of Dublin had become a prey to sudden pecuniary embarrassment, and there was to have been next day an execution on his house. Dr. Doyle pleaded for him with such force and feeling that £94 were collected on the spot, and, it is hardly necessary to add, the execution was averted.

The eminent and accomplished divine, Dr. Cahill, in one of his valued communications to the author, feelingly alludes to the famine of 1824, and to the Bishop's herculean efforts to stem its fury:

"I think it was in the year 1824, the poor of the town of Carlow were reduced to the most deplorable distress, from a temporary suspension of the ordinary public employment, combined with a failure in the potato crop, and with the consequent scarcity and dearness of provision for the labouring classes.

"On this trying occasion Dr. Doyle gave to these poor not only what he had received from public munificence, and what he had procured from private personal entreaty—laboriously, unceasingly, imploringly exerted—but he also bestowed on them the very last shilling of his official income.

"It so happened at this time that his clothes (contrary to his usual habit) were painfully shabby, and his hat miserably worn. All those acquainted with his character were well aware that, so far from purchasing new clothes, he would not even wear them in this time of universal famine and starvation.

"It was by his own singular, personal efforts, that 2,000 persons were fed every day at the College, at the Convent, and at the public soup-kitchen. During this time his brother, the Rev. Peter Doyle, whom the Bishop always called 'good-natured, poor Peter,' came to see him, and observing the dress and the general appearance of the Bishop, was astonished to see his clothes so shabby, and he therefore begged to present him with £25 to get a new outfit. On the following day, when his brother had taken his leave, the Bishop laughingly said: 'Poor Peter is ashamed of me, and has given me £25 (as he said) to keep the life in me by warm clothing; but the poor fellow has done more than he fancied, as I shall, of course, give it to my poor on this day, and keep the life in hundreds of persons for many years yet to come. Whatever I am,' he continued, 'I am sure I am not the worse for having an

old coat and an old hat; I have a closer resemblance to all that was ever great, learned, and holy in the Church by these old rags, than dressed in the most gorgeous apparel;' and then bursting into a fit of loud laughter, 'I look,' he said, 'even more like our most brilliant poets in this threadbare coat, than decked out in costly finery.'

"Immediately after this visit of his brother, he came to the College one morning to breakfast, and having met the President and Professors, said: 'Gentlemen, you are each to give me five guineas for my poor. I myself shall sell, on this week, some silver tankards which I have received as presents. I shall dispose, also, of my gold watch, and I have already made arrangements to sell, to the Bishop of another diocess, some chalices which we do not want.' 'Oh! my Lord,' said one of the party at breakfast, 'surely you do not mean to *sell the chalices*.' 'Be assured, friend,' he replied, 'I will sell them, and all I have in the world beside, in the present necessity. Surely, sir, you would not have me to preserve the mere metal in which our Lord temporarily resides in His sacramental form, and let perish the living tabernacle, the faithful hearts of my own poor, suffering people, where He and the Holy Ghost permanently, cherishingly dwell, as their own dearly-loved habitation in this world of sin.'"

Dr. Doyle's friend would probably have been equally surprised if reminded that St. Brigid, patron of Kildare, whom the Bishop endeavoured in many things to imitate, gave as charity to the poor "some very valuable sacerdotal vestments, which used to be worn by the Bishop on the more solemn festivals."* A similar act is recorded of St. Ambrose, who disposed of some sacred utensils for the ransom of captives—a proceeding of which he maintains the propriety in his "Offices" (l. 2, c. 28), and which was imitated by St. Augustin, the father of Dr. Doyle's religious Order, as Possidius (c. 24) records.

* Lanigan's "Eccl. Hist. of Ireland," i. 406.

CHAPTER XIII.

Mr. North—Dr. Doyle refutes a calumny on the Catholic Priesthood—Penal days—A Bishop of Kildare resides in a shed built of mud—Dr. Doyle's appeal—Letters to Mariana—Good news arrives at Old Derrig—His Letter on the Union of the Churches—Correspondence regarding that project—Considerable sensation produced—John O'Driscoll—Alexander Knox—The Protestant Bishop of Limerick preaches from the altar of a Catholic Church—Deputations wait upon Dr. Doyle with a view to promote a Union of the Churches.

"I LOOK upon Mr. North," observes Mr. Curran, in his "Sketches of the Irish Bar," "to be in several respects a very interesting person. He is immediately so by the great respectability of his character and talents. He has won his way to a high station in a most precarious profession, and is cordially honoured by all who know him for the undeviating dignity and purity of his private life."

In March, 1824, Mr. North uttered an offensive aspersion on the Catholic priesthood, which, had it come from a man of less eminence, Dr. Doyle would probably not have noticed. The learned gentleman was a zealous supporter of the Biblical and Orange societies, and, greatly to the satisfaction of his constituents, he declared in Parliament, "that until the establishment of the Kildare-place Society in 1812, the Catholics of Ireland were involved in thick and palpable darkness, and that immoral and seditious books were generally used in the Catholic schools, with the tacit sanction or connivance of the Catholic priesthood."

The Catholic Association called upon the Bishops to furnish at once such facts and figures as would refute the somewhat humiliating accusation of Mr. North. Some interesting statistics, and evidence in the form of letters, were addressed to the Association, but the promptest and ablest came from Dr. Doyle. He assured the secretary that he had constant and close intercourse with persons of every rank throughout the four counties of his diocess, and he could affirm, from personal knowledge, that a vast majority of the people, without being indebted to the Kildare-place Society, were able, at least, to read, and enjoyed as high advantages of instruction in moral and religious duties as the inhabitants of any equal portion of the British dominions. "Old persons in the above-mentioned counties are generally but not universally illiterate; they have not been instructed in books, but their moral culture has not been neglected. The generation of men which is now passing away were gifted with principles of religious, moral, and social integrity, as marked, as strong, as ever distinguished a people. They had scarcely been liberated from the prison in

which they had been confined by the penal laws, when their native virtue, as well as their national character, appeared."

Dr. Doyle observed, that before charging the Irish priesthood with carelessness in promoting education, it should be remembered how few in number they had been when compared with the population—how multifarious their duties were, as arbiters in dispute, keepers of the peace, and ministers of a religion which required that they should be as attentive to the wants of each individual committed to them as though he were the sole object of their care. It was but yesterday since the Catholic clergy were tolerated in the exercise of their ministry. "The aged people, with whose ignorance they are reproached, were the sentinels and outposts of the station where they, in some glen or desert, used to celebrate the divine mysteries. To this day the old people relate the instances of persecution which occurred in their own time—not the traditions of their fathers, but what they themselves had seen and felt. Yet even then the clergy endeavoured to guard the embers of knowledge which the law sought to extinguish. In the glen or the cavern where they sojourned they taught the rudiments of learning. The Catholic Bishop of this diocess, in a shed built of mud and covered with rushes, on the verge of the Bog of Allen—the refuge of a man not inferior in mind or virtue to Fenelon—instructed youth with his own tongue, and shared with them the crust which he had first watered with the tears of his affliction." Dr. Doyle added, that when the Catholic clergy were permitted to live secure, they opened schools, and as soon as their places of worship had some more substantial roof than the arch of heaven, they were used as seminaries for the instruction of youth. These calumniated men had proceeded steadily in the discharge of their duty, and, without succour or support, succeeded, in the Diocess of Kildare, in removing "the thick and palpable darkness" created by a flagitious code of laws. Mr. North had imputed evils, not to the causes which produced them, but to the neglect of the Catholic clergy; "yet, when the trumpet shall sound, these men will arise, and come to judgment free of the guilt with which they are charged."

As to the improper books said to have been circulated with the tacit sanction of the priesthood, Dr. Doyle observed: "I believe Mr. North is totally incapable of conceiving or uttering so gross and unfounded a calumny. Such books as have been mentioned might have been introduced into some of the hedge-schools in Ireland, where no Priest could be found, except one moving in the solitude of the night, or the silence of the glen, in those eventful times when the population of Ireland was without form and void, and no spirit of order moving on its troubled surface—when revo-

lution after revolution, war after war, confiscations, robberies, and reprisals were the ordinary events of each succeeding year—when courts of equity were dens of thieves, and the laws of the country armed the father against the son, and the son against the father—when there was a Church without a religion, and some remnant of religion without a Church—when a banditti, such as now infest the Sierra Morena, shared in the general plunder, and drowned the recollection of the sufferings they endured and inflicted in riot and licentiousness—then, and afterwards, many books and rhymes, embodying the popular tales and suited to the deranged taste of a distracted people, were composed and circulated, and introduced too often into schools; but they were few in number—and to impute, in a direct or covert manner, their introduction or circulation to the neglect or connivance of the Catholic clergy is as foul a calumny as ever has been uttered.

"To this clergy the removal of these books, and the total suppression of them, are entirely owing, and that before the Kildare-place Society had any existence, and where no book or tract published by it has ever reached."

Dr. Doyle here enumerated a variety of moral and historical tracts in use throughout his diocess. The number of schools frequented almost exclusively by Catholics, and supported generally by the contributions of the parents of the children, was 246. With the support of some schools the clergy were almost exclusively burdened; "in others, not denominated 'free,' they pay privately for the children of the most indigent of their parishioners, thus sparing families the pain of exposing their distress, or leaving their little ones destitute of instruction."

The Bishop of Kildare in days of persecution, to whom Dr. Doyle so feelingly alludes in his letter, was the Right Rev. James O'Gallagher, appointed Bishop of Raphoe in 1721, and translated to Kildare in 1737. He published at Dublin, in 1735, seventeen Irish sermons. Shortly after the consecration of Dr. Doyle, he was accompanied on his visitation to the obscure village of Allen by the present Parish Priest of Kildare. "Do you see those wretched mud walls?" observed the latter. "They are the ruins of the episcopal palace of one of your predecessors, who there, in penal days, ate the bread of tribulation and drank the waters of adversity. Although an active labourer in the diocess, he was never without some pious youths in the house with him, whom he instructed in Greek, and Latin, and theology, previous to sending them to Paris for ordination. Thus did this good man, almost in sight of the gibbet, continue to keep up the scanty supply of pastors for the poor people of Kildare and Leighlin. His bones lie beneath yonder uninscribed grave." Dr. Doyle was visibly affected.

He remained silent for some time, and then broke into that splendid train of musing which appears in his letter from Allen, p. 231.

It was indeed a gratuitous charge to accuse the Catholic priesthood of hostility to education. The present venerable Bishop of Kilmore informs us that it was with extreme difficulty his father and other Wexford youths were enabled to acquire the simplest rudiments of education. In 1749, a Catholic set up a school in the ruined walls of an old castle, the seclusion of which, he vainly hoped, would have protected him and his little flock of pupils from intrusion. The Protestant rector of the parish soon heard of it, and one day, at the head of a *posse* of peace-officers, dispersed it for ever. The Bishop's father was afterwards clandestinely instructed, in the dead of night, by an old uncle who had learned to read and write before the Treaty of Limerick.

If Dr. Doyle had never stooped to refute the charge of hostility to education which Mr. North had cast upon him, in common with all other ministers of the Catholic Church in Ireland, there is sufficient evidence existing among his papers to disprove triumphantly the base assertion. No one knows this better than the writer of these pages. When Dr. Doyle found that he could no longer feel himself justified in accepting educational aid through the Kildare-place Society, he opened separate schools for the children of his flock, and energetically pleaded in person for such pecuniary assistance as would enable him to keep them open. We find among his papers the rough draughts of several appeals of this character. He spared no pains upon them, for he well knew that an adequate response depended almost entirely on their impressiveness. We select the following unpublished fragment from a mass of others:

"In our days there is a zeal unprecedented for the education of youth, but it is more for the education of the mind than of the heart—for education in mere letters, rather than the education of youth in the principles of morality and faith, which St. Paul calls the discipline and chastening of the Lord. We have heard with our own ears, and seen with our own eyes, and touched with our hands a system of education adopted in this, a Christian country, and grounded upon a principle of excluding *all* religious instruction, except that only to be derived from a source which—though pure, and holy, and true—has been, for the last two centuries, to our country, and to all the Christian world, fertile only in producing dissension, schisms, infidelity, and crime. They are only the unhappy circumstances of Ireland which could ever have led men, of pure intentions and unquestionable good will, to adopt or sanction a system of education opposed to the principles of Christianity, and the true interests of those for whose good it was

devised. What, my brethren, to exclude from the education of children the love and knowledge of their God—to nip the very bud of religion, and prevent it from sending forth its shoots into the mind, or exhaling its fragrance upon the heart! Were we combined for the destruction of the faith of Christ, and unable to effect our purpose by argument or opposition, what means could we resort to more efficacious than to exclude it from our schools—to prevent the tender child to lisp his prayer, and recite his creed, and learn the commands of his God from that master or mistress who is to him a parent, and a model, and an instructor in all things else he has to learn—to let his passions grow, and shoot, and bloom, and choke the little seed of virtue which has been scarcely planted, and still required to be watered in his heart—to cause him to hear the voice of God, inviting him to come and seek for wisdom, and partake of refreshment for his wearied soul—to cause him to hear this voice for the first time amidst the tumult of his passions, the noise of the world, and the seductive allurements of a wasting pleasure. Oh! how much to be lamented, how much to be apprehended from such a system of education! Have pity on our youth, O God, have pity on them; and, as you know that we, who have been instructed in religion from our earliest age, who are convinced of its truth, who are penetrated with its holiness, who have felt the force of its maxims, and loved its laws, are, notwithstanding, almost unable to trust the impetuosity of our passions, leave them not destitute in their tender age of that religious education, of those powerful succours you have vouchsafed to us! Let us at least, my brethren, endeavour to do what is the acceptable will of God with regard to those children. Let us educate them, but let it not be in mere learning which fills the mind with pride, and increases the capability of doing mischief, but let us educate them in the discipline and fear of the Lord. Let us prune the weeds from out the garden of the soul which Christ has enclosed—or rather let us not suffer them to grow within it. Let us keep the fountain clear which His blood has sealed, and not expose our holy religion to the danger of being polluted at its very source. Let us not suffer to go loose upon society the mere animal man, who, destitute of education, is like a savage; nor, again, give him instruction, that, as a fox tutored in low, cunning wiles and craft, he may steal upon our simplicity, trade upon our piety, or filch from us our property or good name. No, dearly beloved, let us attend to what is the acceptable will of God with regard to children, that they be brought up in His discipline and fear; and let us remember that it is He who being rich became poor for our sakes, who calls upon us by some sacrifice of what He gave us, to carry into effect this His holy and

acceptable will. Do—make this sacrifice of your worldly goods, my brethren, and you will obtain the light of heaven and the glory of the elect, for blessed are they who instruct others unto justice—they shall shine like stars for never-ending eternities. Do—make this sacrifice, my brethren, and you will be saved; for it is written—and the heavens and the earth will pass away, but these, His words, will not pass away—it is written, that he who does and teaches, as you this day can do by your alms-deeds, shall not only be saved, but shall even be called great in the kingdom of heaven."

It pleased the Almighty, who had so miraculously restored Catharine to health when her death was almost hourly expected, to visit her some months afterwards with a rheumatic attack of great violence. The following letter is addressed to her sister:

"Old Derrig, Carlow, 4th March, 1824.

"My dear Mariana—You will easily excuse my not having replied before now to your last kind letter, knowing, as you do, the infinite number of trifles which occupy my time. Amongst my other occupations yesterday, after praying most earnestly for my dear Catharine, I was engaged in writing to the good Prince Hohenlohe, as I supposed (should we be able to obtain it) that something more than *a place in the crowd* was necessary for her to obtain relief through his ministry or intercession. I am confident he will offer up a very fervent prayer for this dear unknown, and perhaps—should her patience not fail, and her sufferings continue—she may yet be effectually and permanently healed. I should be exceeding glad that the mercury, and your unvaried attentions and cares, anticipated the labours of the Prince, and enabled us to class his good offices for her with the many works of supererogation which he probably performs; but let *His* will be done on earth in our regard, as it is undoubtedly done in heaven, where all our interests are regulated by true wisdom and mercy. I suppose this dear child's spirits are sinking with her bodily strength, nor can cheerfulness well be compatible with an enervated frame and prolonged suffering. It is enough if she can preserve her equanimity and interior peace; the *esprit* which has hitherto generally attended her will return should her health improve, and if not, it is useless to herself; and you so well schooled in all that regards self-denial and privation can well bear with that loss. Should Providence remove her altogether, it is better that she should depart as it were by degrees, for the sudden removal of all that was and is estimable in her would be too much for our infirmity to bear. We should have mourned for every quality of her mind, and person, and manners, and wished

that she were released from pain, before we could, with becoming patience, bid her a last farewell. I think, indeed, we need not entertain such apprehensions; but I am sure, were they well-founded, it would be better she should be withdrawn gradually than in a sudden way. Tell her I am quite satisfied she should become grave and pensive, but not dejected; interior peace is not perfect unless it breaks forth occasionally in acts of ardent thanksgiving, and a lively and indescribable sort of joy. I am sorry that I have no prospect of seeing her shortly, but will not cease to remember her when it can be most useful to her, as well as most agreeable to myself. I hope the mercury may remove her pains, and that she will begin to recover strength; the weather, too, will be getting steadier and more warm, the flowers here will be blown, the fields and trees will have put on their rich new clothing, and the seat from which I write will acquire a renovating virtue; tell her all this, and let her hasten to accept of all these blessings, in exchange for her presence at Old Derrig. Here there will be no *Bushe** to stick its thorns—no mad religionist to vent his ravings. Ling from Rush, maccaroni from Naples, and some Attic salt imported by J. K. L., with whatever his dear child may add to the Lenten fare, will be the only *material* portion of the household stores. Of *spirits* indeed there will be a great variety—plain, rectified, and sublimated. I will myself engage to supply them, and only require of her to infuse some of those exquisite essences of hers, which will convert them all into liqueurs more exhilarating than the nectar of old Jove. Tell her I feel all her pains, and sympathize with all her sufferings, and that I commend her earnestly to God."

"Robertstown, 29th April, 1824.

"MY DEAR MARIANA—After straying through almost every part of this diocess like your last letter, I find myself here, in the midst of an immense hotel, through which all the elements are driving furiously, and having packed up my papers and finished about half a dozen letters, I folded my arms, and put myself to think on what I had next to do. Your letter, endorsed by the post-marks of the various towns, ending with Derrig or Derg, through which it had been missent, occurred to me as still waiting amongst others to be disposed of; and though my head is confused and my spirits exhausted, I am resolved to tell you, that I am strongly inclined to go up to Dublin to tell you some silly story by way of apology, for not replying to your letters; but as I may be obliged to take some other direction, it is necessary, I suppose, to inform you, that when your last note reached me I was

* The Rev. Mr. Bushe, M.A., a distinguished controversial preacher of the day.

just leaving home with an intention of seeing you before my return. Mr. Fitzgerald also, when leaving Carlow, promised to see you, to present you with my compliments, and to tell me, on his return, all the good news he could collect of you and of my dear Catharine. The favourable account you gave in your letter of the state of her health, lessened my anxiety about it, and increased my desire of seeing her should I be able to go to Dublin, and ascertain with my own eyes that improvement which I so anxiously wish for.

"From the exhausted state of my mind, I am unable to write you a very long letter. I am just going to dine at Mr. Dease's. I must remain in that neighbourhood until after Sunday, and whether I can go up to town before my return, is somewhat uncertain. If not, I shall be deprived of the pleasure of seeing my dear child until June next, when she may be so much restored as to come to cull the flowers at Old Derrig, which always droop in the absence of the Hermit, who unhappily is driven from them during the summer; but probably they might continue in bloom till his return, if only a genial breath fell upon them from the countenance of his friend, or a tear of sympathy for the absence of their solitary guardian. Tell her how much and how truly I rejoice at the prospect of her thorough recovery; bless the little, the good Sarah for her blessing to me, and with best respects to her who is blessed by you all—your mother—believe me always, dear Mariana, &c.

"✠ J. DOYLE."

The "solitary" occupant of Old Derrig was cheered, a few days later, by the following acceptable piece of political news. The writer was Sir Henry Parnell, afterwards Lord Congleton:

[*Private.*]

"89, Jermyn-street, 14th May, 1824.

"MY DEAR LORD—We have at last got a committee to inquire into the state of Ireland, and as Government have announced, by Mr. Peel, in the committee, that they will not restrict the inquiry in any way, and are ready to renew the committee next year, if thought necessary, it is of the greatest importance to obtain the evidence of persons competent to give a full account of the various sufferings and grievances of the people of Ireland. I therefore take the liberty of writing to you to request your assistance in making inquiries, so as to discover some proper witnesses to be summoned to attend the committee. The causes of the disturbances are the prominent object of inquiry, but in the two days we have sat, we have already gone into everything that is connected with every abuse and vexation which exists in Ireland. I con-

sider the Government, in giving way to an appointment of a committee, as a measure which may be considered as the forerunner of a complete change in the system of governing Ireland, and of a successful issue to the long-fought battle to carry Emancipation. There can be no doubt that public opinion here is very much changed, and that Government have felt they could no longer postpone a solemn and sincere investigation of the whole case of Ireland.—Believe me, &c.

"H. PARNELL."

There has been no portion of Dr. Doyle's life more constantly misunderstood, both by his friends and his foes, than the views he expressed in May, 1824, on the feasibility of uniting the Catholic and Protestant Churches. For this reason we shall devote somewhat more space to its consideration than to other public acts of the Bishop's life.

Christ, the inspired writers, and the Fathers have repeatedly preached that it is impossible any just necessity could exist for breaking the bond of Christian unity. "Holy Father," prayed our Saviour, "keep them in thy name whom thou hast given to me that they may be ONE, as you and I are one!" "Be careful," says the Apostle; "to preserve the unity of spirit in the bond of peace;" and again, "One body and one spirit, as you are called in one hope." "There shall be one flock and one shepherd" (*John*, x. 16); and (1 *Cor.* i. 10) "Now I beseech you, brethren, that you all speak the same thing, and that there be no schisms among you, but that you be perfect in the same mind and in the same judgment." "One God," exclaims the Apostle, "one faith, one baptism." St. Augustine has written an entire work on the vital necessity of unity in the Church. "God commanded to us union," he said, "to himself he reserved separation."

The earliest Councils of the Church, including those of Constantinople and Sardis, which Protestants unaffectedly reverence, reiterate the same sentiments. "Why are these contentions and schisms among you?" writes St. Clement, the coadjutor of the Apostles: "Have we not one God, and one Christ, and one Spirit, and one calling in Christ? Why do we divide and sever the members of Christ, and raise sedition against the body?" "Verily," writes Luther, "I must acknowledge much trouble cometh of my teaching. Yea, I cannot deny that this matter often maketh me sorrowful, when my conscience especially chideth me, in that I have torn asunder the former state of the Church, which was tranquil and peaceful under the Papacy, and excited much trouble, discord, and faction, by my teaching." (Op. tom. ii. pp. 281, 387.)

The broken unity of the Church afflicted Dr. Doyle exceed-

ingly; and from the days of his childhood many a fervent prayer ascended from his lips, that God would be pleased to reunite the divided Churches. "Should I live to witness its accomplishment," he once exclaimed, "I would say with Holy Simeon, 'Now, O Lord, dost thou dismiss thy servant in peace, since my eyes have seen thy salvation!'" Humbly following the example of him who came to gather together in *one* the children of God, who were dispersed (*John*, xvii. 11), the good Bishop, in 1824, essayed, with more benevolence than success, to re-cement the Church of England to the rock from which it had been hewn. It was in this spirit that St. Ignatius had sought to unite the Lutherans to the Catholic Church, St. Francis de Sales the Calvinists, Fenelon the Huguenots, and Bossuet the Protestants of Germany.

Dr. Doyle's love of his country was only exceeded by his love for God, and we find patriotic as well as charitable motives impelling him to undertake the delicate and difficult task in question.

The breast of Ireland was at this time torn with political and sectarian animosity. Early in May, 1824, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Robinson, afterwards Lord Ripon, on a motion of Mr. Hume relative to the Church Establishment, declared that he was anxious to see the Protestant and Catholic Churches re-united; and Dr. Doyle, glad to see a tendency in so influential a quarter to so desirable a reconciliation, addressed a letter to Mr. Robinson stating that his project of "uniting the Churches, which distract and divide us, would be the best mode of pacifying Ireland, and of consolidating the interests of the empire."

"A person well acquainted with Ireland," he went on to say, "would not find it difficult to show why the efforts lately made to better her condition have been fruitless, and why every benefit conferred on her by the legislature, or through the bounty of the English people, has had no corresponding effect. The whole frame of society amongst us is disorganised; and the distrust, apathy, fraud, jealousy, and contention which prevail universally, as they derange the public will and prevent the mutual co-operation of all classes, must necessarily preclude the country, whilst they continue, from deriving advantage from any partial measure, or emerging from its present depressed, if not degraded condition.

"This state of the public mind and feeling is unquestionably produced by the inequality of the laws, and still more immediately by the incessant collision and conflict of religious opinions."

These, and other statesmanlike views having been expressed by Dr. Doyle, he proceeded to declare that a reconciliation of the Churches would at once effect a total change in the dispositions of men, and bring all classes to co-operate zealously in promoting

the prosperity of Ireland, and in securing her allegiance to the British Throne.

"It is not difficult: for in the discussions and correspondence which occurred on this subject early in the last century, as well as that in which Archbishop Wake was engaged, as the others which were carried on between Bossuet and Leibnitz, it appeared that the points of agreement between the Churches were numerous, those on which the parties hesitated few, and apparently not the most important. The effort then made was not attended with success, but its failure was owing more to princes than to priests, more to state policy than to a difference of belief. But the same reasons which at that period disappointed the hopes of every good Christian in Europe would at present operate favourably. For what interests can England now have, which is opposed to such a union, and what nation or Church in the universe can have stronger motives for desiring it than Great Britain, if by it she could preserve her Church Establishment, perfect her internal policy, and secure her external dominion?

"In Ireland, I am confident that, notwithstanding the ferment which now prevails, a proposition such as you have made, if adopted by Government, would be heartily embraced. The clergy of the Establishment are unpopular, and they feel it: they are without flocks, and every professional man wishes for employment; their property is attacked, and even endangered; for the state has touched it, and the people have no respect for it. The Dissenters have encroached on them; and the Catholic Clergy have despoiled them, in many places, of their flocks. . . .

"The proprietors and capitalists in Ireland are affected at the prospect which lies before them, and are, if not blind to self-interest as well as dead to patriotism, anxious to establish peace and security amongst us. The Government has no interest in preserving disunion, unless for the purpose of securing its power; and should it find an honourable and safe substitute for so detestable and precarious a system, it would be blind and besotted if it did not embrace it.

"It may not become so humble an individual as I am to hint even at a plan for effecting so great a purpose as the union of Catholics and Protestants in one great family of Christians; but as the difficulty does not appear to me to be at all proportioned to the magnitude of the object to be attained, I would presume to state that if Protestant and Catholic divines of learning and a conciliatory character, were summoned by the Crown to ascertain the points of agreement and difference between the Churches, and that the result of their conferences were made the basis of a project to be treated on between the heads of the Church of Rome

and of England, the result might be more favourable than at present would be anticipated.

"The chief points to be discussed are the canon of the sacred Scriptures, faith, justification, the Mass, the sacraments, the authority of tradition, of councils, of the Pope; the celibacy of the Clergy, language of the liturgy, invocation of saints, respect for images, prayers for the dead."

Dr. Doyle added that the existing diversity of opinion arose, in some cases, from certain forms of words which admit of satisfactory explanation, or from the ignorance or misconceptions which ancient prejudice and ill-will produce and strengthen—"It is pride and points of honor which keep us divided on many subjects, not a love of Christian humility, charity, and truth."

That the Fathers of the Anglican Church threw off the authority of the successor of St. Peter, rather on the plea of distasteful points of discipline than any alleged irregularity of doctrine, may be gathered from the following recent remarks of Dr. Pusey: "The Reformers acknowledged the early ages of the Gospel its best interpreter—œcumenical councils as authoritative; they believed in the sacrifice of baptism—the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the holy Eucharist; they provided a form of absolution for penitents who specially confessed their sins; they believed in the value of good works done through the grace of Christ and by His Spirit; they believed that He would come again at the end of the world to judge both the quick and the dead, according to their works; they gave directions as to the days and seasons of fasting; they taught the value of almsgiving, of daily public prayer, of frequent communions, and so on." If Protestants hold the opinions which have been professed and inculcated by the Fathers of the Reformation, a reconciliation or re-union with the parent Church ought not to be regarded as impracticable. Judging by irrefragable evidence to which we shall presently appeal, it would seem that matters of discipline, which are of human and not of divine arrangement, constituted the original chief point of disagreement, and these it is always optional with the Catholic Church to modify or abrogate altogether. Dr. Doyle was of opinion, at this period, that the next General Council would make some changes of this character. Believing that to restore unity to the Church no individual sacrifice is too great, he was himself resolved, in the event of the Anglican Church exhibiting a friendly disposition, to meet it in a spirit of liberality and conciliation. "The Catholic clergy," he wrote, "would make every possible sacrifice to effect a union. I myself would most cheerfully, and without fee, pension, emolument, or hope, resign the office which I hold, if by doing so I could in any way contribute to the union

of my brethren and happiness of my country." But that he was an uncompromising churchman in matters of doctrine will be evident from his correspondence with Mr. Newenham, to which we will presently refer.

In Dr. Doyle's proposal to resign his office, for which he has been often harshly criticised by Catholic divines, he did no more than imitate the example of the zealous ecclesiastics who agreed at Carthage to resign their sees, in order to open a way for the Donatists to return to the ancient Church.

Dr. Doyle was familiar with the writings of the most eminent Protestant divines, and with such passages in his memory as those which we have transcribed and inserted in the Appendix (VIII.), it is not surprising that he should have regarded a reconciliation of the Churches as practicable. To this compilation of extracts, which possesses much interest, we beg to refer the reader. It will also serve to exonerate the good Bishop from the charge of having uttered "folly," when he declared that the points on which the Catholic and Anglican Churches agreed were many, and those on which they differed few.

Dr. Doyle's Letter on the Union of the Churches evoked a murmur of disapprobation from two quarters. Some extreme Catholic ecclesiastics regarded the letter as unworthy of a Prelate in communion with the Holy See, while many superficially read members of the laity condemned it, not on canonical grounds, but because they considered that the Protestant Church had always held opinions diametrically opposed to Catholic doctrine. Ignorant of the remarkable Anglican admissions and declarations to which we request the reader's attention in the Appendix (VIII.), they pronounced Dr. Doyle's proposal as idle and visionary. Such critics would seem to have been unacquainted with the historical fact recorded in the "Bibliothèque de l'Europe" for 1730, that the discussions between Archbishop Wake on the part of the Anglican Church, and several doctors of Sorbonne on that of France, led to some amicable arrangements on previously disputed points, and would probably, if persevered in, have effected a total accommodation, had not the civil powers thwarted the project. Dr. Wake filled the influential position of Primate of all England, and the tone of many of his ecclesiastical writings may be gathered from this short extract: "We exhort men, if they have any the least doubt or scruple,—nay, sometimes though they have none—but especially before they receive the holy Sacrament, to confess their sins. We propose to them the benefit not only of ghostly advice how to manage their repentance, but of absolution too, as soon as they shall have completed it."

With respect to the disapprobation which some Catholic divines

have occasionally levelled at Dr. Doyle for having made the advance to a reconciliation of the Churches, this feeling would probably soften were they reminded of the fact recorded in Clarendon's State Papers, that, in 1634, the Holy See itself despatched Father Leander to England for the purpose of procuring accurate information respecting the state of the Established Church, with a view to the effectuation of a reunion, if at all practicable. The Nuncio's report goes on to say that the Anglican Church retains a perfect external appearance of the Catholic Hierarchy, having Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Chapters of Canons, &c., while its form of conferring orders very nearly agrees with that prescribed by the Roman Pontifical. "It preserves, also," he adds, "the clerical habits and gowns, the pastoral crook and copes, the ancient temples, parishes, and colleges. In the greater number of the articles of faith, the English Protestants are truly orthodox—as on the sublime mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, on the economy of the redemption of men, and satisfaction; through the whole almost of the controversies respecting predestination, grace, and free will, the necessity and merit of good works, and the other articles of the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian Creeds, and in the four first General Councils." Panzani, a second Papal envoy, found the most eminent of the Anglican churchmen almost enthusiastically in favour of a reunion. "The Bishop of Chichester," writes Dr. Lingard, "conversed thrice with the Italian on the subject, and assured him that the English Clergy would not refuse to the Pope a supremacy purely spiritual, such as was admitted by the French Catholics; that among the Prelates three only would object; and that Laud, though he was too timid to commit himself by any open avowal, was in reality desirous of such a union." That the Court of England had a strong Catholic bias at this period is evident from the fact, that applications were unsuccessfully urged to Pope Urban by the British Ambassador to bestow a cardinal's hat upon Primate Laud, whose views would seem to have culminated to a point of almost Roman orthodoxy.

It may be added that Clement XIV., one of the most enlightened Popes who ever wore a tiara, heartily desired and personally laboured to effect a union of the Churches. And it is a remarkable fact that the present Pontiff, Pius IX., not only expressly sanctioned, in 1853, the establishment of a society at Rome for the reunion of the unhappily divided Churches, but exhibited a singular interest in the good work, by allowing to issue from the Papal press a book from the pen of the learned Greek Pitzipios, exclusively devoted to the discussion and advocacy of this great question. He tells us that a remarkable conference was held at

Berlin in 1854, consisting "of members of the two separated Churches—that is, the Greek and the Latin—and of the Protestant bodies," and after an elaborate examination and discussion of the question, "they came to the unanimous conviction that the reunion of Christendom was feasible!" "Such dispositions," adds Pitzipios, "spontaneously expressed by all the different Christian bodies of so many countries, is surely an overwhelming evidence that the hour has come for the restoration of unity in the Church of Christ, and that its accomplishment is to be the special work of our own times!" The remarkable work of Pitzipios has been published at the expense of the College *de Propagandâ Fide*, and is approved by the highest ecclesiastical authorities in Rome.

Dr. Doyle threw off his letter to Mr. Robinson in great haste, and we fear that it has hitherto not been generally understood. We have endeavoured to supply its deficiency, by adducing, both here and in the Appendix, an amount of illustrative historical matter perhaps disproportioned in extent to other details of as much or greater importance. But this particular period of Dr. Doyle's life requires explanation; and, as explanation is vindication in the present instance, we are sure no admirer of that good man's character will quarrel with us for having entered into it.

Had the same peculiar religious opinions prevailed in 1824 which have, of late years, characterized the Anglican Church, a louder and more cordial response would doubtless have been given to Dr. Doyle's overture. A revolution in the religious mind of England may be said to date from the movement made in 1833 by some learned men of Oxford, who, in a series of writings, have absolutely advocated every dogma of the Catholic faith, with a zeal and erudition which Milner himself could hardly have surpassed. The very title of the newspaper organ of this powerful segment of religious opinion—*The Union*—shows, apart from all other evidence, an unmistakable desire to become re-united to the Rock of Peter; and it is a significant fact that *The Church and State Gazette*, once the champion of English Protestantism, has merged into this very *Union*.*

* *The Dublin Review* for March, 1857, subjects *The Union* newspaper to a critical examination: "It is simply, and unequivocally, and even emphatically *Roman Catholic*. It writes altogether in a Catholic sense and a Catholic spirit. It manifests absolutely (as far as we can see) no difference with us in matters of doctrine. It professes the warmest and most unqualified admiration of all our religious institutions, and makes no scruple of contrasting their efficiency and pliability, as well as the zeal of our ecclesiastical functionaries, with the intractable materials and the stereotyped forms of the Established system. It assigns to our Bishops and dignitaries their proper ecclesiastical titles with an almost ostentatious punctiliousness. It chronicles our ceremonies, and other events of our religion, in the civilest terms and most unimpeachable phraseology. Its Roman correspondence is all that can be desired. It sympathizes even with the more advanced developments of the Roman

Unfortunately, however, this extraordinary religious revolution in the Anglican mind had not commenced when Dr. Doyle wrote. Protestant views were in an exceedingly unsettled state. No unanimity prevailed, except in the cry of "No Popery," which the energetic struggle for Catholic Emancipation and, as it was feared, Catholic ascendancy, and the implacable hostility of Catholics to the Church Establishment, daily served to stimulate. The Biblical fever was at its height, and sect after sect, in its wild and unregulated interpretation of the Sacred Volume, split from the Royal Church.

Dr. Doyle's intercourse with Protestants had been always limited, and his knowledge of their principles was derived, almost exclusively, from books. The young Bishop, however, was not long in discovering that the tenets of Protestantism as they appeared on paper, were not identical with those privately held—in 1824, at least—by the general body of the Church of England; and, although a large portion of that Church adhered true to its fundamental principles, he soon found that a much larger segment had totally lost sight of them. Dr. Doyle's letter nevertheless excited considerable attention. The late Mr. Newenham of Gloucester was greatly struck by it, and wrote to several parties with a view to promote so desirable a consummation. Mr. O'Driscoll, the learned author of "Views of Ireland," thus writes to Mr. Newenham on the 10th of June, 1824: "I have just received your letter with its enclosure from Lord Lansdowne, which I shall forward to-day to Dr. Doyle. I cannot help congratulating you and the country on that letter, which I consider as most important. . . . . The chief difficulties would be on the side of the Establishment; but I do not consider these unconquerable if the Government should enter into the scheme, as I think it would. I had almost despaired when I found that Dr. Doyle was met, on the Protestant side, in no good spirit." The late Alexander Knox, whom Lord Macaulay pronounced to be "a remarkable man," was also communicated with on the subject. His opinion of the project was not favourable. "I am obliged to say," he writes, "after all the consideration of which I am capable, that, in my judgment, no other union between the Church of England and that of Rome is possible, but such as would involve a complete re-subjugation of the former to the latter. I cannot doubt that Dr. Doyle knows this well. . . . I know that attempts of this nature have once and again been made, and I question not that the general intention was good on both sides; but I must

spirit in England, and is remarkably free from that merely artistic and technical view of Catholicity, which hitherto has been almost the only shape in which such leanings have displayed themselves."

leave to Dr. Doyle himself to say whether the specific object, on the Roman Catholic side, was anything else than, by circumstantial concessions to obtain substantial submission to the Church of Rome? I have read with attention Bausset's account of Bossuet's correspondence with the Lutheran Abbot, Molanus (which was terminated by Leibnitz); and I cannot think that any other purpose appears in Bossuet's part of that abortive negotiation."

The Rev. James Jackson, M.A., Vicar of Armagh, devoted a volume of 400 pages to a discussion of "The Two Main Questions in Controversy between the Churches of England and Rome," with reference to Dr. Doyle's letter on the practicability of a reunion; and Dr. Magee, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, in his celebrated charge to the clergy, three years subsequently, also noticed at some length this letter to Mr. Robinson. Among other eminent Protestant divines who seemed struck by it was the late accomplished Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. Dr. Sadlier sought an interview with Archbishop Murray, and declared himself most anxious for a reconciliation of the Churches. "I fear it is not easy," said Dr. Murray; "we have seven sacraments, while you have only two." "Ah," replied Dr. Sadlier, "that would be the least difficulty."

From Mr. Newenham's letter to Dr. Doyle, which was very lengthy, we cull the salient points:

"Gloucester, 7th June, 1824.

"My Lord—The promptness and alacrity with which your Lordship appears to have concurred in Mr. Robinson's project of uniting the Churches of England and Rome, certainly indicate no ordinary perspicacity, penetration, and foresight on the part of your Lordship.

I frankly confess, my Lord, that when my attention was first directed to that project by your Lordship's letter, which appeared in *The Morning Chronicle* of the 18th of last month, I regarded it as puerile, visionary, vain, and impracticable. Candour, however, now compels me to acknowledge that a deliberate examination of it, in various points of view, has since occasioned a complete change of my opinion, and furnished me with abundant reason for admiring your Lordship's ready anticipation of its beneficial tendencies, and your instantaneous perception of those diversified existing circumstances, connected with religion, both in the United Kingdom and throughout Europe, which are demonstrably propitious to its accomplishment, in an unprecedented degree. . .

That the project in question would at first be vehemently opposed by a mixed multitude of persons, seems extremely probable; but I have ground for entertaining a persuasion that that

opposition might gradually be completely overcome, and I am quite sure that the attempt to overcome it is well worth making, and ought not to be postponed.

"Suppose your Lordship and one of the Vicars Apostolic of England were to select ten of the more learned, pious, liberal-minded, and benevolent Divines of your Church, resembling, in most respects, Pascal and Quesnel, and differing, in most respects, from Laynez and Bellarmin, and an equally favourable selection of the same number of Divines were made from among the Clergy of the Established Church by those truly venerable Prelates, the Bishops of Limerick and Lichfield*; and suppose the Divines thus selected were to confer with each other, either personally or through the medium of letters, and conjointly ascertain from the sacred Scriptures, the decrees of general councils, ecclesiastical history, and the writings of the Fathers, from Clemens Romanus in the first, to Vincentius Lerinensis in the fifth century (as Messrs. Berrington and Kirke undertook to do with the view of supporting the Church of Rome), what the essential doctrines of Christianity really are—what dogmata were received, *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*, during the first five centuries; and what were the more prevalent rites, ceremonies, usages, and matters of discipline in the Greek and Latin Churches anterior to the sixth; and suppose the results of those conferences were promulgated in the shape of articles of primary importance and obligation, and peculiarly worthy of adoption or retention, and fit to furnish the groundwork of a new Catechism—I really am prone to believe that a vast many solicitous, humble Christians, of both the Churches of England and Rome would assent to them without any hesitation. For my own part, though not a little scrupulous on the subject of religion, I should (aware of the almost certain result), *toto corde*, hasten to do so; and I think there are not wanting considerations sufficient to induce a persuasion that, in the event of the establishment of

* [Note in the autograph of Mr. Newenham.] "Dr. Jebb, Bishop of Limerick, stands eminently conspicuous for erudition, piety, benevolence, and a disposition to think favourably of the religion of the Church of Rome. Between his Lordship's religious sentiments and those of the justly-venerated Fenelon, I have reason to believe that almost as little difference would be found, as between their respective moral characters—which secured the person and property of the latter from the outrages and depredations of English Protestant soldiers, and would, doubtless, secure the former from similar aggressions on the part of Irish Roman Catholic insurgents. Dr. Ryder, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, stands exceedingly high in the estimation of all the more pious among the clergy and laity of the Established Church—having uniformly exhibited a very striking example of an unaffected exercise of all the endearing virtues of Christianity. He has, it is true, opposed the political claims of the Roman Catholics, and been in the habit of regarding their religion in an unfavourable point of view; but he is remarkably sober-minded, conciliatory, quick of apprehension, open to conviction, and disposed to treat with the utmost deference the decisions of pious and learned divines."

such a well-sanctioned, unexceptional standard of orthodoxy, Government would ultimately be disposed to authorize and enjoin the Bishops, if necessary, to withhold ordination from all candidates for holy orders, and inhibit the promotion of all clergymen who should refuse to comply with it. . . . . .

"As for the supremacy of the Pope, it seems not improbable that a large majority of the Church of England would readily concede to him such an authoritative primacy among Christian Bishops as should not, in any respect, be inconsistent with the existing laws of the land, the spirit of the constitution, or the King's supremacy in ecclesiastical concerns of a temporal nature. . . . . .

"It only remains for me to observe, my Lord, that should the Churches of Rome and England ever be united, and should the united Church be distinguished by a complete restoration of true, unmixed, Scriptural Christianity, apostolic and primitive rites, usages, discipline, and toleration, and should the worship of that Church combine the impressive solemnities, &c., of the Church of Rome, with the instructive, sublime, and spiritual liturgy of the Church of England*—the missionary zeal of the former with the missionary means of the latter, infidelity and sectarism would soon be safely confined within very narrow limits. . . . . .

Devoutly praying, in the words of the communion-service of the Established Church, that God may 'inspire continually the universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord, and grant that all they who do confess his holy name may agree in the truth of his holy word, and live in unity and godly love,'

"I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c.,

"THOMAS NEWENHAM."

To this Dr. Doyle promptly replied:

"Old Derrig, Carlow, 14th June, 1824.

"SIR—I was honoured yesterday with your very interesting letter relative to the reunion of the Churches to which you and I severally belong. It is highly gratifying to me that my views have been justly appreciated by a distinguished individual, attached to Ireland, and animated by that charity which the Holy Spirit diffuses through the hearts of men.

"The love of my country, and of every one who inhabits it, has been and is the strongest feeling of my soul, and has been the cause why, for some years past, I have occasionally turned my thoughts to measures which seemed to me calculated to serve the former, and to substitute peace and good will amongst those unhappy brethren in Ireland who appear to be intent only on supplanting or maligning each other.

* This liturgy is compiled from the liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church.

"It was this feeling which produced the letter which attracted your notice, and if I could perceive a likelihood of the matter being taken into consideration by Government, I should not fail to labour for its advancement whenever I could find a moment's leisure; but as it appears to me that the discussion of a subject so sacred and important by private individuals could have no other effect than to increase religious dissension, already but too prevalent in both islands, I shall not write nor publish anything more upon the subject, unless circumstances which I do not foresee should impel me to do so. I shall content myself with adoring in silence the providence of Him 'whose judgments are inscrutable, and whose ways cannot be investigated.' I shall always retain a strong sense of your worth and truly charitable spirit, and do believe you share largely in those amiable qualities which have rendered the Bishop of Limerick an object of veneration to every person in the empire, and to few more than,

Sir, your most humble servant in Christ,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

Dr. Jebb was one of the most learned and liberal divines of the Anglican Church in Ireland. In 1821, we find him addressing the people, after Mass, from the altar of the R. C. church of Murroe, with a view to dissuade them from embarking in secret societies. "He was heard with breathless attention," writes his biographer; "some were affected to tears." "A transaction," writes Dr. Jebb himself, "the like of which, I suppose, never occurred since the Reformation." Dr. Jebb was much respected and beloved by the Catholics generally. "The venerable R. C. Bishop [of Limerick]," observes Mr. Forster, "while he conversed with him as a friend, honoured him as a Christian Bishop, and advised with him as fellow-labourers in the vineyard of their common Lord." At the funeral of Dr. Jebb's Vicar-General, we further learn "that the R. C. clergy, with the venerable titular Bishop at their head, walked in the procession as far as the entrance of the west door of the Cathedral, arm-in-arm with their Protestant brethren." "One of the last walks taken by Bishop Jebb through the streets of Limerick," continues Mr. Forster, "presented the gratifying sight of the Protestant Bishop walking arm-in-arm with a R. C. Priest, who, on taking leave, turned and bent the knee as to his own ecclesiastical superior." Charles Butler, the eminent and intrepid champion of Catholicism, was one of Dr. Jebb's dearest friends and most frequent guests. When Dr. Jebb became prostrated by paralysis, we learn that "the personal inquiries of the titular Bishop, Dr. Ryan, were unremitting, and they were rendered

doubly acceptable by the assurance, with tears in his eyes, that they were accompanied by his constant and fervent prayers." Father Enright, a zealous Priest, "publicly offered up prayers in his chapel," says Mr. Forster, "in which the congregation were invited to join, for the restoration of the good Bishop of Limerick."* Many of Dr. Jebb's theological opinions coincided with those held by Dr. Doyle. J.K.L., in his Seventh Letter on the "State of Ireland," brings down all the learning and force at his command with a view to check the system of indiscriminately *searching* the Scriptures, and interpreting them according to individual caprice. Dr. Doyle proved that the inference sectaries draw from *John*, v. 39, is far from being accurate, and showed (p. 210) that "ye search the Scriptures, in which ye think ye have eternal life," &c., is the proper rendering of the passage. The Rev. Charles Forster (p. 151), speaking of a sermon of Bishop Jebb's on *John*, v. 39, "Search the Scriptures," or "Ye search the Scriptures," adds: "He proved, by an argument which may be safely pronounced unanswerable, that the second of these versions is the true rendering of the original, and of our Lord's meaning."

We resume the correspondence with Mr. Newenham:

"Gloucester, 22nd June, 1822.

"My Lord—I greatly lament your Lordship's apparently insuperable disinclination to initiate a discussion so likely—after a few unavoidable prefatory ebullitions of a vexatious nature—to be productive of most desirable results, as that which I felt prompted to take the liberty of suggesting to your Lordship.

"I really had begun to look upon your Lordship as the star described by Horace:

"'Simul alba nautis
Stella refulsit,
Defluit saxis agitatis humor;
Concidunt venti, fugiuntque nubes;
Et minax (quod sic voluere) ponto
Unda recumbit.'

But it seems I was somewhat too sanguine. I cherish a persuasion, however, that your Lordship will not cease to retain a practical recollection of the following passages: *Matt.* v. 9; *John*, xiii. 35; 1 *Pet.* iii. 8, 9; 1 *John*, iv. 7-21.

"I intend (D.V.) making Ireland my place of residence during next winter and the following spring, and *should I happen to escape the fulfilment of Pastorini's* prophecy, shall take the opportunity of a visit to my nephew, Sir T. Butler, in the county of

* "Life of Bishop Jebb," by the Rev. Charles Forster, 3rd edition, 1851. See pp. 160, 187, 188, 191, 241, 242.

Carlow, to pay my respects to your Lordship. Meanwhile expecting, though a *heretic*, your Lordship's blessing,

"I remain, my Lord, &c.,

"THOMAS NEWENHAM."

"Old Derrig, Carlow, 29th June, 1824.

"DEAR SIR—I had been in Dublin from the day previous to the date of your last very kind letter, which reached me only on last night. I am much gratified with the hope of being honoured with a visit from you at the time you mention, and can even now assure you that your intended acquaintance is a person entirely undeserving of that favourable opinion you have conceived of him. He is poor and contemptible as his Master appeared—would to God he were as humble or as meek. If he possess any quality which could recommend him to your esteem, it is that love of his country and countrymen, whether heteredox or otherwise, by which, I believe, he is assimilated to yourself.

"I enclose, as you desire, your first letter to me. I wish earnestly you may be enabled to do good with it; and undoubtedly, if I were of opinion that I could promote the interests of the two islands by labouring in the same vocation, I should not be wanting to it. But I am satisfied that there are too many sects amongst us, and too many speculators in religion throughout the empire, to suffer any individuals, however able and influential, to succeed in uniting the great Churches of Rome and England. The Pope and our Government could alone effect this union, if practicable—as it is in my opinion; but individuals would only create new schisms. If the good work were taken up by those who are possessed of authority, we might assist them; but to become principals would, in my mind, be folly.

"For instance, the very mention of Baius or Quesnel would cause every Catholic to revolt from you, and I myself would rather undertake to reconcile a Church of England man to Rome, than attempt to render Quesnel or Baius acceptable, so odious are these names to us.

"The great object with me would be to incline the public will to a union, by forcible statements of the advantages which would result from it, and of the evils which now arise from a disunion and afflict humanity. If the affections of men were well directed, their assent might afterwards be the more easily gained. But if at the very commencement you exhibit the point of disagreement, or select a medium of union which both parties reject or detest, your plans will excite opposition in place of acquiring support.

"The opinions of Baius or Quesnel should never be mentioned if you wish to conciliate the Roman Catholics. The same, I may

add, of the proceedings in Germany in the time of the Emperor Joseph. The proceedings in which Archbishop Wake was concerned would excite the hostility of the French Church, and probably that of Rome. In fact, I know of no ground which can be safely touched, unless that to which I alluded in my letter—namely, the correspondence between Bossuet on the one side, and Leibnitz with the Abbé Molanus on the other. The names of these men are venerable to all; and they went farther in the work of a reunion, and proceeded on a better plan, than any who went before or came after them. 'Tis true, it was the Confession of Augsburgh of which there was question; but the reasons for adjustment set forth by them would all hold good with us.

"I think right to mention these matters to you, as you are intent on labouring in what I consider a righteous cause, and because I wish you to be informed of the feelings and views of one of the parties for whom you are interested, and which it is totally useless to seek to detach from the See of Rome. I myself am probably one of the most moder ate divines in the empire: certainly I would wish, with the Apostle, to be separated for a time from Christ, for my brethren, whether Protestant or Catholic; but I would, with the grace of God, suffer death a thousand times, were it possible, rather than assent to anything regarding faith which would not be approved of by the Successor of Peter. I am sure—I am certain that the Pope is the head of the universal Church, and that the rejection of his just authority is ruinous to religion. But I condemn no man, and in despite of Pastorini, I hope to embrace many of my *heretical* friends, after his period—more famed than that of Julian—shall have passed and be forgotten.—I remain, dear Sir, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

After the death of Dr. Doyle, several works appeared following up the labours which he attempted. In 1838, appeared "A letter on the Union of the Churches, to the Right Hon. A. R. Blake." In 1842, Mr. Cumming, of Dublin, published "A Union between the R. Catholic and Protestant Churches rendered practicable. In a series of discourses, by a Clergyman of the Church of England." This was followed by "The Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches proved to be nearer related to each other than most men imagine," by the Rev. Charles Bristow, a Protestant Divine. In 1841, a series of articles appeared in *The University Magazine*, entitled "A Proposal for the Reconciliation of the Churches," but they are hardly deserving of serious attention. By far the ablest work on this great question is "The Future Unity of Christendom, by Ambrose Lisle Phillips," which was published by Dolman in 1857. The author, in a prefatory note, tells us that his work

underwent "a theological revision from some learned Catholic divines, who judged their contents to be conformable to Catholic orthodoxy."

In June, 1860, appeared "The Probable Validity of Anglican Orders examined, by Chanoine Vivant, Vicar-General of the diocess of Paris. Translated, with appendix and suggestions on reunion, by the Rev. H. Collins." This little work submits, and justly, that the design of contributing to the reunion of the Anglican with the Catholic Church, is a very laudable one and well worthy of a theologian's zeal. England, unlike the other reformed bodies, never committed herself headlong to the novelties of the day, but walked cautiously in the middle way. She preserved far more of the ancient religion than other countries. "The respect," writes the good Vicar-General, "which her learned Clergy bear towards the ancient tradition and doctrine of the Fathers, and the ardour with which they labour to persuade that they preserve the succession of episcopacy, and the tie of their present Bishops with their predecessors, may be regarded as pledges of a secret disposition which attracts them to return to unity. It is our duty to make all the advances possible."

Nearly all of those works make particular allusion to Dr. Doyle's Letter in 1824. The first, speaking of the union of the Churches, says, "The mighty mind of the dignified and philosophic Doyle, whose genius did honor to the land of his birth, at once perceived its practicability and sovereign panacea for the ills of his country; but it was owing more to the unsettled state of the times when he wrote, than to its real, inherent difficulties, that the question was not generally and favourably entertained." Eighteen years after, as we are reminded by *The Dublin Review*, certain influential Anglican divines had intentions of going to the Pope as delegates, and tendering him "in the name and on behalf of their Church her humble submission, on condition of his yielding in their favour certain supposed open points of discipline or other dispensable matters."

It may be interesting to add that among the Catholic divines and scholars who believed a union of the rival Churches practicable, the names of Bossuet, Dr. Lanigan, Dr. Lingard, Chateaubriand, and Charles Butler may be mentioned. Dr. Lanigan, under the pseudonyme of Irenæus, in his introduction to Talbot's "Apology," devotes nearly two hundred pages to this subject; and the late pious and erudite Archbishop Murray, in his parliamentary evidence, expressed himself willing to make a liberal advance in such an event as that to which we have referred. This declaration of Dr. Murray's coupled with Dr. Doyle's public letter on the same subject, produced a considerable sensation; and the

latter was perfectly inundated for several weeks, both with correspondence and deputations having reference to it. The notes of what passed on the occasion of a mixed deputation, consisting of Catholics and Protestants, have been placed at our disposal. As they throw additional light upon a period of the Bishop's life hitherto misrepresented, there is no apology necessary for subjoining them:

"It was next observed that some Catholics were exceedingly anxious lest he contemplated a compromise of their faith in his project of a union. Here the Bishop smiled, and said: 'I am too good a *Papist* to compromise anything; and if I sought to do so, there is not an old woman or a young child in the diocess who would not see my error and abandon it. No good can ever be effected by compromise, and the nature of truth is to be unchangeable, and not to ally itself with error.'

"'If, then,' said some person, 'there was to be no compromise, how could a union be effected?' 'The process,' said Dr. Doyle, 'might be difficult, on account of the passions and interests it would have to encounter, but is in itself exceedingly simple. I could frame a bill, not so long as the Declaration of Rights, which, if passed by Parliament, would effect a union, and a union which would be more beneficial to England than were her unions with Scotland and Ireland.'

"'I wish,' said several gentlemen at the same moment, 'I wish we could see your bill.' 'It is probable,' said the Bishop, 'that such a bill will not be seen; but its object would be to heal the schism which separates England from the source and centre of unity, and that once effected, our idolatry and her heresy would shortly disappear.'

"'Do you then think,' it was asked by a Protestant gentleman, 'that there is no essential difference in matters of doctrine between us?' 'I think there is,' said Dr. Doyle, 'but the articles or dogmas of faith about which we differ are few—they are chiefly matters of discipline, and religious forms and usages, which induce us to quarrel with each other. The doctrinal decisions of the Council of Trent could be received by the English Church without any considerable violence being done to articles of faith, and a parallel could be drawn between those decrees and articles, which would make the matter obvious to the most slender capacity. Then as to the canons of discipline enacted at Trent, they might or might not be received in England; indeed many of them are perfectly inapplicable to her, and a substitute for others might be found in our Acts of Parliament.

"'The crime of Henry and Elizabeth,' continued the doctor, 'like that of Jeroboam, was to have separated the people of Israel

from the Lord. Only heal the schism, and, as Christ said to the Pharisees, "all will be made clean."'

"It was remarked by a gentleman present that 'Mr. Knox, in a letter to Mr. Newenham, had expressed his opinion, that on the subject of Transubstantiation the Church of England believed with that of Rome, and that he considered the vital difference between them to regard the right of private judgment in interpreting the Sacred Scriptures.'

"'I have not seen the letter you mention,' said the Bishop, 'but Mr. Knox is right on the first subject. Transubstantiation is essentially included in the doctrine of the real presence, and so is that of the sacrifice of the Mass; and as to the right of private judgment, that entirely depends on the nature and extent of the authority of the Church. The English, in regulating the authority of their Church and the right of private judgment, have made that a principle which, in the order of nature, is a consequence; and all their own institutions, civil, legal, and political, show the error they have fallen into. Had Newton made an axiom to follow from a corollary, the world would have laughed at him; yet the nation which gave birth to him has done so in a fit of religious frenzy, and maintains, through self-respect, what it should rejoice to correct. The English people will have the Bible to be each man's property—and so it is; and they will have Bishops to rule their Church, without a power to regulate its discipline; they will have them to teach the faith, but not to define what it is; to excommunicate for heresy those who err, and who err because they follow that private judgment which these Bishops tell them they are bound to exercise. All these absurdities follow because the authority of the Church in England is made subservient to the right of private judgment. With us it is not so. With us, the former is established on a fixed basis, laid down most clearly and emphatically by Christ, and under it the right of private judgment is freely and fully exercised, as the right of the subject is full and perfect in its exercise under the protection of the Government recognised by it as supreme.'"

CHAPTER XIV.

The British Minister warned by Dr. Doyle—Remarkable letter to Rev. Dr. Donovan—Letter to Rev. Charles Stewart—Hostile manifesto from Maynooth, and its secret history—Anglade and Delahogue—O'Connell and Sheil vindicate Dr. Doyle—Beneficial effect of the Bishop's public letter—He is thanked by the Catholic Association—Letter on Orangemen, old maids, cash, Catholics, and A'Kempis—Snuff-takers—Letter to Mariana—The Bishop pursued by plagues and cares—The philosopher's stone—Letter to Rev. Dr. Yore—Dr. Doyle founds a Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge—Letter to Archbishop Murray—Letter to Lord Wellesley—New work by J. K. L. on Education and Bible Societies—Imposition, *not* of hands—Dr. Doyle and O'Connell—Letters.

THE Letter from which we have culled Dr. Doyle's remarks on the union of the Churches was headed "Conciliation of Ireland," and contained not a few reasons likely to influence a statesman in admitting the expediency of the proposed step. Dr. Doyle began by submitting the proposal to the Anglican Church and public rather on its political than its theological claims to attention. He warned them that the Priests and people whom they daily taunted and injured might, in a moment when nature instead of grace would guide their impulse, resort to physical force. This startling insinuation elicited a manifesto from Maynooth College, which we shall presently examine. We omitted, in the previous chapter, the following paragraphs from Dr. Doyle's Letter, because they did not immediately address themselves to the theological point in question. The simile of the "volcano" has risen to the dignity of an apothegm, and has been since repeatedly quoted:

"One of the principal Secretaries of State has said, in his place in Parliament, that every means of tranquillizing Ireland had been tried, Catholic Emancipation alone excepted, and to that measure he was not then prepared to yield his assent. The head of the Government in the upper house has deliberately declared, that in his opinion the admission of the Roman Catholics to the privileges of the constitution would only aggravate the evils of the country. These personages are manifestly at a loss how to conduct the interests of Ireland. They must be aware that the whole body of the Catholics are impatient, that their pride and interests are wounded, that disaffection must be working within them, if they be men born and nurtured in a free state, and yet enslaved. These ministers of the crown must know, that the mind of a nation, fettered and exasperated, will struggle and bound, and when a chasm is opened will escape by it in a torrent like lava from the crater of a volcano.

"They must see the rising greatness of France, and of the United States—the growing empires in South America—the

character of those wars which are approaching, as well as the dispositions of six millions of the King's subjects; and they must have their misgivings as to whether they will be able to weather the coming storm. They are themselves preparing fuel for the flame in Ireland; they are educating the people without providing for their distress, and thus putting the sharpest weapons into the hands of men, who, as they learn to read, will also learn to calculate their strength, and to devise and meditate on schemes of retaliation and revenge. They will not pacify the country, or induce the absentees to return, or the resident gentry to abide here in peace; by-and-by there will be no link of connexion between the government and a zealous, if not disaffected people. The ministers of the Establishment, as it exists at present, are and will be detested by those who differ from them in religion; and the more their residence is enforced, and their number multiplied, the more odious they will become. This may seem a paradox in England, but whosoever is acquainted with the oppression arising from tithes and church-rates, and with the excessive religious zeal which has always characterized the Irish, will freely assent to this truth, however strange it may appear.

"The minister of England cannot look to the exertions of the Catholic priesthood: they have been ill-treated, and they may yield for a moment to the influence of nature, though it be opposed to grace. This clergy, with few exceptions, are from the ranks of the people; they inherit their feelings; they are not, as formerly, brought up under despotic governments; they have imbibed the doctrines of Locke and Paley more deeply than those of Bellarmin or even of Bossuet on the divine right of kings; and they know much more of the principles of the constitution than they do of passive obedience. . . . .

"Such is the view which this country must present to the eye of a British statesman, and when he turns from it and says he knows not what to do, he professes his incompetency to guide the public councils.

"In such a state of things it behoves parliament to apply to itself what the Roman senate used to say to the consul or dictator in times of peril, *Curet, nequid republica detrimentum patiatur;* and I have little doubt, if your sentiments were adopted by it, but that Ireland could be tranquillized, the union of the countries cemented, peace and prosperity diffused, and the empire rendered invulnerable."

A few days subsequent to the appearance of Dr. Doyle's public Letter, he received from the Rev. Dr. Donovan a hint of the existence of a hostile missive which was just about to emanate from Maynooth. The Bishop thus acknowledged it:

"MY DEAR REV. FRIEND—If my sense of the interest which you feel in everything concerning me could increase, your letter of yesterday would have added to it.

"I anticipated, when writing my Letter, the objections it would be liable to, and the quarters from whence they would proceed. I think I can see the plan of life which I have proposed to myself, and let it be long or short, I trust, with God's blessing, that I shall not deviate from it. I do hope, with the Divine aid, that there is no humiliation or contradiction which could befal me that I could not bear; and if the course I have entered upon should facilitate my retirement from public life, instead of being a penalty I would hail it as a blessing. But whether in private or in public, whenever leisure and opportunity concur, I shall never cease to proclaim the injuries and insults to which my religion and country are subject, and to point out their causes and remedies, as they may occur to me.

"I shall wait for the end of the Parliamentary session, and see what takes place there as well as at home, before I write anything; and if I be put on my defence, I trust in God I may not be wanting to myself. They will not be able to discourage me, or disturb my political principles, however they may calumniate them. As to the union of the Churches, I told you I looked upon it as not attainable, unless by a miracle of grace; but that which was the object of the most earnest desire with the saints and doctors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—that at which Clement XIV. and Bossuet laboured, and which every Pope from Leo X. to Pius VII. desired, cannot be unworthy of attention now.

"I would be glad that you did write a letter, as a reply to the objections put forward in the high Orange press, and took occasion to justify those portions of my Letter you think most objected to—and this defence is the only one I desire. As to the people in Dublin, they are too much divided to come to any authoritative declaration on the subject; and as to their gossipings, I totally despise them.

"I am sure there are many Prelates who disapprove of the sentiments of the Letter; but I am much deceived if they do more than converse about it; and if not, you may be firmly assured I care not with what freedom they censure. Surely you know that to leave the ordinary track in any usage, if it were only in wearing a soutane at the altar, or in trafficking about a marriage certificate, is calculated to excite sneers, and censures, and jealousy. Why not then the unfolding of a great political truth, such as the nature and extent of our allegiance to the throne? . .

"The man who first stirs up these truths will be decried by

all. The Government will fold itself in its strength and dignity, and make a show of severity and vengeance. But he is a fool who does not see that the truth works secretly, and, like a grain which must corrupt before it gives fruit, will, after it has suffered obloquy, produce advantage.

"I have exposed myself knowingly and willingly to danger from as many sources as it beset St. Paul; but I will keep my eye upon my great object, the good of my country, however remote, and will endeavour to bear with whatever I may have to undergo. Pray to God that he may direct and govern us by His holy Spirit; and believe me, &c.

"✠ J. DOYLE.

"P.S.—I have been in communication with a member of the House now sitting on Irish affairs. My letter has not been useless in that quarter, nor my information. They have sat for four hours every day but two since their appointment, nearly all the members in attendance the whole time. They have been permitted by Government to extend their inquiries to everything connected with Ireland. Nearly all the evidence taken hitherto bears strongly for an entire change of system. Six Catholics are now on their way to London, amongst whom is, I believe, your Bishop and his Vicar-General. The Committee will be revived next session, and it is intended at that time, previous to making up the Report, to summon your attached friend. You may communicate the above, if you wish, to Dr. Crotty; but *sub sigillo*, as far, at least, as I am concerned."

A few zealots in Dublin having expressed themselves warmly against the views enunciated by Dr. Doyle, the late Very Rev. Charles Stewart apprized the Bishop of it. His reply is dated, Tullow, 7th June, 1824: "I regret the folly or malevolence which actuates the promoters of the proceeding you mention. As it will not, I am certain, be countenanced by the Bishop, or the men of character amongst the clergy, it may do some mischief, but not any very material. Should it appear abroad, I will let it sink into oblivion, as I shall not be induced, by the folly or ingratitude of a few, to animadvert upon proceedings, however offensive, when my doing so might excite division amongst our body."

On the 4th of June, 1824, *The Dublin Evening Post* contained the manifesto from Maynooth, of whose advent Dr. Doyle had already been advised: "In consequence," it went on to say, "of recent public allusions to the domestic education of the Catholic Clergy, we, the undersigned Professors of the Royal College of Maynooth, deem it a duty which we owe to religion and to the country solemnly and publicly to state, that in our respec-

tive situations we have uniformly inculcated allegiance to our gracious Sovereign, respect for the constituted authorities, and obedience to the laws."

Having adduced some extracts from the writings of SS. Peter and Paul, and the Father, Tertullian, to show the guiding principle of the Catholic religion, the document continued: "These principles are the same which have been ever taught by the Catholic Church; and if any change has been wrought in the minds of the Clergy of Ireland, it is, that religious obligation is here strengthened by motives of gratitude, and confirmed by sworn allegiance, from which no power on earth can absolve." The signatures consisted of "L. E. Delahogue, Fellow of Sorbonne and Emeritus, Professor of Theology; John MacHale, Professor of Dogmatic Theology; Francis Anglade, Professor of Moral Theology; James Brown, Professor of Sacred Scripture; and Charles M'Nally, Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy."

Dr. Doyle promptly addressed a letter to the editor of *The Evening Post*, assuring him that the "publication signed by some gentlemen at Maynooth had his full and entire approbation." He observed that a recent Letter of his had been designated as "seditious" by a noble Lord in the House of Peers. "In Ireland," he added, "no such mistake as that of the nobleman alluded to could occur, because here my efforts to support the laws and check disaffection are too well known, and the principles of allegiance, as inculcated by me, are recorded in my writings."

The late Right Hon. R. L. Sheil, in an able article on "Catholic Leaders and Associations," writes: "Dr. Doyle's announcement of what is now obviously the truth created a sort of consternation. Lord Wellesley, it is said, in order to neutralize the effects of this fierce episcopal warning, appealed to Maynooth; and from Maynooth there issued a document, in which it is well understood that the students and even the President, Dr. Crotty, did not agree, but to which the names of five of the Professors were attached. The reputation of Dr. Doyle was more widely extended by this effort of antiquated French divinity to suppress him."

Three of the Professors who signed the Maynooth Declaration of 1824 are now members of the Irish episcopal bench. One of this venerable trio has recently informed us of the precise circumstances under which the document was drawn up. The late Rev. Mr. O'Brien, a Priest of great tact and talent, was then attached to Maynooth College. "He would sometimes," observed our informant, "read aloud a random passage from a book, and by means of using a peculiar tone and emphasis, would turn his hearers completely against it. Again, by shifting the tone and reversing his

manner, that passage which previously disgusted rarely failed, the next minute, to fascinate. It was Mr. O'Brien's aim, in the present instance, to charge Dr. Doyle's paragraph with the unfavourable tone, and one fine evening in June, while the Professors were at dessert, O'Brien took up the letter, and read it aloud. The Irish Professors present listened in silence; but the French theologians, Delahogue and Anglade, who had belonged in their own country to the *ancien regime*, at once pricked up their ears, and assumed a mingled expression of disgust and alarm. '*Mon Dieu*,' exclaimed Delahogue, '*est ce possible qu'il prèche la Revolution?*' '*La Revolution!*' echoed Anglade—'*c'est horrible!*' It was decided, then and there, that lest the Royal College of St. Patrick or its Professors should be in any way compromised by Dr. Doyle's Letter, they should forthwith, and in the most public manner, repudiate all connexion with it. I signed the document with great reluctance," continued my informant. "I had long shared the friendship of Dr. Doyle, and rather than be called upon to sign it, I proceeded to Dublin when the matter was started. But it was not long ere my retreat was discovered by Drs. Anglade and Delahogue, and, yielding to their expostulation, I at length very reluctantly gave my signature. Although the document was pointedly aimed at Dr. Doyle, his friendship for me suffered no diminution, and on my elevation to the episcopacy, a year later, he wrote me a beautiful and most affectionate letter of advice, and prayerful aspiration for the success of my untried abilities. I preserved this truly eloquent letter until recently, when I destroyed it with many others, which I now greatly regret."

The effect, on the whole, was useful and salutary. *The Evening Post* of the day, in a leader, says: "Coming from an ornament and pillar of the Catholic Church in Ireland—from a Prelate as distinguished for his piety as his profound erudition—for his Christian humility as for the boldness and energy of his eloquence—it has already caused a sensation as general and as extraordinary as we ever recollect to have witnessed in Dublin. Without assuming more than our contemporaries on this score, we are, perhaps, from the peculiarity of our station, as trustworthy witnesses of public opinion as most men. When we say, therefore, that Dr. Doyle's letter has fallen upon the public ear like the sound of a trumpet, we do not mean to employ an extravagant hyperbole. In England, we have the best authority for stating that the impression has been nearly similar; and of this we have assurance, that this Letter has already made a deep impression on the Committee now sitting on the Irish inquiry." Referring to some of the political axioms indicated by Dr. Doyle, *The Evening Post* added: "These are the points that strike like daggers at the heart of the monopoly—

like warning guns on the ear of the statesman. Oh! that they would awake in time from the fatal slumber in which they are buried—that they would look, as this courageous and apostolic Bishop has done, at the condition of Ireland, and adopt measures accordingly."

O'Connell, in the Catholic Association, moved a resolution "thanking Dr. Doyle for his Letter on the Union of the Churches, which he was particularly induced to propose, as a publication from a most respectable quarter, supposed by many to be an attack upon the political opinions of Dr. Doyle, had been set forth." Having eulogized, collectively and individually, the several Professors who signed the declaration, O'Connell added: "But I do respectfully enter my protest against the political principles they announce, and I cannot allow that the Professors of Maynooth, or the Catholics generally, have any great cause for gratitude, although bound to the Government by their allegiance." The great tribune proceeded to vindicate and eulogize Dr. Doyle, drew a parallel between him and Fenelon, and concluded by requesting the chairman to transmit to his Lordship the respectful expression of the gratitude and reverence of the Catholic Association for the zeal, talent, loyalty, and piety which have ever marked his exertions in the cause of Ireland. This resolution the Bishop promptly acknowledged.

"After a sense of my duty to God," he wrote, "the love of my country has always occupied the first place in my heart; the deep interest I feel in her welfare has stimulated me to expose some of the evils under which she labours, to point out the dangers which beset her, as well as to dissuade her children from every violation of law; and I am glad that my feeble efforts in her cause have been approved of by the Catholic Association.

"I regret that my motives should have been mistaken, but I know that whosoever commits himself with an oppressed country or a fallen people, is liable to the reproof of those who repay evil for good. No unfounded censure, however, shall prevent me from labouring, through good report and evil report, to promote as much as may be in my power the interests of Ireland, and of that holy religion which is almost indigenous to her.

"The principles of my allegiance are those, and no other, on which the British Constitution is founded. To discuss those principles is scarcely useful at any time, but especially when men's minds are heated; they are just and wise, and in perfect accordance with the religion of Him who came not to establish an earthly kingdom, but to command obedience to be paid to existing authorities. The nature and extent of this obedience is expressed in our oaths of allegiance, which oaths we have observed, and will,

with the divine assistance, continue to observe, not only on account of the evils which would follow from their violation, but also for conscience' sake."

The Catholic Rent Committee in Waterford having adopted a resolution declaratory of the sentiments of "reverence, admiration, and gratitude with which they, in common with the entire Catholic population of Ireland, regard the character and services of Dr. Doyle," he begged to assure them, in reply, that he would continue to vindicate his religion and country with all the zeal which the most entire devotion to the honour and interests of Ireland could inspire. "It is not, however, by the exertions of individuals only that this country can be raised from her prostrate condition. The moral force which she still possesses must be concentrated in bodies such as yours, and employed in efforts, such as your Committee is making, to cherish public spirit, and to supply the means of embarking the opinion of the British public with us, and of obtaining legal redress for the wrongs and injustice to which we have been so long subjected."

A pompous Peer, long noted for his opposition to the Catholic claims, petulantly styled Dr. Doyle's Letter on Christian Union as "seditious" and "insolent." "It bears the impress of a philosopher and statesman," said O'Connell, "and breathes the spirit of a conciliating Christian. Not even the pious magnanimity with which Dr. Doyle so disinterestedly offers to sacrifice his dignity of station, and lay upon the altar of his country his present distinguished rank, if the sacrifice would tend to the consummation of that event which every liberal Christian or honest patriot must desire—a union of Christians—could shield him from animadversion so severe and unwarrantable." Among the theological strictures advanced by his own party, it was asserted that the Catholic Church had "never treated with heretics in a corporate capacity." We find, however, that she occasionally did, and even so recently as 1850, when the Patriarch and Bishops of the Eutychian Church of Syria were received into her communion.

After so much theology and politics, a little homely gossip may now prove a relief to the reader. Writing to his niece from Old Derrig, on the 16th of July, 1824, Dr. Doyle says: "You will be surprised to find me in as good health and spirits as I have ever been, except that having just caught a cold about my head in travelling this week, I may take more snuff and look less animated than usual. As to the Orangemen, I only laugh at them; and when I find a leisure hour, I am infinitely amused by throwing them all into a fright and passion.* I perceive you have not re-

* No wonder that J. K. L. should occasionally throw the Orangemen into a passion, for he often hit them hard. In his Second Letter on the "State of Ireland,"

linquished your art of matchmaking; but is not the folly or the confidence of that little urchin quite amusing when she says that 'she can get as good as he is at any time?' Did she never hear of people dying old maids, or of never getting a second offer? I wish you would strive to marry her to some person or other, for I will not be quite secure until she is disposed of. Keep fast, I beg of you, the money you have for her, or you never will again possess so much. As to the mother, nothing could improve her condition; and if she get her husband to settle his interest on the young children, I shall give her, as I have always been doing, some little assistance. This year, indeed, has been one of pinching distress to me, for all the poor people about me were starving, and I was obliged to give them every shilling I could get.

"I was quite delighted with the spirit manifested by our people at Ross on the inquiry into the conduct of the police at New Bawn. Such successful efforts to obtain justice will forward the Catholic cause. Tell your mother, my dear Mary, that I have this moment read a chapter of Thomas à Kempis; that in my greatest hurry I remember her advice; that I am to spend the week after next in retreat, thinking only of my soul; and that bad as we all are, I hope the Lord will have mercy on us, and bring us to meet in heaven."

Dr. Doyle confesses in the foregoing letter that he is a snuff-taker. It has been remarked by Mr. Fairholt, in his History of Tobacco, that among men of large intellect snuff-taking has been rather common; and he infers that it may have been felt by them as a counter-irritant to the overworked brain. Pope, Swift, Bolingbroke, Congreve, Addison, and Gibbon, were confirmed snuff-takers. The latter in one of his letters says: "I drew my snuff-box, rapped it, took snuff twice, and continued my discourse, in my usual attitude of my body bent forwards, and my forefinger stretched out." Frederick the Great and Buonaparte were so passionately fond of snuff, that they had capacious pockets made to their waistcoats, in order that they might have as little trouble as possible in getting for immediate use the largest quantity they could desire.

The convert girl, Mariana, had now entered the conventual Order of Loretto.

"Old Derrig, Carlow, 31st June, 1824.

"My Dear Friend—Your letter of yesterday, though it did

he says of the Orange party: "Monopoly and injustice are written on its standards, oppression is its watchword, falsehood and slander are its heralds. It has no reason or justice with it, but it is so clamorous, and so menacing, and so unblushing, as to overwhelm or confound whomsoever would approach it with argument, or seek to treat with it on a basis just, useful, or honorable."

not announce the entire re-establishment of my dear Catharine's health, yet gives reason to hope that it is not far distant. Your removal from her must be distressing to you both; and I do not know whether at such moments any efforts to curb our feelings may not serve to augment our sufferings. Like the comforters of Job, a person, at times of trouble, who mixes unseasonable discourse, becomes burdensome to his friend, and silence is generally more acceptable than advice. If I were seated between you both, I should not know what to say. Our mortal state is so beset with miseries, that they can neither be removed nor remedied, and it is only left us to "be humbled under the powerful hand of God," with St. Paul, "that we may be exalted in the day of His visitation," when he will return to wipe away every tear from our cheek. He tells us that they are blessed who mourn, and while we believe him, so let us indulge in a full sense of our misfortunes, but as ordained by Him who can turn them hereafter into blessings. I think it not only a favour of Providence, that by a religious life you ensure in some degree your salvation, but that you exchange the uneasiness of this world for the laborious and penitential life of a convent, where many trials exist, but also many helps. As to advice, dear Mariana, your dispositions and past experience render advice from me unnecessary; and if the Lord be pleased that you should persevere, He will enable you to do so. What depends on yourself seems to me to be a cheerful fulfilment of your duties, as prescribed by the rule; and not to seek to please, nor suffer the opinions or rebukes even of others to disturb you. The more simple your intention and the more simple your conduct the better for you; and be not solicitous about to-morrow, for to-morrow will be solicitous for itself—which last maxim is, in my opinion, essential to the peace of a religious. Tell Catharine to submit to the will of God, and not make herself miserable about the manner in which He conducts His affairs, by thinking she cannot add a cubit to her stature; and whatever the Lord pleases to impose, let her bear it, until this obscurity in which all things are involved here below will be succeeded by the wonderful light of God—for God is light, and there is no darkness in Him. . . My dear Mariana we shall always pray for each other, and continue, I hope, in this life and the next, to serve God, to adore His counsels, and bless His name."

On July 26th, 1824, we find Lord Congleton again writing to Dr. Doyle, to consult him on the nature of the evidence to be brought before the Committee on the state of Ireland, in the next session of Parliament.

Among the Bishop's relations, there was one member of the fair portion of the creation frequently needy, never diffident, but

always pushing and troublesome, who, many a time, greatly annoyed him. Alluding to one of her periodical descents on Old Derrig, and her providential departure soon after, Dr. Doyle writes: "I am now at ease, the Lord be praised, for verily that woman and her children have tormented me." They are also referred to in the following letter. In July, 1824, her daughter had a prospect of becoming matrimonially settled if she could command a small dowry. Of this the Bishop was apprised by his niece Mary.

"I happened to be at home this day when your amusing letter reached. Though in a very grave mood (for I am borne down with labour and care), I was disposed to laugh at the ability with which you manage all those with whom you come in contact; but if, in addition to your powers of persuasion, you were armed with a blunderbuss, you could not get a shilling from me at present, for on yesterday I gave away the last note I had in my desk. Some tenpennys now constitute my whole stock, with probably half-a-dozen sovereigns. Had you found the philosopher's stone, and could convert the tenpennys into gold, I should give them to you; but your power in that way is as feeble as my own. Since I saw you I sent to Mrs. —— £8, to pay for her son's schooling and clothing till next year, and had I not sent it then I could not send it now. I desired her not to write me one word about her children, and for the first time, I believe, in her life, she took my advice. I was, in truth, afraid of hearing about this match, and if I could silence her I expected to remain at peace. I wish the mother and all her children were married; but married or unmarried, I will never give £40 to her entire family. If these people cannot be married without money let them remain single—and as a single life is better than a double one, why not make a virtue of necessity?"

On September 24th, he writes: "I had a letter yesterday from a gentleman in Dublin who owes me some money. I have a prospect of getting it, and as it is not the property of the Church, I will send you £25 by Mr. Devereux."

The poor Bishop, in dispensing his wide-spread generosity, involved himself unexpectedly in some serious difficulties. Some weeks later he writes: "I have been dreadfully embarrassed this last fortnight, and am thinking of giving up Old Derrig and going to lodgings.

"Mrs. —— came here, and I sent her home saying that I could not interfere by advice, or otherwise, in her business, nor shall I. Her mother wrote me a furious letter. Keep out of their sight or they will annoy you. Thus we are repaid for our money and pains; but I hope God may reward us. I am perfectly indifferent about what they may say or think of me."

One very cold and wet day about this period, he observed to the Rev. Mr. Maher, as he looked down at his badly shod feet, "I have been trying to make up the price of a new pair of shoes."

Mr. W. F. Finn, afterwards M.P. for Kilkenny, at a meeting of the Catholic Association on the 19th of July, 1824, observed: "Driven almost to desperation, as the people at present are, by grievances and want, the Catholic Clergy are preserving them in obedience and loyalty. The Priesthood of Carlow, headed by their most pious, patriotic, and illustrious Prelate, Dr. Doyle, were at that moment, to his (Mr. Finn's) personal knowledge, supporting, by their exertions and by their charity, the people of that neighbourhood, and preserving them from becoming the victims of famine and disease. Those are among the means by which the Catholic Clergy have ingrafted themselves upon the affections and confidence of the people."

Shortly prior to the chilling prospect which the Bishop announces to his niece, he addressed the following fatherly and hospitable invitation to his young convert friends in Dublin. Catharine, in thanksgiving for her wonderful recovery, had resolved to follow her sister Mariana's example by dedicating her life to God's service as a Sister of Charity.

"Old Derrig, 29th August, 1824.

"My dear Catharine—I take a little from my usual time of sleep to reply to your most acceptable letter. I had been *drudging* in the country all day, as I have been incessantly for the last month, and was cheered this evening at my return on recognizing your handwriting amongst the volume of letters laid on my table. I hoped, from Miss G——'s account of you, that you were improving; but your silence made me fear you had again relapsed. Thanks to God, it is otherwise; and perhaps He is pleased not to prolong the most severe of trials. As I shall not be here from to-morrow till the 28th of September, let me have a line from you on that day, mentioning when I am to expect you and little Sarah. I will be delighted at your arrival, and if silence and peace can contribute to your health and happiness, I hope you will enjoy both in this solitary mansion. I can promise you nothing more, for I am grown old and stupid with labour and care ever since I saw you, and I am truly weary of this world. Were I worthy to be delivered from the trials which God has allotted to me, I would wish to enter 'that bourne from whence no traveller returns,' and try the desert which lies beyond this vale. But no; we must suffer these things for our sins, and it is only when we are patiently submissive that we are sure of not doing wrong.

"Your account of our dear Mariana is very gratifying, and if

she be happy, that is enough. It is so ordained that you are not to derive comfort from her society, but to seek it in some other objects here, or in Him who alone is not separated from those He attaches to Himself. Would to God we were of that number. I suppose you will be shortly, as all your trials have detached you from everything except her, and in her you can now have no further enjoyment. How unsearchable are the ways of God, how unlike ours, and how bitter and unmixed is the gall which he presents to those who are to be made conformable to the image of his Son!

"But I feel myself unworthy and unfit to write of these things, and beg to assure you, my dear Catharine, of the most sincere friendship with which I am, &c., "✠ J. DOYLE."

The following letter, on the subject of a Catholic society for the diffusion of useful knowledge, is addressed to the Very Rev. Dr. Yore:

"Old Derrig, 13th July, 1824.

"MY DEAR REV. SIR—Since our friend, the Rev. Mr. Slattery, handed me the papers you sent me, I had been absent from home, or so much occupied that I had not a moment to employ on the good work in which you have engaged me to share. I have, at length, thrown together a crude outline of my views in the shape of resolutions. You will read them over with our inestimable friend, Mr. O'Connell, and if he and dear Dean Lube will, with yourself, alter or amend them, or substitute others for them, we shall have something wherewith to begin. It is only by engaging several persons of zeal and influence to countenance the measure, that it can be respectably brought before the public, and much, if not all, depends upon its first introduction. Should you be enabled to have such a meeting as may seem desirable, you would, of course, arrange previously the appointment of the officers—for in carrying out of work, all depends on the committee and secretary—he, at least, should be a clever and zealous man.

"If a meeting were held before the end of September, I could not attend—if, indeed, my attendance could be of any use; but at any subsequent period I would go to town for the purpose, and lay before the meeting my views of the necessity and advantage of such an institution.

"Should Mr. O'Connell be able to devote any portion of his time or thought to it, he could render it popular with many thousands; and it is to the good will of the people that, next after the co-operation of the Clergy, we would have to look for support. I have mentioned February for the general meeting, because the town is full at that time, and the Trustees of Maynooth College hold their winter meeting in Dublin early in that month every year.

"You may have an opportunity of letting me know whether you are making any and what progress; and believe me ever yours,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

A series of well-digested resolutions, in the autograph of Dr. Doyle, accompanied this letter. Their comprehensiveness, extent, and careful attention to the most minute details in the *modus operandi* of the proposed society, show that the good Bishop did not spare his already jaded brain, in endeavouring to make Dr. Yore's project a success. Having observed that the institution should be denominated the Irish Catholic Society for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge, and that it be governed by a president, four vice-presidents, a treasurer, a secretary, and a committee of twenty-one, Dr. Doyle went on to state the terms of life, annual, and honorary membership, with their privileges, and added: "The president, vice-president, officers, and committee should be appointed by vote, or chosen by ballot, and no person not resident in Dublin or within three miles of it, or who derives emolument from the society, will be eligible to a place on the committee, or to the offices of president, treasurer, or secretary." He considered that a quorum of the committee ought to meet once in each week for the transaction of business, empowered to call special or general meetings of the society on giving due notice, to employ printers, clerks, and agents, to receive donations, collect subscriptions, as well as to approve of works to be printed or circulated, and to promote by every just means the ends of the society. Among the resolutions were—"That the treasurer produce his accounts duly audited, and the secretary his report of the proceedings of the society, at each annual meeting." "That no work be printed or published by the society to which the president or vice-president, when present, or three members of the committee, may object;" and "That such books as are calculated to excite dissensions amongst Irishmen be carefully excluded." "That, as the chief object of the society is to promote the knowledge and practice of true religion, they will circulate only such works as may enable Catholics to give an account of 'the hope which is in them,' to dispel the prejudices existing against the ancient faith, and to improve the minds and hearts of all who read them." Dr. Doyle concluded with a resolution "That the committee be instructed to open a correspondence with the Catholic Prelates, and to submit to them an outline of a plan for the formation of co-operative Catholic societies in the several cities and towns within their respective jurisdictions, and for the establishment or enlargement of useful circulating libraries by the parochial clergy."

A great deal of fanatical spirit prevailed during the earlier portion of the present century, and the Catholic Prelacy found it necessary to exercise the same authority in regulating the reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue as had been previously exercised, under similar circumstances, by the Councils of Toulouse, Milan, Narbonne, Cambray, and Spain, as also by the Pontiffs Innocent III. and Pius IV. St. Jerome, Origen, St. Basil, and St. Augustin, recommend this economy, point out the dangers attendant on the reading of the Scriptures at certain times and by certain persons, and declare that although they are worthy of all reverence, no heresy, however wild, has ever failed to borrow support from them.

The following letter is addressed to the late Archbishop Murray, in reply to a communication from his Grace soliciting Dr. Doyle's opinion and advice respecting the Kildare-place system of education:

"Old Derrig, 16th September, 1824.

"My dear Lord—I am clearly and decidedly of opinion that it is not lawful for any Catholic to assist or co-operate with the Kildare-place Society in carrying into effect their system of education.

"I deem the reading of the Sacred Scriptures by the weak and ignorant, such as children are, whether with or without comments, an abuse always to be deprecated; but such reading of them in this country, at this time and in the present circumstances, I consider an abuse filled with danger—not only an evil, but an evil of great magnitude; and the Apostle says, 'they are guilty of death, not only they who do evil, but they also who consent to the doing of it.'—I remain, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

The following apt remarks of Dr. Doyle, on the propriety of occasionally restricting the indiscriminate reading of the Bible, occur in a letter to the Marquis Wellesley:

"There is no Christian Church in Europe, my Lord, which uses so many or more inspiring forms of prayer than ours; there is no Church in which so many works of piety and on the Gospel morality have been written; there is no people on earth more devoted to their perusal, or more desirous of reducing them to practice than the well-educated of the Irish Catholics; there is no priesthood in the world more anxious for their diffusion than the Catholic priesthood; and there is no Church has been more steady and uniform in recommending to her children the perusal of the Sacred Scriptures, where such perusal was not exposed to danger or liable to abuse, than the Catholic. She has never imposed any restriction upon this practice, unless when compelled to do so by

some unavoidable necessity. Like as a tender mother, who feels delight in providing for her children the most wholesome and substantial food, but yet, when they are threatened with a disease which has already committed ravages in the neighbourhood, she withdraws the diet by which it would be nourished or communicated.

"Thus, my Lord, at a period of civil commotion, your Excellency, who would be at all times the father of the people, recommends the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, that bulwark of freedom, until the public mind is restored to its proper tone, and the plans of the disaffected are dissipated. Indeed numberless illustrations could be adduced of the exertion of that sound discretion by which the Catholic Church suspends or regulates the inalienable right of her children to read the Word of God, and her discipline in this respect appears to them so reasonable, that they cannot sufficiently express their surprise that a mode of proceeding should be censured in her which is applauded when acted on by all other bodies possessed of authority."

Dr. Doyle well knew that without the stimulus of education the popular mind would become lethargic, prostrate, and eventually unfit for freedom, and he longed to see the national intellect expand self-reliantly, and work with an earnest industry. The day on which he felt himself constrained to withdraw the flock committed to his pastoral care from the schools of the Kildare-place Society witnessed a painful struggle; but it was impossible to remain any longer blind to the fact that they had gradually degenerated into seminaries of insidious proselytism. In the autumn of 1824, the Bishop published his "Letters on the State of Education in Ireland and on Bible Societies," in which he powerfully grappled with the subject before him. For vigorous volume of logic, effective tone of appeal, and flowing rhetoric, no subsequent work of his has surpassed it.

Dr. Doyle complained that foundations for education had been turned into sinecures; that the very few diocesan and parochial schools which existed were accessible only to those who could pay; that charter schools aimed notoriously at the religious proselytism of the people; that Catholics were excluded from every endowed school, or exposed in them to the mental training of a master professing a different religion, or perhaps no religion at all; "whilst their own creed might be spit upon and buffeted by every zealot who believed that in so doing he rendered a service to God and to the State." The tone of unreserve in which the Bishop indulged necessarily brought him in contact with the societies which had taken the youth of Ireland under their parental care, and obliged him to treat incidentally of the Biblical

mania which was then "disturbing the peace of Ireland, and threatening the safety of the State." Some novel points occurred in this portion of the Bishop's work. The saying of a country Priest had been quoted with religious horror, "that the Bible would play the devil with children;" "yet," said J. K. L., "the Priest thought rightly, though he expressed himself in the Irish manner, putting the wrong end of the sentiment foremost. The Scriptures would not play the devil with the children, but the devil would play his pranks with the children by means of the Scripture. He quoted it adroitly enough to our Redeemer, saying, 'It is written'—ah! and what is not written? I should be sorry to quote all that is written, for if I did, I might, like others, excite a storm against the Church and State; but 'it is written,' said the devil to our Redeemer, "He hath given it in command to His angels that they bear thee in their hands, lest thou hurt thy foot against a stone.' Had a child been there, he might have been tempted by the text to make the experiment suggested by Satan—he might cast himself down from the pinnacle of the temple; and if he did, he would, in my opinion, find that the letter of the Scripture had conducted him to ruin."

It was not the Catholic Prelacy alone who opposed and condemned the Bible societies. A distinguished advocate for Scriptural education, the late Archbishop Magee, whose views and Dr. Doyle's were, on all other points, diametrically opposed, declared, in his Parliamentary evidence, that the Bible societies had become disfigured by great abuse. "Very soon after the Bible Society was introduced into Ireland," admits the Archbishop in his evidence, "I found, unfortunately, with a good deal of eloquence and talent amongst its advocates at their public meetings, that the value of the Bible was so enthusiastically enforced, as to be enforced almost exclusively as a means of religious instruction; and this was carried so far, that the natural inference seemed to be, and it was sometimes so argued in express terms, that an extraordinary power or charm was imparted to the very possession of the book; and if individuals possessed the Bible, they required no other aid in the way of spiritual instruction. . . . . It became the practice to recommend the Bible without note or comment, upon the special ground of its being freed from all human instruction,—so as to go to the extreme of saying that the addition of human instruction impeded the progress of the pure Word of God, and that, in truth, all human instruction became useless, or worse, to him who possessed a Bible. In this, of course, I could not acquiesce." Many other influential Protestant divines, including Bishop Jebb, expressed themselves much more strongly, maintaining that the reading of the Bible should be controlled by Church

authority; nor is it surprising, for, from the Apostle Peter to the metaphysician Locke, some of the greatest intellects have declared their inability to understand many portions of the Sacred Volume. Even the Rev. William Phelan ("Declan"), who had opposed Dr. Doyle so virulently on other matters, published a pamphlet, in which he strongly condemned the Bible Society, and proposed a union between the Church of England and the Church of Rome against sectaries!

Dr. Doyle, as we have already seen, venerated the Bible, and, as he tells us in his Seventh Letter on the "State of Ireland," he read portions of it every day for more than twenty years, devoted many an hour to the study of it, expounded it to others, collected eighteen editions of it in different languages, but, like St. Augustine, found in it infinitely more than he could understand. It was the irreverent and undisciplined use to which the Sacred Volume had been latterly applied that disgusted and dismayed him. "The types sweat," he wrote, "the press teems, vessels are freighted for it, and all to no purpose. It drives an immense trade—profitable, no doubt, to many—in Bibles and missionaries; it squanders hundreds of thousands upon expeditions more senseless than the most foolish of Sir Walter Raleigh's, and, like that pirate, it repays its dupes with reports of what never had existence." J. K. L. then appealed to a train of proofs. "They tell us," he said, "of the number of Bibles they distribute, and where is the difficulty of thus sowing the seed by the side of the highways? Do not the pawn-offices in every town bear testimony of their profusion?" But his remarks on the state of education in Ireland were conceived in a loftier view:

"The state of education in this country is not certainly gratifying to a man of reflection. The study of science is confined to a few, and the only sciences which are well cultivated amongst us are those connected with the physical world. Positive sciences, which require great labour, patience, and industry, are not suited to the Irish character; and hence, as well as from the small profits or honours annexed to them, they are greatly neglected. Another cause of this neglect is found in the excessive wealth of our University and of the Established Church, where pride and indolence, the natural growth of riches, occupy the place of labour and study; whilst, on the other hand, want of time and of means prevent the Catholic Clergy from devoting themselves to literary pursuits."

Dr. Doyle added, that he met prophets and apostles on every highway, but a good logician, or a learned historian, or a man of deep research was a *rara avis*. A mathematician or geologist, a man skilled in plants or minerals, is not very difficult to discover,

but compared with politicians, and essayists, and orators, and preachers of the Word, he bore as little proportion as the handful of Greeks did to the myriads of Xerxes. That a little knowledge was a dangerous thing, had in no country been more fully proved than in Ireland. For there a little learning, acting upon the passions by means of a partisan press and platform, is one of the great causes of the incessant agitation in which the public mind was kept. "This action is called discussion, but though I look at the papers and pamphlets with which the country is inundated, I do not always find in them a sound exposition of truth, or an essay which bespeaks in the writer experience of the world, knowledge of past events, or an intellect taught to reason justly."

Dr. Doyle cried out loudly for a fair and efficient system of education for the people:

"Do we wish or require to be intrusted with the public instruction? No: we seek only that the portion of it which regards ourselves be intrusted to us; we do not desire to put our sickle into another man's harvest; all we require is, that you observe the commandment of Christ: 'Whatever you wish that men do to you, do you to them in like manner;' you would not confide the instruction of your children to us; do not oblige us to intrust ours to you.

"As to the State bestowing aid—we feel indebted for it; we will be grateful for it; we shall not even think, if you will, that the State exists only for the good of the people, that we are its subjects, that we pay its taxes, supply its luxuries, bear all its burdens, fight and die for its aggrandizement or glory. We will waive all right to the public money, and sit, like Lazarus, expecting the crumbs. All this we will do, only do not afflict us by interposing your authority between us and our children; do not estrange from us the mind or affection of our little ones, or teach them from their infancy to regard the stranger as entitled to their confidence; do not intimate to them that their parent and pastor are unfit to train their mind, and form their heart, or introduce them to the world. If your object be to seduce them from the faith for which we have suffered, and into which they have been baptized, avow it—tell us so, and we will retire with them into the desert, and tell our misfortunes to the rocks; or, we will cease to beget children in our bondage, and let our name be forgotten and our race extinguished."

This pamphlet, which occupied sixty pages, was published by Coyne, and went through four editions.

At a meeting of the Catholic Association, 10th of November, 1824, the proceedings of the Bible Societies were subjected to much amusing criticism. Mr. O'Gorman referred to the misre-

presentations and demands which had been made on the purses and understandings of the English. From Ennis a memorial had been forwarded, stating it contained a population of 12,000 Protestants, who had not a place of worship, and requesting a pecuniary loan to build one. The real fact was, that there were three streets in Ennis, containing 600 families, not one among which was a Protestant, and more than twenty-five families never attended the church. In the course of O'Connell's speech on this occasion he alluded thus eloquently to Dr. Doyle:

"He could not omit the opportunity of stating, that of all the intellects he had ever encountered—and the nature of his profession, while it gave him some insight into the character of the human mind, also enabled him to judge pretty correctly of the powers of individuals—that of Dr. Doyle was the most mighty and stupendous; while his manly, gentle, and amiable manners formed a fine contrast to the towering strength of his intellect, and illustrated the idea of the 'thunderbolt of Jove in the hands of a child' by their soft and soothing, influence. This kindliness of disposition, this amiable piety, combined with the single-heartedness of Dr. Doyle's mind, had added to the utility of his purposes, and given him a moral force with the people which was irresistible. It was quite incredible the sums of money that he lavished in charity; his benevolence and his purse seemed inexhaustible, as they were, indeed, most unaccountable. He appeared to coin his heart into relief for his famishing countrymen."

The Bishop's relations in Wexford, including Father Peter Doyle, had become anxious to give him a *cead mille a failthe* to his native county. In a letter to Mrs. Coney, on the 24th of September, 1824, Dr. Doyle writes: "I had entirely forgotten my promise of going to Wexford to see Peter. I believe I am getting stupid; but, in truth, I have been so worried both in mind and body, during the last six or eight weeks, that I have not as yet been able to collect my thoughts. I don't know when I can go to see him, as I am obliged to attend our conferences here, and return then to the county Kildare. I thought I could go for a week to some spa or to the sea, but find I cannot, and I believe it would not be necessary if I could only rest for a few days at home."

"Worried in both mind and body," and well-nigh stupified from work, and the absence of all relaxation, we find Dr. Doyle, on the same day that he addressed his niece, amiably acknowledging, in the fullest terms, a letter from Mariana, whose profession as a nun was about to take place. Knowing the intensity of this interval of anxiety, the Bishop seeks to cheer the young nun, and assumes a light heart, though, most likely, it was in reality heavy enough:

"Old Derrig, 24th September, 1824.

"I was favoured with your letter, and am sincerely happy to find you are so happy. May the Lord keep you so, my dear friend, all the days of your life, for there are quite enough of us in misery, conflicting with this weary world, which is so perverse, and filled with such temptation. You have your portion of what it can afford, and should the Lord, at so early a period of your life, have filled up the measure of your trials, and taken you to the embraces of His pure love, you have been more blessed than most of His followers—for though our tribulation is light and short, yet it generally continues during the entire of our pilgrimage; but 'in the house of God,' as St. Augustine observes, 'one goes one way, and one another; and some are drawn on by a wonderful sweetness, whilst others force their way by violence—but all are blessed who dwell in His house; for ever and ever they will praise Him.' You see I don't forget my quotations, and, as variety is charming, I shall insert a little of Dean Swift between St. Augustine and St. Paul. Every man is busied about his own affairs, and the Dean was as much concerned about this world as Augustine about the other, and he compares it to a gulf

> "Which imbibes
> The lawyer's fees, the statesman's bribes;
> Here, in their proper shape and mien,
> Fraud, perjury, and guilt are seen."

You see what a different view these two clever men give of the places they were thoroughly acquainted with. I think they teach us a good lesson, and prove manifestly the justice of St. Paul's remark, 'that he who lives should live for Christ.' Do you go on then, dear child, and be happy with God in His own house, and bless Him for ever that He has called you to it—for, be assured, it is the greatest grace He confers in this life, even upon His own dearest children.

"I am glad that you find our dull and semi-barbarous language (we got it from the English) incapable of expressing your ideas of the good Mrs. T——'s virtues. I admire exceedingly your *Latin* description of her, and I verily believe she deserves to be described in language which seems to have survived time itself, and to be destined to immortality.

"Adieu, Mariana, or Paul, or Vincent, or whatever your name is—I suppose it is like that of the secretary of Ximenes, which was as various as the kingdoms over which his master presided; but, be this as it may, it is very dear to me, and though I will not address it again until it is confirmed at your profession, I shall remember it daily in one shape or other."

CHAPTER XV.

Dr. Doyle's caution in admitting persons to Priest's orders—Letters—Anecdotes, humorous and serious—Letter to Archbishop Murray—The Hon. Mr. Noel—Sydney Smyth—The Catholic Rent—Letter to Archbishop Murray on Education—Attempt to entrap Dr. Doyle—A Frenchman "walks from Cambrai to Old Derrig to see J. K. L."—Guests at Old Derrig—Dr. Doyle continues to stimulate the progress of the Catholic Claims—Public controversial discussion in Carlow between Priests and Parsons—The result—Dr. Doyle's dislike to religious controversy—Mr. Plunket and Dr. Magee—Curious anecdotes—Eneas M'Donnell—Letters and conversations—Letter to Dr. Donovan—*Divide et impera*—Laughable anecdote—A solemn excommunication performed by Dr. Doyle—Interesting scene.

KNOWING that an unworthy Priest may be the ruin of thousands, Dr. Doyle did not "impose hands lightly upon any man." Anxious to uphold the dignity of the priestly character, he was exceedingly cautious in admitting persons to holy orders, and although they might have been as moral as St. Joseph, he not unfrequently rejected them if their personal appearance were uncouth, or their intellect obtuse. "Whilst by the Divine command," he would sometimes say, "bodily defects disqualified for the ministry of the Old Law, in the Christian dispensation such exclusion rests principally on the deformities of the mind." The three following letters, written at this period—the first and last to the present Bishop of Saldes, the second to Dr. Gibbons, Provincial, O.S.A.—exhibit Dr. Doyle's sound discretion in selecting candidates for holy orders:

"MY DEAR REV. FRIEND—Some days ago a young man named M——, of this diocess, called on me by the direction of Mr. F—— of Dublin, to obtain from me an official certificate of his having been *confirmed*, preparatory to his admission to our Order. I had before informed the gentleman in Dublin that this person is so deficient in learning and talents, and so advanced in age, as to be, in my opinion, unfit for the religious state, except as a lay brother. It is an odious thing on my part to thwart the views of one of my own poor people, and he a religious youth; but I should prefer doing so (confiding the matter to your discretion, and that of the Provincial) to having the Order incumbered with automatons of this sort through the folly of those Dublin people, who seem to me not the best judges of who would be useful to them."

"Old Derrig, 18th September, 1824.

MY DEAR AND VERY REV. FATHER PROVINCIAL—A young man named J. D——, of this diocess, wishes to become a member of our Order. He is about eighteen years of age, and the most highly gifted with talents that I have known for many years. His

life is also as pure and virtuous as we could almost desire, and I hope, with the Divine aid, that he will become holy and learned, useful to the Church, and an ornament to the family of our holy Father. I remember that you gave me some commission respecting persons who might apply for admittance to the Order; but I don't recollect the extent of it, and beg you may inform me whether you will receive this young man, and where he is to be sent to serve his noviciate. I need not add that the necessary expenses will be defrayed by his father."

Alluding to a youth who now holds a highly respectable position in the diocess, Dr. Doyle observes a few days later: "I spoke with the President of the College about remitting the entrance-money charged to Master M——. He and I are willing to make an exception in favour of so excellent a young man, who promises to be the heir of so much family virtue. I hope to see your young friend here at dinner with me on to-morrow, when I will have an opportunity of observing him."

Dr. Doyle was not easily pleased. "I declare to you, young man," he said on one occasion to a somewhat stupid candidate for holy orders, "I would much rather see you go home, and mind your father's farm. My advice is, cast theology to the winds, and drive the plough for the rest of your days."

Some young men who had been hastily ordained to supply the exigencies of a Northern diocess, were sent to a Catholic college to complete their studies. They could hardly maintain their position as Priests, yet, because ordained, could not be treated as students. They held a kind of middle rank, and were not regarded with favour by the professors. One of them proving very obtuse, and failing to answer some questions put, the Bishop asked him: "Pray, sir, are you a Priest?" "I am, my Lord," was the faltering reply. "Who ordained you?" "The Right Rev. Dr. ——." "Then," replied Dr. Doyle, sonorously, "may God forgive him, for the Church of Ireland never can."

A person, long familiarly known as "Garratt," had possessed very comfortable means until, having been unluckily prostrated by typhus fever, he was led, in a moment of mental weakness, to assign away all his property to some needy relatives. Garratt recovered his health, but never could recover his property. For charity he was taken into Carlow College as a pensioner. He was piously inclined, and, after a time, applied his mind to the rudiments of theology, with a view to the Church. "The man is a simpleton," said Dr. Doyle, and he proceeded to examine him and several other students. "Now," said the Bishop, "supposing that you were saying Mass and that a spider fell into the chalice,

would you feel yourself authorised in picking it out?" Garratt was silent, but, having been prompted by another student, he replied, "I would swallow it, my Lord." "Very good," said Dr. Doyle, "and if a donkey fell into the chalice, what course would you adopt?" "Swallow it," responded Garratt, mechanically. "Hoofs and all?" inquired the Bishop. "Yes," said Garratt, to the infinite amusement of the assemblage. It need hardly be added that Garratt irrevocably abandoned theology from that day. A few years after, he fell into a state of idiocy, and to the day of his death he laboured under the hallucination that he was a regularily ordained ecclesiastic.

A learned and accomplished young Priest died about this time. Dr. Doyle, surrounded by clergymen, entered the room in which the corpse was waking. "There are several Priests in this diocess," said the Bishop, "of whose ability and fame as theologians I am justly proud. Some have attained that proficiency from many long years of experience and reading; but on the decision of none, in any difficult question of theology, would I have as soon relied as on that of the beardless boy who lies dead."

Dr. Doyle strongly censured any Priest who exhibited a tendency to the *petit maitre*, and has been known to compare a clergyman of this character rather to a foppish captain of militia, than to a Priest of Him who taught us to be meek and humble of heart. He vehemently declaimed against the happily rare instances in which Priests converted the altar steps or the pulpit stairs into the ladder of ambition; or who sustained their relatives in idleness and folly, to the injury of the suffering poor.

To show the pains Dr. Doyle took in order to improve the intellect and moral culture of the young men who were educated in his diocess, with a view to the Church, we may subjoin the following letter to the late Archbishop Murray. The preparatory school for ecclesiastical students at Tullow has long ceased to exist.

"January 4th, 1824.

"My dear Lord Primate—Permit me, through the medium of the present line, to introduce my friend, Mr. James O'Grady, and to solicit for him the favour of your Grace's kind protection.

"He has been for several years the proprietor and sole conductor of our 'Diocesan Seminary at Tullow,' and has given to the public and to me such satisfactory proofs of great eminence in literature and science, that I shall always feel a very lively interest in his future success. He is perfect master of the ancient languages of Greece and Rome, and equally conversant with logic, mathematics, and philosophy. His style and manner of preparing students designed for the ecclesiastical state is pecu-

liarly effective, and admirably calculated to secure future collegiate distinction. This is attended by a splendid series of gratifying results, as the young men educated by him have been, in almost every instance, very highly distinguished in our College at Carlow, as well as in several of the Continental colleges. Nor is his character as a scholar higher for classical and scientific acquirements, than it is as a good Catholic. He is coming up to Dublin, with the intention of attaching himself permanently to St. Patrick's Seminary, and of graduating in Trinity College. Deeply, indeed, do I regret his departure from the Seminary of Tullow. I cannot, however, but rejoice that your Grace will have gained in him a subject of rare and sterling value, and who, unquestionably, will prove an inestimable acquisition to the archdiocess.

"I beg leave therefore, most earnestly, to request of your Grace to receive him, yet unknown, upon faith of my testimony; and aware, as I am, of your Grace's high esteem for talent and for virtue, I have no hesitation in saying that when your Grace will have the opportunity of knowing Mr. O'Grady as I do, he will not need any recommendation from me to ensure to him the fullest measure of your Grace's kind feeling and patronage.

"✠ J. DOYLE."

At the period of which we write, there were travelling through Ireland two personages, who had been deputed by the evangelical party in England to convert "the benighted Irish." One was the Hon. Mr. Noel, who afterwards tired of the adventure; his colleague was Captain Gordon, R.N. In September, 1824, they visited Cork, and challenged the Roman Catholics to public disputation. Messrs. Noel, Gordon, and Pope spoke; O'Connell, Sheil, and the Rev. Mr. Falvey opposed them. The discussion continued with considerable animation: at length Captain Gordon was—according to the late Mr. Fagan, M.P., who has described the scene—"thrown off his centre" by O'Connell.

Dr. Doyle, writing to the Rev. Mr. O'Connor of Cork, immediately after this occurrence, says: "You seem to have had a victory, the presage of others, over the evangelizers in Cork. You are a noble people—may God bless you!"

Many unfounded opinions regarding the Catholics ceased to exist from this time. Sydney Smith, writing to Lady Grey, October 23rd, 1824, says: "I have sent to Bishop Doyle a list of errors commonly and unjustly imputed to the Catholics, and more and more believed for want of proper contradiction, requesting him to publish and circulate a denial of them signed by the R. C. Hierarchy. He writes word it shall be done."

On the 18th October, 1824, Dr. Doyle wrote a letter to Mr. Brennan of Maryborough, in favour of the Catholic Rent:

"My dear Sir—There is no sentiment expressed by the respectable and intelligent meeting at which you presided, if I except those which regard myself, in which I do not most heartily concur. The treaty of Limerick was most perfidiously violated; and the stain of that crime, which is spoken of throughout the civilized world, cannot be effaced from the soul of England—no! not even by our emancipation. Our allegiance and loyalty have not only been chivalrous, but almost chimerical; yet they have been badly requited. Franklin is apotheized, who has written on his tomb '*eripuit cælo fulmen septrumque tyrannis*,' whilst we continue enslaved, who have adopted the motto of the last of the O'Neils, '*Pro Deo et pro Rege*.'

"The Catholic Rent is undoubtedly the most efficient measure ever adopted by the Catholic body. The Israelites would never have been restored by Cyrus, had they not been kept together in exile by a domestic government. England will either dissolve the Association or emancipate the Catholics. You do well to identify yourselves with the Catholic Association: they represent every interest and sentiment in our body. If they be wise and temperate they will achieve much, and the Catholic who is not for them is against his religion and his country. It is right to publish your sentiments—I wish it were done also in the English papers. Much is granted to prayer—much to importunity—much even to clamour; but the silent slave will be converted into a beast of burden. 'Arise,' says an apostle, 'and Christ will enlighten thee.' And another, 'He that is in filth, let him lie in filth still.'"

There can be no doubt that the argumentative appeals of Dr. Doyle had considerable effect, in stimulating the Government to concede a commission of inquiry relative to the state of education in Ireland. Archbishop Murray having written to Dr. Doyle for his opinion, as to whether the Prelates ought to memorial Parliament for educational aid, he replied:

"Old Derrig, 4th November, 1824.

"My Lord—I think we should await the representation of the Commissioners' Report [on the education of the Irish people], before we would again petition Parliament, unless such Report be too long delayed, which is not likely. If the education of our poor children were entrusted to ourselves, or rather the means of educating them, I would not only agree to, but be anxious to have *select* passages of the sacred Scriptures read by the more advanced of them."

Knowing Dr. Doyle's anxiety to promote popular education, an English nobleman sent him, in 1824, a book compiled for the use of schools, which softly and insidiously breathed the infectious

creed of Socinus. "It did not come alone," he writes; "as is usual, it was accompanied with an offer on the part of this most respected but deceived nobleman to build schools on his extensive estates in this country, if the book thus sent were permitted to be used by the children. Behold the conditions on which alone these societies and their dupes or abettors will educate the poor of Ireland! Behold, also, the force with which these societies press on an impoverished and broken-hearted people! Funds to the amount of £200,000 a-year are at their disposal; the influence of the landlord, the zeal of the inspector, the powers of the press and the tongue—calumnies incessantly repeated, the hallowed name of the Word of God, the thirst of the people for education, their excessive poverty—all these form a moral phalanx more formidable than that of Macedon, and if God and the unbroken spirit of the people did not assist us, we could not resist it. We have borne many things, but we never have borne a persecution more bitter than what now assails us. As the persecution of the Church by Julian in the time of peace was more afflicting than that of Nero or Domitian, so what we suffer from these societies, and the power and prejudice they have embodied against us, is more tormenting than what we endured under Anne or the second George. The tendency of all these societies is one and the same—the subversion, by indirect means, of the ancient faith, and the establishment on its ruin of a wild and ungovernable fanaticism."

Onerously engaged as Dr. Doyle constantly was, he found time to be hospitable. The miraculously cured "Catharine," writing from Old Derrig on the 6th of November, 1824, says: "We yesterday arrived here, and met with the most cordial reception from our esteemed and admirable friend Dr. Doyle, whose feeling of kindness and hospitality seems to have spread itself through the entire household, as even the kitchen-maid greeted my return to Old Derrig with expressions of delight and astonishment which amused me highly, such as 'Och, miss, but you look wondherful entirely! The Lord be praised, we live to see it's yerself that's in it!'" A few days later, Catharine writes: "We were greatly amused here by an old Frenchman, who walked from Cambrai to Old Derrig in order to accomplish his vow to cross the Mountains de St. Eustache to see Dr. Doyle. His enthusiastic devotion to the Bishop was extraordinary. With a mixture of smiles and tears, he would exclaim, '*Ah, mon Dieu! que je suis heureux! que je l'ai veu!*' How I wish you could have seen him. Dearest Mariana, as you prophesied, my piety and good feelings have revived at Old Derrig. Your dear name is often mentioned, and our revered friend finds a great likeness in my little companion Sarah to you, which endears her more to both of us. He sends you his

blessing. His health is better than it was, though anxiety, fatigue, and accumulation of business often sadly debilitates him."

On the 22nd of November, 1824, Dr. Doyle addressed a letter to Mr. Phelan of Abbeyleix, a gentleman who had exerted himself considerably in locally organizing the Catholic body and Rent.

"If I sought," he wrote, "by anything which I do to please men, I would no longer be the servant of Christ; but yet it is grateful to my heart to experience, as I daily do, new proofs of the confidence and affection of those whom the Holy Ghost has vouchsafed to commit to my spiritual care. How vain, how fruitless, nay, how senseless are the efforts of those deluded men, who seek to separate us who are called in the unity of one faith—who are one body by the participation of the one bread, and are cemented together, not only by these causes and the mutual love which they generate, but also by the external pressure which, of itself, would be sufficient to keep us united.

"As to the next, let us proceed with dignity and perseverance in our constitutional course, as it becometh the wreck of a mighty nation. Let all our proceedings be in strict conformity with the law, that those who are at the opposite side may have no evil to say of us, and that our conscience or our posterity may not reproach us with having severed from the patience and long-suffering which our religion and our interest enjoin. Be patient, therefore, in your sufferings, but, at the same time, lift up your voice and proclaim your wrongs loudly. You may thereby excite the enmity of the infatuated Orangeman or bigot, but you will also awaken the sleeping justice of England, and unite every friend of humanity, as well as every friend of liberty, in the prosecution of your claims."

As if to beard the lion in his den, a branch of the parent Bible Society established itself in Carlow, and scattered broadcast, amongst the Catholic population, Testaments without note or comment. The Catholic parochial Clergy resisted the attempt to tamper with the "benighted" flock of J.K.L.; words were interchanged, and it was at length agreed that the points at issue should be controverted, publicly and orally, at the forthcoming meeting of the Carlow Auxiliary Bible Society. Accordingly, four Catholic Priests, the Rev. Messrs. Nolan, O'Connell, M'Sweeny, and Clowry, on the one side, and the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Wingfield, and the Rev. Messrs. Pope and Daly (now Bishop of Cashel), on the other, grasped the question vigorously, and for two days debated it with erudition and eloquence. The line of argument adopted on the Biblical side was novel. Casting aside the threadbare taunt that the Roman Church had always locked up the Sacred Writings from her followers, that she might thereby keep them in darkness and error, Messrs. Daly, Wingfield, and Pope

seem to have argued that Catholic divines, in every age, had recommended the perusal of the Holy Scriptures, and that it was inconsistent now for Dr. Doyle and his brethren to oppose a society exclusively devoted to the circulation of the Word of God. The Priests replied, that it was not to the use, but to the abuse of the Sacred Scriptures they objected—private interpretation being a principle abusive of Holy Writ, subversive of Church authority, and, as Luther declared, productive of disastrous results.

Battersby's report of the discussion, at present before us, extends over 127 closely printed pages, and exhibits the Catholic speakers throughout as bearing off the laurel, notwithstanding repeated attempts on the evangelical side to create a diversion, by starting intricate theological topics foreign to the question under discussion. At the conclusion of the second day's proceedings, the chairman announced that the meeting was adjourned *sine die*, whereupon the Rev. Mr. O'Connell, curate to Dr. Doyle, ascended the pulpit of the meeting-house in which the discussion had been held, and "gave thanks to God for the triumph which had been achieved." The utmost interest prevailed, and the attendance during both days was overwhelming. An impression prevailed that Dr. Doyle would himself have attended to oppose in person the principle of indiscriminate Bible-reading and interpretation, against which he had so ably written. But he pursued a more dignified course. Dr. Doyle disliked oral controversy, believing that it rarely failed to excite feelings of acrimony and intemperate retorts. In his "Vindication," addressed to the Marquis Wellesley, he says: "The writer of this letter, my Lord, may be considered as expressing the opinions and feelings of every well-educated Catholic in the empire: he has been from his infancy, and is still connected with Protestants, by ties of friendship, of affection, of good offices, and of blood; he has been attached to them with all the sincerity which could fill an Irish heart. In his intercourse with men he has never distinguished them by their creeds; in the discharge of his ministry, he has never preached a sermon upon controversy, still less has he, at any time, used arguments or influence in private to make proselytes to his creed; and though, from time to time, he has received many individuals to the profession of his own faith, he has sought their conversion only by expounding the truths of the Gospel in public, and endeavouring, as far as God enabled him, to exhibit it in his conduct. Why those who think and act thus should be arraigned for intolerance, it is difficult to understand." And in his "Essay on the Catholic Claims," addressed, three years later, to Lord Liverpool, Dr. Doyle places on record (p. 251) views against polemic warfare if possible more decided.

It was rumoured by the Biblical party of the time, and has been lately asserted by the Rev. Prebendary Fishburne, that the Carlow Priests, in conducting their controversy, acted throughout under the secret direction of Dr. Doyle. The Bishop, however, refrained from offering a single suggestion on the subject, and left the Priests entirely to their own discretion; but when an attempt had been made next year to renew the controversy, he sternly forbade it.

The controversial discussion at Carlow in 1824 was but a sample of what widely took place elsewhere throughout Ireland. There was hardly a town or a village to which the Biblical divines did not make a special mission. They loudly claimed the victory in many places, but reverses not unfrequently overtook them. At Monaghan, a few uneducated laymen maintained the discussion, with amazing natural ability, for several successive days, and were finally awarded the victory by a bench of Protestant judges. Dr. Doyle, in a conversation with a Priest at this period, detailed the circumstances in which this extensive religious crusade would seem to have originated. Mr., afterwards Lord Plunket, in the course of an interview with his old friend, Archbishop Magee, observed that nothing would be easier than to proselytize the Irish people, by means of earnest and zealous missionaries. The Priests, he said, especially in the country parts, were ignorant and awkward, inefficient as logicians, and timid and blundering in society. Mr. Plunket expressed his conviction that such men could make no manner of stand against an ably organized and simultaneous assault from the eminently expert divines and scholars which Trinity College was then daily sending forth. The Irish peasantry, he added, were naturally so quick-witted that they would not fail at once to perceive the superiority which the Protestant clergymen were certain to maintain in a public discussion. Archbishop Magee concurred with Mr. Plunket; and hence the origin of the celebrated movement known as "the Second Reformation." Mr. Plunket's erroneous impression had been derived, Dr. Doyle added, from his acquaintance with one or two old country Priests, who had been invited to some fashionable tables solely to be laughed at.

There were some circumstances under which Dr. Doyle encouraged the cultivation of polemical skill. In order to check the progress of the monster mission to Roman Catholics, Dr. Doyle and his brother Bishops ordained that no ordinary Priest could absolve any person who exposed his faith to danger, by deliberately listening to the evangelical preachers. An individual thus transgressing could only be absolved by the Bishop or his Vicar. A Priest accompanied a penitent of this description, one day, to Old

Derrig. The man flung himself on his knees before the Bishop, and seemed dreadfully agitated. "My poor man," said the Bishop, "rise, and tell me calmly what it is that troubles you." "I went to hear the parsons preaching," he replied; "but I only went to refute what they said?" "Well, what did they say?" proceeded Dr. Doyle. The penitent enumerated, with singular clearness, the various arguments which had been urged, and his reasons for considering them untenable. "Unlike most of your neighbours who went to hear these gentlemen," said the Bishop, "God Almighty seems to have specially gifted you with a sound and discerning mind; and since you are able to answer so cleverly, I, as your Bishop, give you full permission to frequent these meetings as often as you choose; and in order that you may cultivate the gift which God has given you, put these little books in your pocket, and study them carefully when you go home"—saying which, to the infinite amazement of the Priest and his penitent, he gave the latter his blessing, and some of Dr. Milner's writings at the same time.

Another man waited upon the curates with an expression of desire to contract matrimony. The Rev. Mr. —— had his suspicion that the man might have been already married, and communicated his fears to the Bishop. "Although he steadily denies that he has got a wife," said the curate, "I have my doubts nevertheless. But how can we ascertain the truth?" "Send him into me," said Dr. Doyle, "and I'll soon tell you whether he is married or not." The man was accordingly conducted to the Bishop's presence. "You desire to enter the married state," he said. "I do, plaze your Lordship," was the reply. "Are you aware of the awful consequences which you are likely to incur if you, being already married, dare to enter matrimony a second time?" "Sartinly," replied the man; "but it is no harm in life now, bekays I'm single." "Come forward," said the Bishop, taking up a large Bible, and leading the applicant to imagine that he was about to administer an oath. "Place your finger upon that Book" (the man did so); "it is the work of God himself, and you now call God to witness the truth of what you say. The Hand which inspired that Book may strike you lifeless upon the spot if you call Him to bear witness to a lie!" "Oh, my Lord," exclaimed the fellow, turning as white as a sheet, and running wildly out of the room, "I am married—I am married!"

While the sensation which succeeded the Carlow discussion was still vibrating, certain partizans of the Biblical party, by means of intemperate retort and misrepresentation, sought to cover the discomfiture of some of the missionaries. The following unpublished letter from Dr. Doyle to the late Eneas M'Donnell alludes to this circumstance:

"Old Derrig, 20th December, 1824.

"DEAR SIR—I feel exceedingly indebted to you for the attention you have directed to the libel, just published in London, against the Clergy and people of this town who attended at the late Bible meeting; and I agree with you in thinking that a prosecution of the publisher of that libel, if instituted in England, might be productive of good. But *we* have never resorted to such means of repelling calumnies, and even if our profession sanctioned our doing so, we have not time nor money to expend in that way. Victims ourselves of harsh laws, I, or those Clergymen connected with me, will never have recourse to other weapons than argument and our conduct, such as it may be, to vindicate our characters. The extracts you sent me of the late meeting, with the exception of the preface, have been copied from *The Dublin Evening* ——: they scarcely contain a single sentence in which the truth is not distorted, and are altogether the most wicked and malicious misrepresentation of the entire proceedings; but they did not excite in us either surprise or indignation, as they are only specimens of the vituperation, lies, and abuse, which are daily poured upon us by the Orange press. In Ireland this press is not attended to, unless by persons who close their eyes and hearts against truth and justice, and we do hope that in time it will cease to mislead the people of England. We are doing all in our power, by means of the press which is not corrupted, but above all by our conduct, to justify our character and religion before the world; and if we continue, notwithstanding, to be assailed and persecuted, we have the consolation of knowing that we suffer for justice' sake. It is this sentiment which sustains us under many a trial too severe for the ordinary strength of men. My character of the Clergymen engaged in the late discussion might be deemed, by almost every person, as somewhat partial; but they are known to Colonel Rochfort and to the respectable gentry of the neighbourhood, and have been, and I believe are considered by them as persons totally incapable of doing or saying anything not becoming the character of Christian ministers. They are amongst my most zealous cooperators in enforcing obedience to every constituted authority, and in preaching peace and good-will to all who hear us.

"✠ J. DOYLE."

We find Colonel Rochfort, on the 22nd April in the following year, informing a parliamentary committee of inquiry that "Dr. Doyle's exertions had been of great service in inducing the people to submit to the laws, and refrain from joining illegal societies, not only by printed Pastoral Letters, but by personally addressing the people from the altars of every Chapel in the diocess."

Addressing Mr. Brennan of Kildare, Dr. Doyle glances incidentally at some of the topics noticed in his letter to Eneas M'Donnell: "I am happy to find that the late general distress had scarcely subsided in your town, when those who suffered, as well as those who administered relief, resolved to collect the Catholic Rent. A great characteristic of the Irish people is patience in distress. Our spirit has not yielded to oppression; and, like the ruins of our ancient greatness which overhang your town, it reminds us of what we were, and excites us to exertion that we may become free, great, and happy as we once had been.

"Our country is still enslaved. A tyranny generated by the laws, and introduced by a worthless, heartless, and bigoted faction to the fireside of every peasant, requires of us all to take from our competency, or even wretchedness, whatever may have escaped the hand of the despoiler, and consecrate it to our public and personal redemption. Our religion continues to be maligned; the course of public justice is still disturbed; the legislature, at the close of six centuries, is unacquainted with the state of Ireland; the public press, which should be a medium of light, has become a vehicle of slander, and they who persecute us seem to think 'they thereby render a service to God.' It is our duty, therefore, to labour with one heart and one mind, in such a manner as the laws permit, to vindicate our religion, to relieve the oppressed, to enlighten the legislature, and to establish, if possible, the sway of truth and justice in the room of prejudice and error.'

"It is just that amongst us, Kildare, which was once the abode of sanctity and learning, and which in its greatness and decay and ruin presents a picture of the Irish nation, should now afford an example of public virtue to the surrounding country, and awaken the energies of those excellent men who claim an alliance with her name."

"Private and political cares," he once said to the Rev. Mr. Maher, "rankle at my heart, and often oppress me dreadfully. The latter feeling sometimes finds a vent in my writings, but private sorrow, like the canker, gnaws my heart in security and silence."

It is curious to place this declaration in juxtaposition with Dr. Doyle's letter, written before he became a Bishop (p. 69, *ante*), in which he almost boasts of his exemption from crosses, but yet fears that many may still be in store for him.

The Rev. William Clowry, who particularly distinguished himself at the Carlow discussion, was immediately afterwards appointed Administrator of Tullow. As this was a mensal parish, Dr. Doyle frequently visited it in his official capacity. Mr.

Clowry resided at the junction of two main streets: here apartments were always ready for the Bishop. One Saturday night, after Dr. Doyle had retired to rest, two dogs began to fight with immense uproar under his window. At this juncture Mr. D——, a prim and respectable little man, well known by the *sobriquet* of "Garrodeen," happening to be out late and on his way home, finding the dogs tearing each other tooth and nail, and in order to prevent the Bishop from being disturbed, endeavoured to separate them, which only made them worse. The noise at this time had reached to a fearful pitch; the Bishop and his Administrator got up, peeped from the window, and detected Mr. D——, as they thought, in the act of instigating the dogs to fight. The following day was Sunday, and the Bishop, after delivering an effective discourse on the Gospel of the day, by way of epilogue adverted to the scene of the previous night. He commented with just severity upon dog-fights in general; the barbarity of urging on two unfortunate brutes to eat each other; the impropriety of keeping an entire village in alarm and disturbance during its period of rest after the labour of the day; and this to be done, not by a blackguard or a simpleton, but a man holding the rank of a respectable citizen, reputed a good Catholic, and the father of a large family who looked up to him for example. The whole village was on the *qui vive* to know the person to whom the Bishop referred, and when it was understood to be Mr. D——, nothing could exceed the amusement occasioned. Mr. D—— vehemently declared his innocence, and although everybody knew from their knowledge of his character that such was the fact, yet no one would pretend to credit his protestations. When the circumstance was afterwards explained to Dr. Doyle, he enjoyed the equivoque quite as heartily as his flock.

Tullow Chapel was the scene of much graver excitement a few months later. A man, resident in that town, had been convicted by the Bishop of gross and repeated acts of immorality. Dr. Doyle, in consideration of the public scandal caused, decided upon publicly excommunicating him. He ascended the altar of Tullow Chapel in his episcopal cope, and, after a touching exhortation which brought tears into no eye more copiously than his own, proceeded to fulminate the terrible censure of the Church. There are several forms for effecting excommunication. Dr. Doyle, in this instance, acted upon the spirit of St. Paul's address to the incestuous Corinthian. "I give your body to the devil," said Dr. Doyle, in a tone which brought terror to every heart—"but," he added after a pause, during which he turned to the crucifix and raised his eyes and arms to heaven, "I recommend your soul to God!" "Never," observes our informant, "can I

forget the scene. It was like a general judgment. Groans, and shrieks of horror, and cries to heaven for mercy resounded on all sides. Dr. Doyle at first crushed down the feelings of his auditory like a bent bow; on a sudden he removed the pressure, and their hearts bounded with the elasticity of liberated sorrow. 'I recommend your soul to God!' Never was prayer more heartily joined in; and I believe the man became a great penitent. Dr. Doyle warned the people not to eat or keep company with the unclean man (*c.* 5, *v.* 11), and to put him away from amongst them (*v.* 13). The people shunned him, and he had to leave Tullow, of which he had long been an inhabitant."

But Dr. Doyle could rebuke mildly when he chose. Bishop Ullathorne writes: "I remember hearing the Commandant of Norfolk Island telling the anecdote at his table, how he and a party went to hear Dr. Doyle, in 1824, address a multitude of poor people, who had been causing a commotion in some political trouble. The Commandant spoke of the way they were struck by the extraordinary effect of his first words—'Children, I am not well pleased with you.' All burst out weeping, and wept to the end of one of the most touching and remarkable discourses these gentlemen had ever heard."

The private sorrows of which Dr. Doyle complained in 1824, he sometimes endeavoured to shake off in correspondence with his old friends. On the 31st December in that year, he addressed Dr. Donovan, the accomplished Professor of Rhetoric at Maynooth:

"My dear Rev. Friend—I am jealous of you, and almost angry with you for not spending a day with me when going to or returning from Cork. I will not forgive you or be reconciled with you, unless you come to spend the Christmas *tête-à-tête* with your old friend. You know there is no place more your home than Old Derrig—none of your intimates more sincerely attached to you than its Hermit. Come, then, and relax that monkish austerity which *The Courier* says binds up all your faculties, and almost unfits you for society! How little the blockhead knows of your being the very *flos* and *decus* of society! But *apropos*, have you seen *The Courier* with the article alluded to? It is certainly an outrageous attack on your establishment. He would divide us, the continental Clergy, from you. *Divide et impera* would be good for him even with us. But if you or your people could reply to it in some way, perhaps it would be right. I don't know how this *Courier* will relish the Pope and these continental Clergy when he sees them as they have been lately exhibited. I think he will abuse us unmercifully as irreclaimable bigots, as intolerant as when we had Europe at our feet. 'Popery Unchanged' will

be his motto. . . . . If they have beaten down the Bible Society I am satisfied with the price they may be obliged to pay for the achievement.

"✠ J. DOYLE."

CHAPTER XVI.

Publication of Twelve Letters on the State of Ireland by J. K. L.—Defective condition of the laws—State of parties—Religion and its ministers in Ireland—Improper administration of the laws—Corporate corruption—The Magisterial Bench bribed and debauched—Increase of population—Catholic Emancipation—The forty-shilling freeholders—A legal provision for the Irish poor—Blunders and blunderbusses—Letter to Mariana—Interesting letter on auricular confession—Excommunications—Anecdotes.

MEANWHILE the good Bishop was not solely "on hospitable thoughts intent." A comprehensive scheme filled his thoughts, and soon assumed a tangible and substantial form. Knowing how constantly and onerously he had been occupied, his friends and the public were much surprised, in February, 1825, to observe a new and portly volume by J. K. L. emanate from Mr. Coyne's press. The work extended to 364 pages, and comprised twelve letters, "addressed to a friend in England," on the various political and religious questions which then agitated the breast of Ireland. These papers the author threw off with singular dash and power. Though written rapidly, with a view to assist the researches of the Parliamentary Committee then sitting on the state of Ireland, they can bear the severest ordeal of literary criticism. The views expressed are sound, sensible, and courageous, the majority of them sparkle with the freshness of originality, while many passages swell with an indignant eloquence and vigour, which Grattan, in his happiest perorations, has not surpassed. J. K. L., in a prefatory letter, requests the public to bear in mind that he who submits his views without reserve had been bred up a slave, and from his infancy had imbibed strong prejudices against the ruling party.

Having noticed various interesting points of similarity between Rome, as described by Tacitus, and Ireland in 1825, Dr. Doyle proceeded to review the policy, character, and measures of Lord Wellesley's administration, and the difficulties with which it had daily to contend. He declared that its great mistake consisted in seeking to heal what should be amputated, and neglecting to eradicate fundamental abuses. He smiled at the stereotyped assertion, that Lord Wellesley came to administer the laws impartially but not to change them, and proved that no Government who sought to exercise the laws as then existing could ever acquire a

character for strength and wisdom, or succeed in promoting security, confidence, or repose. Lord Chancellor Redesdale had recently confessed that "there was in Ireland one law for the rich and another for the poor." But Dr. Doyle did not require to be informed by that Peer of the character of "justice" as then administered in Ireland. "A poor Protestant obtains justice in Ireland," he said, "and is protected not only by the law but by the passions; but there is no law for the Catholic." He proved that the spirit and letter of almost every law—the Penal Code as well as those which had recently been enacted—were hostile to the people. Act after Act he cited in illustration. The malicious object of some was ingeniously disguised, but J. K. L. dissected and laid them bare with the dexterity of a constitutional lawyer. There can be little doubt that some of the many points which Dr. Doyle perpetually pressed on the attention of the Viceroy were remembered by Lord Wellesley, when penning those admirable despatches which have since come to light. They show his anxiety that justice should be done to the Catholics, and are altogether highly creditable to his memory.

The aim of the Second Letter was to give some idea of the state of parties in Ireland, their composition and ulterior views, and to unfold the character of the Irish gentry of that day, which seems to have had as many grades as there were steps in Jacob's ladder. "Squireens" Dr. Doyle pronounced to be the very curse and scourge of Ireland. They were numerous, ignorant, bigoted, and dishonest; many of them had no regard for the sanctity of an oath, yet succeeded in obtaining the commission of the peace, and trading on it; they pocketed perquisites arising from jobs, fomented discontent, promoted religious animosity, saw the poor starving but saw it unmoved—and, never having seen a peasantry enjoying comfort, they had no idea of what their condition ought to have been. The squireens were, in fact, the slave-drivers of Ireland. J. K. L. showed how the country was divided into three great political sections—*i.e.*, the Orangemen, the Catholics, and the Government party—besides a vast mass of inert matter, or what Swift would call prudent men, who, solely intent on their own interest, whisper away the characters of all the others, pass judgment in secret upon whatever occurs, are never pleased with anything, and are ready to pray with Cromwell or cry with Charles. All these parties, as they crowded on the breast of Ireland, J. K. L. examined with the precision of a Buffon or Linnæus, when engaged on some interesting zoological inquiry.

Having in his Third Letter referred to the state of religion and its ministers in Ireland, J. K. L. went on to say that piety among the Catholics was daily becoming stronger and more

enlightened, notwithstanding the insults and injuries that daily assailed them, and the party spirit which, like a fiend, continued to agitate the whole frame of society. Of the state of religion in the Protestant Church in Ireland, he said that it had always partaken more of a political than a religious Establishment. Its ministers were as various in character as their callings were different. Several of the characteristics so trenchantly noticed by J. K. L. have now happily ceased to exist. "We must take it as a certain truth," he writes, "that they are all moved by interior grace to take upon them the cure of souls, as they themselves declare in the presence of God and of the Church; but then, as there are many mansions in the house of their heavenly Father, so they fit themselves for them by a great variety of occupations whilst on earth: some are given to agriculture; others are devoted to angling; many of them, like Abel, are fond of tending flocks; and not a few of them are famous hunters before the Lord. Being appointed officers in the Church militant, they are frequently found at the head of armed detachments; and from a love of justice, and a hatred of hearing the name of the Lord profaned, it is almost impossible to find a bench of magistrates not studded with them. Indeed, it is at petty sessions they often discharge the more weighty duties of their ministry, in issuing decrees for the recovery of tithes. They are also diligent in promoting comfort amongst the poor, or establishing peace and good will in their several parishes, by taking from the peasant his last shilling, that he might not spend it in the ale-house; or by deciding between two scolds, on the sworn testimony of their peers, that the goat of the one had not browsed upon the other's hedge. Much of their leisure time is also usefully employed in collecting, for their favourite newspapers, details of atrocities lately committed; in transcribing notices just posted up on the chapel-doors by Captain Rock; in making up reports of the conversions of benighted Catholics for the Home Missionary Society; in depicting, with all the warmth of Irish feeling, the rapid progress of the Bible Society, and the vast numbers of Irish Testaments which were administered by them to the poor Papists." Dr. Doyle added, that as heads of families they were often amiable, and not a few had proved themselves superior to "the prejudices and follies of their order."

J. K. L. devoted his Fourth Letter to a disquisition on the character of the laws and the administration of justice, with some remarks on corporate bodies in Ireland. Of the latter he said, that instead of protecting and promoting commerce, and constituting themselves the citadels of a nation's liberty, they were like nightmares upon commerce, and the very fastnesses of corruption. He pronounced them to be, from the city of Dublin to

the pettiest borough on the western coast, a "palsied and a paralyzing nuisance—cruel, heartless, and dissipated, like an old gamester and sensualist, who would extort or borrow, beg or steal, that he might gratify the wasted remnant of his passions." This is strong language, but not more forcible than truth and justice demanded. The unblushing venality, the narrow-minded bigotry of the Irish Corporations, previous to their purification some twenty years ago, have formed the theme of many a patriot voice and pen. Since 1793, when a bill of relief had been granted in a spirit of reluctant surrender, Catholics became admissible to corporations; but the concession was altogether neutralised by the provisoes which accompanied it, and until 1840 Catholics continued to be excluded. For many a long and dreary year, the rights and liberties of the people were daily trampled under foot by this oligarchy of civilians. It can hardly be said to have included even the men of substance among the Orange mercantile body. O'Connell applied the phrase "beggarly" to the corporation of Dublin, and a small bankrupt merchant who had filled the office of Town Councillor, acting as the mouthpiece of the offended body, challenged O'Connell to deadly combat, and became himself the victim. Of corporation magistrates, Judge Day declared before Parliament, in 1825, that "they are not controlled by the Chancellor, and have no fear of that kind. I have known," he added, "the corporate magistrates behave in an extremely reprehensible manner. The people have no confidence at all in them; there has been a great abuse by them of magisterial power."

The times have so thoroughly changed for the better within the last thirty years, that it is almost difficult for any man who had not personal experience of them to credit the low ebb to which the political and social condition of Ireland was reduced. No wonder that the laws should have been distorted and prostituted to party purposes by the subordinates of the law, when the administration of justice was tainted at its very fountains. Packed juries and partizan judges hourly scattered dismay among one party, and intoxicated the other with a riotous joy. "The laws of Ireland," writes the Bishop, in his Fourth Letter, "are a confused mass—a moral chaos. They have not educated the people on principles agreeable to reason or the law of God; hence, human nature has either been perverted by them, or revolted against them; strife and contention have sprung from them; anarchy, fraud, and oppression have been their fruits; all the evils of Ireland could have been healed—and yet they have been aggravated by them; the wisest judges who ever graced a bench could not dispense them to advantage; but, with the exception of a few, the judges themselves have had their minds and hearts influenced by them, and

the people whom they afflicted always feared and hated them. Efforts have been made, and are making, to administer these laws justly; but until they are equalized and fitted to the people—until the spirit of conquest, and monopoly, and persecution is extracted from them—until they are made to accord with that immutable justice which I have above defined, they cannot be made to produce order, prosperity, or peace. To labour at the administration of law in this country, whilst the laws themselves, and the abuses engrafted on them, are suffered to remain unchanged, is like rolling a stone against a hill, which, before it has reached the summit, rolls back again."

An inquiry, in 1823, before the House of Commons, into the proceedings of Mr. Sheriff Thorpe of Dublin, fully exposed the scandalous partiality with which juries for particular cases were habitually packed. In fact, the sheriffs of that day pledged themselves before their election to take a decided part in politics against every Catholic. "Catholics would rather submit to great wrongs," said O'Connell, "than attempt a trial in Dublin." The evidence of which this is a part was delivered before Parliament in 1825. Many competent and disinterested persons were examined, and *The Edinburgh Review*, in noticing their revelations, said that no one could fail to be "equally surprised and disgusted with the abominable course of profligacy and corruption which is there exhibited." Petty sessions courts had not yet been generally established, and the evidence in question is choke-full of the iniquities that had been practised by the magistrates of Ireland in the safe seclusion of their closets. The utter imbecility of most of those who were not partizans was likewise proved. "Improper appointments," said the Marquis of Westmeath, "have crept into the magistracy to a great extent." Mr. Beecher said, "It was no uncommon thing, when a friend had incurred a penalty, to remit the fine, and to levy a penalty strictly against another, merely because he was an object of dislike." Major Warburton proved that a female had been sent to America by a magistrate, without any legal proceeding whatever. Major Wilcox established the fact that some justices of the peace were engaged in illicit distillation, and that they took presents and bribes, and bail when other magistrates refused; that they took cross-examinations where informations had been already taken by other magistrates. "They issued warrants against the complaining party in the first instance, at the suggestion of the party complained against." It further appeared that some magistrates took fees in money, and not unfrequently rendered official services in consideration of having their turf drawn home, or their potatoes planted. The Rev. Mr. Collins, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, proved that magistrates corruptly re-

ceived presents of corn, cattle, potatoes, and even money. "If the person of whom the complaint was made ranked as a gentleman, the magistracy often decline interfering, because it would lead to personal results." Mr. O'Driscoll alleged that there were several magistrates trading on their office; they "sell justice, and administer it favourably to the party who pays them best." "It is a convenient thing," said O'Connell, "for a man to have the commission of the peace, for he can make those he dislikes fear him, and he can favour his friends." It is a fact tolerably significant of the state of the times, that these venal practices had transpired subsequent to a farcical judicial form which had for its professed object the revision of the magistracy. But it appeared that in several counties the revision was more according to religion than misconduct. O'Connell proved that "most excellent men had been deprived of their office without any cause. It was particularly severe upon the Catholic magistrates. In the county Cork, eighteen out of twenty-one Catholics were struck out." O'Connell was cognizant of even more corrupt magisterial practice than he avowed on his examination. In Mr. Daunt's "Conversations of O'Connell," the details are given of a certain justice who threatened to flog and hang the sons of a widow to whom his worship owed £2,000, unless she pledged herself to cancel the bond!

Dr. Doyle's general picture of the administration of justice was effective: "The judge is often decorous; on some occasions you imagine he is the advocate of the crown or the criminal; there are times and cases when you know not how to designate him, and you only lament that wicked system which placed him on the bench. The juries, in criminal cases, generally are such as can be most easily found. But when a special interest is excited by the trial, the art and talent and trick employed at one time by the sheriff's deputy, at another by the clerk of the crown, to array their men and produce a jury, is such as would furnish food for several months' reflection to those two sages who spent their lives weeping or laughing over the follies or wickedness of their fellow-men. In short, the administration of justice in Ireland is thwarted by the spirit of the law—it is analogous to the unsettled state of the country, and influenced constantly by the character of those who are employed about it."

There would seem to be no doubt that the startling allegations pronounced by Dr. Doyle in February, 1825, and at previous periods, regarding the administration of justice in Ireland, had no small effect in stimulating that searching parliamentary inquiry which took place with such success in the same year, and eventuated in a reform so comprehensive and salutary.

In his Fifth Letter, which he devoted to the consideration of

"the increase of population in Ireland, its causes and effects," J.K.L. declared that hitherto no accurate census had been taken, and he entertained no doubt that there were then considerably more than 7,000,000 of inhabitants in Ireland. The Catholics had ever been unwilling to make known their numbers to any agent of the Government. Having too often experienced from it what they deemed treachery or injustice, they naturally distrusted whomsoever approached them in its name. Ignorant of the object in computing the number of its slaves, they rather feared they were to be decimated or banished, as in the time of Cromwell, than that any measures were in contemplation for the improvement of their condition. The Bishop adduced some interesting statistics to show the number of births and marriages, since 1784, within a portion of his diocess. This authentic source of information he was only enabled partially to use, as the registers, which had been commenced in every parish on the relaxation of the Penal Code, were destroyed in 1798, lest they should fall into the hands of the Orangemen—"a precaution deemed necessary," observed Dr. Doyle, "as these loyalists had seized upon a parochial register amongst other plunder, and having discovered in it a list of rebels, as they supposed, sought them out as victims for their fury." The Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Letters consisted of some very able remarks on Public Education, Bible Societies, Tradition, Catholic emancipation, allegiance, and the declaration prescribed by law to be taken and made by Protestants. Respecting the latter, J.K.L. said: "There is no Protestant holding or administering any office, or entering any learned profession in these countries, who must not, in order to prove his loyalty, declare in the presence of God his belief that 'the Pope has not, nor ought not to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm.' Were such a declaration a mere form of words, it would only be ridiculous; but when the awful name of God is interposed it becomes terrifying, and is certainly a burden too heavy for a conscientious man to bear. Were I a Protestant, I would forego the highest dignity in the State rather than make such a declaration. Whether the Pope ought or ought not to have spiritual authority within this realm, is a question which depends on whether he be or be not the head of the Catholic Church; for if he be, it is manifest that wherever there are Catholics he must have jurisdiction over them; and as there are several millions of them within this kingdom, his spiritual authority necessarily extends to them all. But leaving this question, how can a man declare that he has not jurisdiction in this realm, whereas his having it, and exercising it, is as notorious as the existence of the sun at noon?"

Everybody knows that authority or jurisdiction consists in the right of some person to exercise a command, and to administer punishment in case of disobedience. Catholics, regarding the Pope as head of the Church, obey him in all spiritual decrees; and though a conscientious Protestant might call God to witness that he does not believe the Pope ought to have any jurisdiction in this country, "yet," added Dr. Doyle, "to declare solemnly before God his belief that the Pope has not such jurisdiction—a jurisdiction constantly exercised by him—requires a degree of indifference about oaths and declarations which unhappily is but too general." Dr. Doyle then went on to prove that the obedience which a Catholic owes the head of his Church does not, in the least, clash with the allegiance due to a temporal Sovereign. Preparatory to discussing this question, he adroitly cleared away some difficulties calculated to obscure the view which he proposed to give of it, and then proceeded to lay down the principles, already expressed by the Redeemer himself, which regulate the spiritual and temporal obedience of Catholics. He showed the utter groundlessness of the apprehension that the Popes were constantly intriguing to depose Kings and Queens. When Genoa revolted under Doria, and numberless other Italian States changed their Constitutions or their Sovereigns, the Father of the Faithful deplored the crimes which were committed, and mingled his tears with the blood of his children; but he deposed no Prince, and interposed only by his advice.

"A man who dreads Popery now-a-days would cry fire in the deluge," said Dr. Johnson, exactly half a century before the storm of alarm and wrath which J. K. L. in 1825, found it necessary to confront. J. K. L. noticed in detail the various false alarms which left the Catholics so long enslaved, the country miserable, and her children in a state of moral warfare. In reply to the cry of "The Church is in danger," he declared that there was not an individual in Ireland who would take from her an acre of land or a fleece of wool to bestow it upon any other Church. The opponents of the Catholic claims feared that the Irish would become reformers. J. K. L. admitted the justice of the suspicion: if continued to be treated unjustly, they would ally themselves with any enemy which political corruption might have. The man in pursuit of a party who has filched his goods does not inquire of him who joins in the pursuit whence he came or what his character and object is: he wants his assistance to seize the culprit, and without thinking whether he may not also be a robber, and of the worst description, he takes him as an ally. "So with the Irish. Reject them, insult them, continue to deprive them of hope, and they will league with Beelzebub against you. Revenge is sweet, and the pride of

a nation is like the vanity of a woman—when wounded, it is relentless."

In the Tenth Letter, J.K.L. discussed, at considerable length, the threatened disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders. "The taking away a vote," says Burke, "is the taking away a shield which the subject has, not only against the oppression of power, but that worst of all oppression, the persecution of private society and private manners." "It is the natural right of man," wrote Dr. Doyle—"a right interwoven with the essence of our constitution, and producing, as its necessary effect, the House of Commons—that a man who has life, liberty, and property, should have some share or influence in the disposal of them by law. Take the elective franchise from the Irish peasant, and you not only strip him of the present reality or appearance of this right, but you disable him and his posterity ever to acquire it. He is now poor and oppressed—you then make him vile and contemptible; he is now the image of a freeman—he will be then the very essence of a slave; he has now a hope, that should his country improve, he may one day raise his voice on the hustings, and plead the cause of all who belong to his class of life, whilst he proclaims the virtue of the candidate whom he supports, or upbraids the recreant who betrays the public trust; but take from him his freehold, and you cast him out of the Constitution. Like the Helot at Athens, he may go to the forum and gaze at the election, and then return to hew his wood or fetch his water to the freeman—an inhabitant, but not a citizen of the country which gave him birth."

It had been objected that the forty-shilling freehold system sometimes produced perjury and immorality. "But are these evils to be removed by reducing still more the Irish peasant in the scale of political existence?—by increasing to an incredible extent the number of paupers?—by throwing the famished population into the ranks of Captain Rock?—by multiplying house-burnings, assassinations, murders, robberies?—by raising up a class of heartless, unrelenting middlemen?—by scourging the poor, not with rods, but with scorpions? Are there no remedies for the evils of the country, unless such as have a manifest tendency to multiply and aggravate those which exist? Is there not in the heart of a freeman something which would make him revolt from the idea of robbing of their birthright half-a-million of subjects, and plunging so many men who have still a hope of improvement into a state of irremediable servitude, of hopeless despair, blotting their names for ever from the book of the Constitution?"

It has often been said that the triumphant return of O'Connell at the Clare election, three years later, by the forty-shilling freeholders, was the turning point of the Catholic question; but in the

recently published ministerial narrative of its progress and settlement, from the pen of the late Sir Robert Peel, this fact is more than once historically avowed. In 1829 the forty-shilling freeholders were disfranchised. That the worst anticipations of Dr. Doyle would have been realized is most probable, were it not for the introduction of the Reform Bill in 1831.

The distress of the poor, consequent on the high price of provisions and the dearth of employment, had long afflicted Dr. Doyle, and he laboured with the zeal of an Ambrose to alleviate calamities which it was not in his power to avert. The Eleventh and Twelfth Letters of the series preached with eloquence and earnestness the crying necessity of establishing some well-digested system of poor-rates in Ireland. He suggested that this tax ought to fall heavier on the heartless absentees than on those resident landlords who charitably dispensed relief to the famishing people. The laws of nature and of God ordain that the distressed members of the community should be supported by those who possess abundance. The Persians, the Greeks, the Romans had a legal provision for the poor; and when the Almighty dictated a code to the children of Israel, He was careful to incumber the inheritance He gave them with a support for the fatherless, the widow, and the stranger. Poor-rates would create employment, and by creating employment, augment capital. Capital and labour would improve lands, and an impulse to internal trade would spring from this improvement. J. K. L. showed that the small-farming classes were very disproportionately burdened with the support of the poor, and he called for an equitable distribution of that burden. But he had other reasons to support his views. "At present," he said, "the real object of distress is often neglected, whilst the clamorous impostor is relieved. Virtue is left to pine away in solitude, whilst vice, with its brazen front, extorts support. There is at present no method, no order, no regularity, no fixed rule for dispensing relief. The very existence of distress is unknown to some, is doubted of by others, whilst its victims are hourly perishing. Want of information, of previous arrangement, of classification—in fact, a want of method and system—produces the greatest disorder, and frequently operates injustice in administering relief to the necessitous. All these inconveniences, at least, would be obviated, if there existed in every parish a legal body charged with the interests of the poor. Again: at present, when distress becomes general and urgent, contributions must be raised, but they are often raised from the bounty or piety of those who can least afford to make sacrifices, whilst the miser, the ungenerous, the hard-hearted, withhold their aid, or dole it out with so much pain and penury as to render it of

little use. The proprietor, also, who happens to be a resident, is overwhelmed with demands upon his bounty, whilst the absentee leaves the poor to the care of some heartless agent, who seems often, in the intensity of his perverseness, to laugh at their destruction."

Dr. Doyle's opponents on this question objected that poor-rates might operate as a check to industry and an encouragement to indolence.

"In reply to this," he said, "it should be sufficient to observe, that men in a state of extreme depression, such as that of our poor at present, are devoid of energy and nearly incapable of exertion: it is the man who possesses something who is found to make efforts either to preserve or to increase his little store; but when he is reduced to the lowest ebb of misery, he becomes listless, a kind of apathy spreads itself over him like a nightmare, and he finds himself incapable of making any movement. Look to the savage, as described by Robertson, who presents him to you as totally heedless of to-morrow; look to the slave until he gets a little patrimony, and you find him sleeping away his leisure hours. But turn to the tradesman or peasant who has obtained some little degree of independence, and like the bee when storing her hive with wax or honey, he is all busy, diligent, active, and industrious."

J. K. L. did not cry out vaguely and undefinedly for some legal system of relief, but with much perspicuity submitted to the Legislature an able and ingenious plan, which, after long and anxious thought, he had been led to adopt. It is much to be regretted that this vigorous and suggestive outline was not filled up and perfected by the Government. The crude and faulty plan of poor-laws for Ireland which came into operation during the year 1838, could not fail to have proved most unsatisfactory to the practical eye and comprehensive mind of J. K. L. Had not the one ceased to flash and the other to toil, he would, no doubt, have pronounced the cure to have been, in this instance, worse than the disease.

The Rev. M. Brennan, in his "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," referring to Dr. Doyle's "Twelve Letters on the State of Ireland," says that they present "a rare combination of eloquence, patriotism, and philosophy. The nerve and unlaboured simplicity of the diction, together with the justness of the remarks with which they abound, rendered them perhaps the most popular literary collection that had ever been published in this country. The paramount national good which resulted from them has been decidedly acknowledged by men of all parties, and entitles their highly-gifted author to the thanks and gratitude of posterity."

"These letters," observes Bishop O'Connor, "which fill near 400 pages, he wrote *currente calamo*, and it was only when he brought them to Dublin for publication that he had time to read them over."

The reader has no doubt observed with what strength of language Dr. Doyle frequently denounced the mal-administration of justice in Ireland. These sentiments, however, only found expression through the medium of works which never reached the peasantry. They were addressed to men in power, and circulated almost entirely among the higher orders. We have seen how, in various Pastorals which were read aloud for the people from every altar of the diocess, he uniformly inculcated allegiance to the King and due obedience to the constituted authorities. During the month of February, 1825, Dr. Doyle issued another useful document of this character. "Bring to your recollection," he wrote, "our former admonitions, when, by word and by letter, we exhorted you to peace, and to an unqualified respect for and obedience to the laws. Those who are opposed to the interests of the country are endeavouring to create alarms and to frame conspiracies. You will be watchful, therefore, and circumspect, and let no one seduce you. Should any stranger propose to you illegal tests or oaths, or invite you to join in any illegal association, arrest him, and conduct him to a magistrate. Should he be known to you, let not the sun go down until you lodge informations against him, that he may be apprehended and punished as the law directs. Informers in Ireland, 'tis true, are doubly infamous; on account of their connexion with the Penal Laws; but to inform against the wretch who would lead you into combinations, and traffic in your blood, is not infamous but truly honourable. It is not only an act of justice and of allegiance, but of piety to God, of charity to your neighbour, and of love to your country." "It was not only by publishing that Pastoral," observed Dr. Doyle, when undergoing his Parliamentary examination, "that I endeavoured to check the evil which prevailed; I spent several weeks going from parish to parish, and preaching to multitudes of people in the chapels, and sometimes by the waysides, against the society in which they were engaged, pointing out to them, as well as I could, the unlawful nature of it, its opposition to the law of God and to the laws of the country, as well as the evil results with which it was fraught." The effect produced by Dr. Doyle's appeals to the people was striking and important. Quantities of old guns, swords, and blunderbusses were brought in and flung at the Bishop's feet.

In January, 1825, an amusing blunder was made at the Catholic Association, and by the various newspapers which recorded

its proceedings. The Rev. James Doyle, P.P. of Rathdrum, addressed to O'Connell a rather prosaic letter on the state of Ireland, which the great Tribune, misled by the signature, took for granted must have been penned by Bishop Doyle. Regarding it as an emanation from Old Derrig, it was read aloud at the meeting, and eulogistically commented upon by various speakers. A vote of thanks was proposed, and in the papers of the following day the letter appeared at full length, with the episcopal signature and cross of Dr. Doyle.

Sydney Smith, in his own eccentric way, says that, "Correspondences are like small-clothes before the invention of suspenders—it is impossible to keep them up." Dr. Doyle, however, although he achieved in his short life more than ten men's work, contrived to make time for one of the largest and most miscellaneous correspondences that ever fell to the lot of any man to maintain, with the exception perhaps of Voltaire. The aid of a secretary was a luxury unknown to him, and every letter is written with his own hand. A day never elapsed that he did not comfort the afflicted, instruct the ignorant, stimulate the lukewarm, and plead his down-trodden country's cause, through the medium of this correspondence. The extent of the latter branch of this labour exceeds all belief. Dr. Doyle opened a correspondence with almost every person connected with the Government or Legislature, whose liberality of sentiment led him to hope that good might come from fanning the genial flame. Nearly all Dr. Doyle's correspondents having passed from this world, his letters to them have been lost or mislaid; but we have rescued enough, no doubt, to show the good man's zeal and patriotism. Among the missing letters those addressed to Lord Donoughmore, the Right Hon. Charles Brownlow, Thomas Spring Rice, Lord Melbourne, Lord Shrewsbury, the Rev. Sydney Smith, W. H. Curran, Right Hon. R. More O'Ferrall, Lord Darnley, Lord Duncannon, R. L. Sheil, George Ensor, and Robert Cassidy, may be mentioned. His correspondence with Prelates and Priests would in itself have been almost enough to exhaust the energies and leisure of an ordinary man.

The following letter, dated 1st January, 1825, is addressed to the nun Mariana:

"The time I write obliges me to commence with wishing you the compliments of the season, and as you are fond of poetry, and not entirely unacquainted with the language of Horace, I shall present them to you in his trite manner—'*Multos et felices!*' and pray God that each of the returning years you are destined to see, may bring with it an increase of the choicest blessings of

heaven.' I was very much gratified at reading your letter, and as I told you I was an exact correspondent, I hasten to give you this first proof of it. Our meeting was, no doubt, more than accidental, for He who numbers the hairs of our head, and in whom we live, move, and have our being, leaves nothing to accident, but governs everything by His providence. He even 'makes all things co-operate to the good of those who, according to the purpose of His will, are called to be saints.' We sometimes defeat His designs, either through malice, or by a want of fidelity to His first graces, which, like a seed sown in the earth, requires to be watered and protected, that the sun, or weeds, or tares, may not injure the growth, or prevent its increase. . . . .

"Do not, my dear friend, be shocked at your sudden inclination to adopt a new acquaintance, and favour him with your regard; if so, I should be tempted to imitate you, and thus lessen the pleasure I feel in cherishing for you both affection and esteem. Sometimes we learn more of a person's character in a few hours than, under other circumstances, we could know in many years. A similarity of dispositions, of views, and pursuits liken minds and hearts, so that when they meet they easily understand each other.

"I am greatly gratified at your letting me know your inclinations with regard to a religious life, and the obstacles to it which exist in yourself only show that you are the more fitted for it. A warm fancy, extensive views, and strong affections may be converted into the most powerful means of purifying your heart and uniting it to God. You have piety enough to be convinced that the imagination ought not to be indulged in the enjoyment of things senseless and created, which we are obliged 'to use as if we used them not,' and that when it is employed in the representation of invisible things, it is one of the most powerful means of enabling us, whilst on earth, to have our conversation and thoughts in heaven. It also assists beginners, in the works of piety, to purify their own hearts by reflections on their past sins and infidelities, as also on the humble and suffering life of Him who not only atoned for them, but gave an example, that they might walk in His footsteps. The disposition to travel is a fancy of youth, and is one of those things, indifferent in itself, which may be turned to good or bad account; but in you I should deem it nothing else than an illusion perfectly natural to you, which the enemy of your soul perverts to thwart the designs of God, when he is not able to corrupt your virtue by the seductions of vice. And your attachment to your sister is a charming disposition; it is the fruit of a pure and tender heart, which I thought I discovered in you at our first interview. Don't seek to extirpate it, but

control its aberrations, check its excesses, keep every day and night before you the first, the greatest, almost the only command given us—'Love the Lord thy God with thy *whole* heart, and with thy *whole* strength, and with thy *whole* mind.' This is that charity which you are greatly obliged to practise, and from which neither angels, nor archangels, nor things past, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature—no, nor sisters, nor brothers, nor parents, nor friends, should separate you. Do you think you can continue to love God, and not regulate your friendships. You will do it easily, my dear friend, when time and grace take their course. Regulate what is within you, that you may do the will of God, whatever it may be. 'Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof,' and as many days may pass before your affections are purified and your heart settled, you will find, when the day of parting with your friends comes, that they will not be an obstacle to the designs of God. I have written, as you perceive, to the end of my sheet. I consign you to the care of Providence, and will hope to hear from you whenever you wish to write."

We trust it may not be objected that, in making public a letter illustrative of Dr. Doyle's power as an enlightened spiritual director, we are intruding upon the privacy of the confessional. We think it probable, however, that the advice it contains, instead of consoling one, as was originally the case, may now soothe and enlighten many scrupulous ladies.

"I don't think your fears at present deserve the respectable name of temptation, or will be entitled to the reward which trials, when subdued, merit; they are scruples excited by something or other which does not concern you, and which your busy fancy has converted into *mortal sins*, forsooth! It is not so easy to offend God mortally without knowing it. He does not set snares in His institutions to catch His own children, and then to hand them over to His own and their enemy. His providence is far otherwise, . . . though all things, as Soloman says, are reserved uncertain to futurity, as far as the light of the Gospel enables us to look and see. Your faults, however great and numerous they may be, are not connected with the manner in which you received the sacraments, for one having the dispositions of soul that you have had, and exempt as you were from grievous transgressions of the divine law, the habitual charity or love of God resident in you supplied the very essence and substance of contrition. The purpose of amendment required was always found in the disposition you had to serve God faithfully, and as well as he would enable you; the sensible sorrow you were anxious about is never necessary, and for the *faults you were guilty of*, the regret you

felt was such as the venial or doubtful faults required. It consists in an act of the mind, by which we simply regret having done what was displeasing to God, and wish sincerely—nay, purpose, with His grace, to do it no more deliberately. As to the confession, like all other women, you do it too well—that is, say too much about it, and, in your anxiety to be understood, you tell often, like all your sex, what should never be told. The sin should be taken separated, as it were, from yourself and every other person, and considered only as it relates to the law supposed to be violated. But this is what St. Augustin, when he was a confessor, could not teach any woman; so we must leave them their own method, and bear with an excess in them which sins much more against the confessor than against God. Go then to Mr. J——, and with all your other sins and enormities accuse yourself of all the defects and excesses of your former confessions, and do this to get rid of your scruples, not to amend what is defective. My dearest child, mind your devotions to God, your prayer and union of soul; cleanse your heart not only of earthly affections, but even of solicitude about your salvation. The abandonment of Magdalen to the mercy and disposition of the Lord is one of the most exalted acts of virtue ever practised by a Christian soul, and, if persevered in, would certainly produce a heaven upon earth. Surely she thought but little of confession whilst at the feet of Jesus; all was love, contrition, confidence, enjoyment. She abandoned herself to Him totally, and he took good care of her. Go, my dearest H——, and do likewise; and bring with you, in your entreaties, to His feet one who is always your affectionate friend in Christ."

In the course of his visitation of the extensive diocess of Kildare and Leighlin, Dr. Doyle continued to tear up abuses root and branch, whenever he could lay his hand upon them. He occasionally went to work perhaps too roughly to meet the taste of a fastidious critic; but the times were peculiar and critical, and some of the practices incidental to them required a violent remedy. A Priest writes: "Everybody quivered at the nod of Dr. Doyle. An announcement of his advent would produce an almost startling effect, and, for a fortnight before, there would be nothing else spoken of either by the Priests or the people. Dr. Doyle confirmed me with several other boys at that period. It was his practice at visitations to ask the Pastor what were the principal offences of his flock, in order that his Lordship might personally rebuke them, and urge them, with the weight of his influence, to repentance. On the occasion of his visit to Mountrath in 1825, faction-fighting had prevailed to a frightful extent. Having ascertained the leaders to be men who had frequently been checked for

similar tendencies, he summoned them before him. Hardened as they were in other respects, they trembled to disobey their Bishop, and proceeded to the chapel. The congregation knew that a storm was brewing. Although a mere child, I well remember the harrowing suspense that prevailed. After the Confirmation-Mass, Dr. Doyle (the wave of whose hand acted like the loadstone upon iron) motioned the ringleaders of the faction to advance within the altar rails. They were great colossal men of iron nerve, and almost savage countenance; but they obeyed the Bishop's summons with the alacrity of children, and knelt down humbly before him. Dr. Doyle uttered a touching exhortation; but this had several times previously been addressed to them, and he felt that something still more impressive was necessary to smother the growing abuse for ever. The candles were extinguished, and other preparations made for the awful ceremony of excommunication. I was too much frightened to remember anything more, but I know that faction-fighting received its death-blow on this occasion. The leaders, having showed signs of true repentance, were soon after tenderly received back again by the Bishop."

Many are the anecdotes related of Dr. Doyle's labours to eradicate faction-fighting and Ribbonism from his diocess. Two youths who had engaged in a violent interchange of blows were sent, by the Vicar-Foreign of the district, to Dr. Doyle for a reprimand. As well as could be collected from a rather battered visage, including a black eye, the smaller belligerent seemed to be only in "his teens." "Ah," said Dr. Doyle, extending his crozier, and roughly raising the chin of the boy's downcast countenance, "ere Providence has blessed you with a beard, the devil has placed his mark upon you!" The Bishop said no more. His admonition had more effect upon the pugilists and the spectators than the most elaborate homily.

Dr. Doyle made frequent use of his crozier whenever he wished to render an official rebuke indelibly terrible. "Your Bishop has smote you in his anger," he would sometimes say. An unfortunate female, who was one day kneeling for pardon at his feet, fainted away from sheer terror, as the Bishop's crozier smote her neck.

As a contrast to the foregoing, we shall now insert a comic anecdote or two. During a visitation at Kill, a war of words, which was followed by a bloody pugilistic encounter, took place between some men in the chapel-yard. The offenders were brought before the Bishop. He looked so terrible that even those who had no concern in the fight trembled. "You came to serve the Lord," he said, "but at the threshold of His house you have deserted Him for the Tempter. You indulge a murderous pro-

pensity before the very dwelling of the God of Peace! You wretched, withered creature," he added, "wasted either by disease or stunted by nature, do you not know that one blow from a strong arm would send you out of this wicked world for ever? You select the day that your Bishop visits you to afflict and outrage him. And you," he said, addressing another—"who are you that have dared to——" "One Tim Hoolahan, from there beyant at Naas, plaze your Riverence," replied the arch-offender, who did not at all seem to know that he was guilty of an interruption alike irrelevant and irreverent. The effect which Dr. Doyle had been labouring to produce was utterly upset. A tendency to laugh ran like electricity around. He abruptly closed the exhortation, and, with a mingled expression of sorrow and disgust, turned away.

He used to accost men and boys on visitation days, to test their knowledge of the Christian Doctrine. One fellow seemed impenetrably stupid. "You're an inert mass of matter!" exclaimed the Bishop disdainfully. "Thank you, my Lordship," acknowledged the man, who appeared to think that Dr. Doyle had said something complimentary.

CHAPTER XVII.

Dr. Doyle summoned before the Houses of Lords and Commons—A friendly hint—Plans laid for his discomfiture—Courtesy of Lords Lansdowne and Dover—Lord Grey's opinion of Dr. Doyle—His evidence—The French Press on Dr. Doyle—Treacherous conduct of Lord [——]—Proposal to pension the Catholic Clergy—Canon Law in reference to marriage—The Duke of Wellington on Dr. Doyle—Anecdotes—*The Edinburgh Review* on Dr. Doyle—Remarkable political conversions effected by his evidence—George Canning and Dr. Doyle—The bull "*Cœnâ Domini*"—The Catholic Relief Bill passes the Commons—"The Wings"—Lord F. L. Gower's scheme—Letter to A. R. Blake—Manifesto from O'Connell—"A pit dug" for Drs. Doyle and Murray—Letter to Mr. Brougham—Dr. Doyle's return to Ireland—A blaze of triumph and jubilee—Congratulatory addresses.

On the 7th of March, 1825, Dr. Doyle left Old Derrig for London, in obedience to a summons which required his attendance at the Houses of Lords and Commons by the 13th of the same month. He proceeded on arrival to Blake's hotel in Jermyn-street, chiefly to be near his accomplished and honest friend, Sir Henry Parnell, who resided within a few doors of that establishment.

Dr. Doyle went, to London, quite unprepared to undergo the searching theological examination which several members of the parliamentary committees had, so ingeniously, planned for his dis-

comfiture. He did not expect to have been called upon for any evidence beyond a few remarks on the state of Ireland. To Sir Henry Parnell, afterwards Lord Congleton, he was indebted for the hint apprising him of the exact posture of matters. "They are, concocting a train of examination for the last week," said Sir Henry. "Some of the most practised theologians from Oxford and Cambridge are in attendance, adding link after link to the long chain of queries which are prepared for you. Meet them on the point of the bayonet by reading up a little, while you have yet time." "My dear Sir Henry," replied the Bishop, "I have brought no book with me but my Breviary; a few hours' thought, however, may stand me in good stead." "In my library," said Sir Henry, "you will find some useful ecclesiastical works, and I place them at your disposal." "I gladly accepted his offer," remarked Dr. Doyle, as he told the anecdote, "and imagine my surprise to find in the Baronet's study as carefully a selected theological library as any Priest need desire. Having refreshed my memory with a draught of Bellarmine and De La Hogue, I proceeded to the House of Commons, and calmly awaited the advance of the enemy."

Dr. Doyle found other accomplished friends who, most good-naturedly, placed at his disposal several books likely to prove useful to him at that moment. The following note accompanied seven volumes of Count Daru's "History of Venice," compiled from the Venetian archives captured by Napoleon, and published for the first time in 1819. The Right Hon. G. A. Ellis, we need hardly observe, was an author of great and deserved fame; he filled the offices of President of the Royal Society of Literature, of Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests, and became, in 1831, Baron Dover. *The Quarterly Review* savagely assailed Dr. Doyle. It is pleasant to find a quarterly reviewer showing him in private every courtesy:

"Spring Garden.

"My dear Lord—I have the pleasure of sending you 'Daru,' which I am sure will be read by you with interest, being a most curious and valuable book. As *a present*, I am sorry to say it is a shabby one. I tried very hard to find a copy bound—but in vain, and the shortness of your intended stay amongst us precluded the possibility of my trusting to the delays of bookbinders.

"Trusting that your health is improving, I remain, my dear Lord, &c.,

"G. Agar Ellis."

"Daru is fit for anything," said Napoleon; "he has judgment, intellect, a great capacity, a body and a soul of iron."—The Marquis of Lansdowne, not knowing that Daru's book had

been already sent to the Bishop, kindly forwarded to him a second copy:

"Lord Lansdowne presents his compliments to Dr. Doyle, and as he expressed some interest respecting the "History of Venice," which Mr. Daru has lately published, having two copies of it, requests his acceptance of one of them, as he is convinced it will amply repay his curiosity.

"Lord Lansdowne begs to add that if Dr. Doyle's departure is delayed, and there is anything in his house which can afford him any amusement, Lord Lansdowne would be happy to show it to him any morning before Monday, when he leaves town, or to leave directions for his seeing it afterwards.

"Lansdowne House, Tuesday."

His first day's examination closed amid murmurs of approbation. The late Mr. Fagan, M.P., thus alludes to it: "The most remarkable evidence ever given before or since was that of Dr. Doyle. His eloquence, the beauty and correctness of his language, his varied information, the boldness of his views, the new light he threw on many subjects connected with the ecclesiastical history of the Catholic Church in Ireland, its discipline and doctrine, all contributed to render this evidence the most valuable, striking, and important on record."

The late A. R. Blake, Chief Remembrancer of Ireland, was in London at the same time. He met Earl Grey coming out of the committee-room. "Blake," he said, "I have to congratulate you, as a Catholic and an Irishman, on the marvellous learning, wisdom, and argumentative power which a Bishop of your Church, and a countryman of your own, has just manifested while under examination." Mr. Blake hastened to communicate to Dr. Doyle this most gratifying expression of opinion. "He found me," said the Bishop, "far from well. I had not slept the night before; but now all my anxiety was at an end. I threw myself upon the bed, and you may be sure I slept all the better after the news of which Blake had been the bearer. I repaired to the House next morning with renovated vigour and confidence. I had been a little uneasy, not on my own account, but because I felt that the great cause in which I had so deep an interest was encompassed by perils."

From the second day's examination we make a short extract:

"*Q.* What authority has the Catholic writer, Gother, among Roman Catholics? *A.* Gother is esteemed by us a very venerable writer, and perfectly orthodox in all that he has written.

"*Q.* The Committee find, in a treatise called 'A Vindication

of the Roman Catholics,' the following curse, in a statement of curses: first, 'Cursed is he that commits idolatry, that prays to images or relics, or worships them for God:' is that a doctrine which is acknowledged by Roman Catholics? *A*. That is our proper doctrine, and I and every Roman Catholic in the world would say with Gother, accursed be such person.

"*Q*. It then states, 'Cursed is he that believes the saints in heaven to be his redeemers, that prays to them as such, or that gives honour to them, or to any creature whatsoever:' is that acknowledged? *A*. So I say, accursed be any person that does so.

"*Q*. It then further states, 'Cursed is he that believes Priests can forgive sins whether a sinner repents or not; or that there is any power in earth or heaven that can forgive sins without a hearty repentance and a serious purpose of amendment?' *A*. I most cordially coincide in the expressions used there by Gother, and so will every Catholic clergyman in the world.

"*Q*. It is then stated, 'Cursed is he that believes there is authority in the Pope, or any other, that can give leave to commit sins, or that can forgive him his sins for a sum of money. *A*. A frightful and impious doctrine, and most accursed is he that holds it.

"*Q*. Are there any words in the indulgences, as they are published, which would give the world a notion that they are to be understood with those qualifications? *A*. I think that there is no Catholic at all who misunderstands the language in which indulgences are granted, because in all our books of prayer, which are in the hands of every Christian, the sense that I have now given is clearly expounded; and the Priests in their exhortations, when they do publish indulgences of any kind, take care to impress strongly upon the people that such indulgence cannot be obtained unless they heartily repent of their sin, obtain pardon of the guilt from God, and do all in their power to make atonement for it by good works."

"The evidence of Dr. Doyle," observes a writer, "had a powerful effect in disabusing the English mind of pre-conceived erroneous opinions, and deep-rooted prejudices on the Catholic religion, and on the condition of the Irish people. The tone and manner in which it was delivered excited astonishment. With a self-possession, dignity of character, and clearness of judgment, perhaps never evinced before, Dr. Doyle added such a love of truth, and withal such a respect for the judgment of others, that he made an impression on even the minds of the highest intolerants, which all their bigotry could not remove." This evidence is so learned and elaborate, and in many parts so intricate, that we cannot do much more than refer to it in general terms. The

Catholic religion had long been so grossly misrepresented, that the Legislature found it advisable to direct its interrogatories not only to matters incidentally connected with social duties, but even to abstract, speculative, and devotional practices. Dr. Doyle was examined at considerable length in reference to the Catholic doctrines of absolution, penance, purgatory, indulgences, miracles, and the invocation of saints; the mode of appointing Catholic Bishops, excommunication, Papal dispensations, the canons of Councils, the Bible and Bible societies, the various Catholic colleges at home and on the Continent, the several religious orders, the state of the poor, domestic nomination, Church discipline in Ireland, validity of Anglican orders, tithes, Catholic Emancipation, allegiance, education, and illegal societies. Various questions arising out of these and other subjects had been proposed to Dr. Doyle, and were followed by a series of replies which, in the judgment even of men previously prejudiced, could not fail to afford complete satisfaction. But perhaps the leading topics of this evidence were those which related to the supreme authority of the Pope, and to the questions of the Veto and pensioning the clergy. In regard to the first, Dr. Doyle observed that the authority of the Pope is merely spiritual, and that it is limited by decrees of Councils, and also by usage; so that when he directs any decree respecting local discipline to any nation beyond the limits of his own territory, or the Papal States, the assent of the Bishops of such country is necessary, in order that his decree should have effect. The payment of the Catholic Clergy by a *Regium Donum*, and the exercise of a Veto by the Crown in the appointment of Catholic Bishops, Dr. Doyle reprobated and rejected with the zeal of a true churchman. He added that he would be adverse to such an influence, even if the Sovereign of this realm were a Catholic. He was asked whether, if a pecuniary provision, payable by the Crown, were attached to Catholic sees and parishes in Ireland, would it be inconsistent with the discipline of the Catholic Church to admit any interference on the part of the King in the appointment. Dr. Doyle replied, decidedly in the negative. "*Q.* Would that arrangement, in your opinion, be inconsistent with the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, even if it had the sanction of the Pope?" "*A.* Were he to give his sanction to it, I think we should oppose the matter here. I think he would not sanction it; but were he to do so, we should not agree to it. For my part, I would not; I should resign the office that I hold rather than assent to such a thing. I would first remonstrate against it; I would remonstrate a second time against it, and if this were not sufficient to ward it off, I should certainly resign my office; and I hope there is not a Bishop in Ireland who would not do the same."

The privilege of translating Priests was sought by the Crown. Dr. Doyle dexterously replied, that the Government would find a business of that character exceedingly troublesome; "besides it would be impossible for any man in the Government to be acquainted with the private life of individuals, or to know who was fit or who was unfit to be appointed. For instance, I had, whilst Professor of Theology, the care of educating the greater part of the clergymen of the diocess, and I am still obliged to inquire into their theological knowledge, to ascertain the manner in which they discharge their duties, to receive the reports of the rural vicars as to their morals and conduct; so that I know as intimately the life, and habits, and conduct of every individual of the clergy under me, as a father can be acquainted with the life and habits of his own son. It is this knowledge which enables me to place each of them in that situation for which he is particularly adapted; and it must be very clear to the Committee that no Government, or agent of Government, could have this information, and therefore no such agent could be as competent as I am to appoint these men to places or offices." "*Q.* How long have you been Bishop? *A.* Unhappily too long for my own peace—six years."

Dr. Doyle was examined at much length on canon law in reference to marriage. He surprised the Committee by saying that although it was in his power, as Bishop, to order a separation on adultery being proved, he recognised in no power on earth, Pope or Council, any authority to dissolve a marriage. He was asked whether, in case a bill of divorce passed to enable a Catholic to marry again, would he consider it valid. The Bishop replied, "Yes, according to the law of the country," and that he would consider the issue of such marriage entitled to such property as might devolve upon them; but as a clergyman he would not regard the children as legitimate in the ecclesiastical sense.

Adverting to the long-vexed question of domestic nomination, Dr. Doyle declared that it could be easily and satisfactorily adjusted by a concordat with the Sovereign Pontiff.

Dr. Doyle was examined at immense length on the Catholic doctrine regarding indulgences. He was even asked the silly question, whether indulgences might extend to the remission of the temporal consequences with respect to crimes to be committed; to which, it is hardly necessary to add, Dr. Doyle replied with an indignant negative.

His evidence, which it is utterly impossible for us to analyze within the limits of this work, was given with singular perspicuity and self-possession. Dr. Doyle sat, and sometimes stood, within the recess of a long table shaped like a horse-shoe, around which the members of the Committee were congregated. There was a

large attendance of spectators, mostly Members of Parliament. Many highly interesting facts, historical and otherwise, transpired: they excited an intense interest not only in Great Britain, but on the Continent. The *Etoile* says: "Among the answers which the Bishop of Kildare has given with so much frankness to the questions of the Committee, is found an historical exposition of the highest interest. It was not known before, that until the death of the last of the Stuarts, the Pretender had always nominated to the vacant sees in Ireland. The English Government with all its gold had never been able to get at this secret, and when we reflect that it was perhaps in the keeping of 10,000 individuals, so admirable an example of guarded fidelity towards the legitimate Sovereign recal to recollection, that the only general of Maria Teresa whom the King of Prussia despaired of being able to corrupt, was an Irishman; and that our unfortunate Louis XVI. had no more faithful defenders than the Irish attached to his service."

M. le Baron Henrion, in his "Histoire de l'Elglise," refers to this revelation of Dr. Doyle's as "*tres-courieuse*," and adds, that the manner in which the custom was worked out, proved "*aussi honorable pour le Saint Siège que pour le clergè Irlandais.*" The Baron reviews the entire of Dr. Doyle's evidence, and declares that it displayed not less *abandon* and manly unreserve than the Committee evinced a miserable spirit of curiosity, caution, and cunning.

On the 21st of March, Dr. Doyle was brought up to the House of Lords for examination.

"Lord ——," said Dr. Doyle, as he communicated these details to a friend, "had given me a voluntary assurance that he would protect me throughout the examination. 'Some puzzling and extraneous questions,' said his Lordship, 'may be put to you; but I will take care and bring you back to the main point.' My name was called, and I entered. What was my surprise, as I glanced round the varied array of faces before me, to find no trace of Lord ——'s countenance. 'Ah!' I soliloquized, 'Lord —— has abandoned me to the Philistines, but there is another and a greater Lord who will not forsake me in the hour of need.' Several Peers eagerly put questions to me. I never made a reply until I discovered the object which the inquirer had in view. His query, if insidious, I received on the point of the bayonet. If a direct reply was unavoidable, I uttered a mental prayer to God that He would direct and protect me; and He did so. I found it easier to answer the Bishops than the Lords."

He was asked all sorts of questions. "If the Roman Catholic laity," said one Peer, "look for a restoration of certain rights

which their ancestors possessed, do you conceive that the Roman Catholic Church looks for a restoration of similar rights exercised by their predecessors? *A.* Not at all; we never thought of such a thing. The right of sitting and voting in Parliament is derived from the baronial title of the Bishop in the Established Church, and not from his episcopal character; and we would think it destructive (not to use a weaker word) that any of our Bishops should be admitted into the legislative assembly. It is a thing quite foreign from our thoughts. God forbid that it should ever enter into the minds of others."

"*Q.* You have said that you consider the ecclesiastical authorities and functions of the Bishops confined to the Church of Rome? *A.* To the Church in communion with the See of Rome; we do not recognize as lawful the mission or jurisdiction of any other Church."

When Dr. Doyle was asked if he had read a recent publication entitled "Letters on the State of Ireland, by J. K. L.," he replied, "I have seen them." A Bishop asked him if he thought it necessary that notes should accompany the Bible. Dr. Doyle replied, that in Ireland, where religious controversy prevailed to such an extent, he thought that short notes, explanatory of the texts on which the differences turned, ought to be inserted. The Lords also gave him a searching examination on the subject of marriage. Among other curious questions, he was asked if he had ever known a marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant, solemnized by a Parson, dissolved by a Priest. Dr. Doyle replied, "Never;" that it could not be done, not even by a Pope or a Council, nor any authority on earth, unless a canonical impediment existed, which the difference of religion does not constitute. A Bishop asked, "Did you ever know an instance of a marriage of that kind dissolved, by which the woman became an outcast?" A negative was, of course, the reply. When asked whether he would see any objection to the Government exercising a discretion as to the stipend to be given to each individual Priest, Dr. Doyle replied: "If the Government came in contact in that manner with the individual Priest, they would subvert altogether the authority of the Bishop, and republicanize the Catholic Church."

Dr. Doyle's evidence in favour of Catholic Emancipation was alike eloquent and convincing. A long and rapid train of remarks, which he delivered almost without pausing to take breath, thus concluded: "In fact, I think it would knit together and effectually secure the affections of the multitude, as well as of individuals, and make us one people immediately; and I hope, in a very few years, a very happy and prosperous people. Those are my views, such as I entertain them in the presence of God and your Lord-

ships; and I may add, that I think prosperity and tranquillity will never prevail in Ireland while the present political differences, arising from religion, are suffered to prevail." Dr. Doyle, before he left the room, said: "Is there any other question whereon I can further satisfy your Lordships?" at which they all burst simultaneously into an earnest and very thankfully expressed negative. Some of the Peers put questions which were rather ambiguously expressed. It was then that Dr. Doyle became his own interlocutor. "Your Lordship desires to ask so and so?" he would say; and assent having been nodded, he would then proceed to reply.

A gentleman, who for many years represented an Irish constituency in Parliament, told us the following anecdote: During Dr. Doyle's examination, the Duke of Wellington left the room for a few minutes, in order to refer to some parliamentary document. "Well, Duke," observed a Peer who happened to be entering the committee-room, "are you examining Dr. Doyle?" "No," replied his Grace, drily, "but Doyle is examining us."

The Duke admired the vigour and decision of Dr. Doyle's intellect, and the Bishop's writings no doubt contributed largely to his Grace's conversion on the Catholic question. Dr. Doyle's executor informs us that the Duke and the Bishop had some private correspondence in 1828.

The late Frederick William Conway, Esq., another of Dr. Doyle's Protestant admirers, writes: "Fortunately for the fame of this illustrious Bishop, the chiefs of the land have had an opportunity—including the leading Bishops of the Establisment—of listening to Dr. Doyle when under the ordeal of a hostile, and what was intended to be an acrimonious and insulting examination before the Committee of both Houses of Parliament. We might appeal to more than one noble Lord, to more than one Protestant Bishop, and to many members of the House of Commons, as to the bearing of the learned Prelate, the mastery of his subject, and the domination which in a short space he assumed, and maintained to the last, over his interrogators. The impression he left upon the memory of those who heard him will not be very soon obliterated. It is recorded in the books of Parliament, and we happen to know that the evidence is just given as spoken, for being ourselves in London during part of the time, and urging Dr. Doyle, as we remember, to revise the minutes of his evidence before it went to press, he declined with a laugh, saying, that he did not much care about the graces of style, provided the shorthand writer gave his sense; and yet, upon reading these examinations, one is not more struck with the extensive knowledge and power of argument which they display, than with the propriety, the pointedness, and felicity of their diction."

Dr. Doyle had perhaps in his mind a remark of St. Augustin's—that "the deep sense of St. Paul, clothed in simple language, is more powerfully persuasive to even an inattentive reader than the sublimest compositions of the heathen orators. They studied the ornaments of eloquence, whereas Paul rejected them disdainfully; but nevertheless they naturally followed his wisdom."

Dr. Doyle was a man of great impulse, and the energetic and indignant tone which pervaded some of his condensed replies made more than one offensive question recoil on his lordly inquisitors. Bishop Ullathorne informs us that he heard the following anecdote from O'Connell: "When Hogan's statue of Dr. Doyle was exhibited, Lord Anglesey and a party from the Castle went to examine it. One of the party said, 'I never remember seeing Dr. Doyle in that remarkable position.' 'I remember it well,' replied the Marquis. 'When he was giving evidence before a committee in the Lords, a Peer put a question to him which touched the Catholic doctrine, and he threw up his arm just in that commanding way, and said, 'I did not think there was a British Peer so ignorant as to ask such a question.'"

When it was supposed that the disclosure of some crimes, when confessed at the sacred tribunal, had been sanctioned at Rome; that indulgences extended to the remission of future sins; that the Catholic Clergy aspired to transfer the wealth of the Established Church to their own; and that Dr. Doyle and his brethren of the Catholic episcopal bench desired to have seats in the House of Lords, it is no wonder that he should have felt hurt and surprised at some of the questions put.

Bishop Ullathorne continues: "When O'Connell, Dr. Doyle, and others, were examined on the question of Emancipation, one distinguished Peer said to another after the Bishop's examination, that Dr. Doyle as far surpassed O'Connell as O'Connell surpassed other men."

On his return to Carlow, some of the Priests congratulated him on the self-possession with which he had replied to and enlightened his interlocutors. Some Prelates, it appeared, who might otherwise have been examined, held back through a feeling of diffidence. "A public examination," said one, "by the most distinguished Peers and statesmen is no mild ordeal for a man educated in a cloister to encounter." "Pshaw!" exclaimed Dr. Doyle, "such silly questions as they put—and over and over repeated. I think in all my life I never encountered such a parcel of old fools."

The leading reviewers commented favourably. *The Edinburgh Review* having pronounced the inquiry to be "the most se-

vere that could be instituted," said: "We further learn from Dr. Doyle's evidence that the whole of this excellent episcopal discipline, so very different from that enjoined by the Bishops of other Churches, and so very deserving of their imitation, is enforced by frequent visitations, when the Bishop occupies himself going from parish to parish, and not only making himself thoroughly acquainted with the conduct of the clergy, but attending with the greatest solicitude to the applications and distresses of the poor."

A Catholic Relief Bill furnished with "wings" was now before Parliament. Considerable interest was excited by this novelty, and it may with truth be declared that the eye of the empire was fixed upon Dr. Doyle's luminous evidence, which had just been published by order of the House of Commons. The debates on the Catholic question, which at intervals throughout the months of March, April, and May, took place in Parliament, are studded with well-pointed allusions to the evidence, general bearing, and public writings of Dr. Doyle. A higher testimonial to his ability and importance there could not possibly be.

The Right Hon. Charles Brownlow, afterwards Lord Lurgan, who had long opposed the Catholic Claims in every shape, honestly confessed that he had been convinced by Dr. Doyle. In his place in Parliament, on the 19th of April, he said: "If I am asked do I now appear clad in that old hostility, which has hitherto marked me for good or bad, towards six millions of my countrymen, I answer cheerfully—and I feel the lighter for the confession—by no means. The grounds on which I formerly professed to stand are gone; many of the arguments which I have been in the habit of using, and hearing used, are taken away; those that remain are weakened; and in common sense, justice, and consistency, what remains to a man whose arguments are gone but to re-consider his conclusions; and what atonement more reasonable or more due than, finding he has adopted an erroneous opinion, to say so, and to abjure it? I know how much a change of opinion affords ground of ridicule, and ground of suspicion, and almost every ground but a charitable presumption in favour of sincerity, and therefore I do not rise so much in the hope of explaining myself, as in the hope of earnestly praying that many, who, like myself, have looked at this subject apart from inquiry, misled by old alarms and old prejudices, may, on coming to contend with the facts, be overcome by them—may, on examining the evidence, yield their understanding to it." Mr. Brownlow continued in this strain at considerable length, and read aloud to the House numerous extracts from the evidence of Dr. Doyle, in justification of his conversion.

Mr. Dawson, M.P. for Derry, a violent opponent of the Ca-

tholic Claims, declared that it was impossible not to admire the demeanour of "Dr. Murray and Dr. Doyle, and particularly the eloquence, learning, and zeal displayed by those two Prelates." Lord Milton and Mr. North likewise referred to Dr. Doyle's evidence; and Colonel Forde declared that, like the honourable member for Armagh, he also had been made a convert to the Catholic cause. Mr. Leycester avowed it as his opinion, that the persons who had so strongly expressed sentiments hostile to concession, had done so in profound ignorance of the subject, and labouring under great mistakes as to the religious belief of the Roman Catholics. His own errors on the subject were of the same description, until the investigation on Irish affairs had thrown a new light upon the question.

On the 21st April, the debate was resumed. Mr. Goulbourne objected to Dr. Doyle's strong language against the Church Establishment, and read to the House extracts from his Letter to Archbishop Magee in 1822. Mr. Maxwell declared that from being a foe he was now a friend to Catholic Emancipation. Lord Binning said that "Those who, like himself, had sat long enough in Parliament to hear the old 'No Popery' cry, must recollect the time when a learned member of that House (Dr. Duigenan) used to come down, with a load of old documents and books, to abuse and anathematise Popery, and impute absurd doctrines to the Catholics of the present day. Fortunately all that rubbish was now at an end. It was no longer imputed to Catholics that they could not hold faith with heretics, or that Catholics by command of the Pope durst disobey their lawful princes. The evidence of Dr. Doyle had been frequently made the subject of allusion, and its importance made it worthy of such distinction." Lord Valletort said that he had to avow himself another among the many converts that had been made in support of the Catholic Claims; and he felt proud of the triumph which his reason had enabled him to achieve over strong and early prejudices. Colonel Pakenham and Mr. E. B. Portman conformed to the sensible view of the question, in an equally frank and straightforward manner. We find Dr. Doyle's evidence further referred to and criticised by Sir T. Lethbridge, Mr. Peel, Mr. Hume, the Solicitor-General, Sir R. H. Inglis, Mr. Grattan, Sir John Newport, Mr. Spring Rice, Sir Francis Burdett, and others.

George Canning declared, that often as it had fallen to his lot to speak on the Catholic question, he had never before approached it under appearances so cheering. The number of hostile petitions had diminished—a circumstance in itself highly and unexpectedly satisfactory. Some members had accused Dr. Doyle of insincerity in giving his evidence, and Mr. Canning vindicated him from the

charge:' "Dr. Doyle solemnly denies that the spiritual obedience which Roman Catholics render to the Pope does or can interfere with their allegiance to their temporal Sovereign." Mr. Canning proceeded to adduce such evidence as created "the strongest and happiest confirmation of what Dr. Doyle had advanced." "Without giving," he said, "to Dr. Doyle more credit than I would to any other moral, educated, and intelligent man, I am bound to conclude, upon every calculation of probability, that he spoke nothing before the Committee but what he conscientiously believed to be true. It may then be taken as true, that the opinion as stated by Dr. Doyle to be the opinion of the Roman Catholics is their opinion." Mr. Stapleton, in his Life of Canning (p. 243), writes: "It appears from this extract that Mr. Canning attached great weight to the evidence of Dr. Doyle, who was a man of high character, and respected by all parties for his integrity and ability. . . . Dr. Doyle, however, gave other testimony of even more importance than that quoted. It was believed by some of the members of the Committee that a certain bull, called *Bulla Cœnâ Domini*, had been sent to Ireland by a former Pope, which bull, if still in force there, excommunicated a Protestant King as a heretic, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. . . . . Dr. Doyle was specially examined whether this bull was in force in Ireland. He replied: 'It is not in force in Ireland, and never was: it has been rejected by nearly all the countries of Europe. If it were in force, there is scarcely anything would be at rest.'" "In reply to another question," adds the biographer of Canning, "the Bishop answered: 'It (the bull) was never in force with us, and surely never will be.' There is every reason to believe that this testimony was true. This bull, which, according to Dr. Doyle, was of so mischievous a character, ... was not then in force in Ireland; and since, according to the same authority, it '*never* had been,' there were good grounds for accepting his assurance that *it never would be*. Such was the kind of evidence which led statesmen to the belief that the creed of the Roman Catholic subjects of the Crown was not such as 'justified us in denouncing it as incompatible with the discharge of their duties as good and faithful members of the State.'"*

* The biographer of Canning adds in a note: "Three years after the Relief Bill was passed, this bull was put in force in Ireland by the Papal Hierarchy." At the suggestion of the late D. O. Maddyn, we directed the attention of a distinguished Professor of Theology to Mr. Stapleton's singular statement. The Professor thus replied: "It is true the *Bulla Cœnâ Domini* was never acted on in Ireland—was never sought to be published in Ireland—was, in almost all its clauses, little adapted to the usages, &c., of Irish discipline, therefore neither was nor could be a discipline [law] in Ireland. In 1828, the 'Statutes,' or ecclesiastical laws of Ireland, were published. No change since, up to the Synod of Thurles, and even there no substantial change. Certainly Mr. Stapleton must be a clever fellow to have discovered that the bull *Cœnâ Domini* was '*introduced* after the passing of the Relief Bill!' By whom published?—in what Synod or place?"

The reader has already seen that Dr. Doyle was a man of considerable impulse, and not unfrequently expressed his views strongly. Extracts from his writings having been read aloud in the House of Commons, for the purpose of prejudicing the question, the Right Hon. Charles Grant, now Lord Glenelg, declared that "the House was bound to consider the extent of the provocation. Scarcely a day passed in which the press and the pulpit did not teem with gross accusations against the Catholics. He was sorry, however that, to the zeal and energy of a Bossuet, Dr. Doyle had not joined the meekness of a Fenelon." Mr., now Lord Brougham, remarked, that "There was a discrepancy between a pamphlet of Bishop Doyle and his evidence. Without meaning to cast any imputation on that highly gifted man, he certainly would not deny that there might be some intemperate sentiments in that pamphlet to which he could not give his approbation. But might not the change of tone have been effected by the opening of the doors of Parliament, for the purpose of listening to their grievances and complaints? Might it not have arisen from your listening to their story—from your allowing them to tell, with their own lips, the miseries and privations under which their country suffered—and that, too, with an implied feeling that you, the Parliament of the United Kingdom, would redress them?" Mr. Peel particularly alluded to Dr. Doyle on the 21st and 29th of April and on the 10th of May. He spoke of him as "a very able man," and "one of the most acute and learned Prelates in the Irish Church; but he could not reconcile Dr. Doyle's acknowledged publication with his evidence." Lord Binning observed that he had read all the letters published under the signature of "J. K. L.," as well as the evidence of Bishop Doyle, "and I must confess," added his Lordship, "that I could not discover any inconsistency between them." "The noble Lord," says Hansard, "here read several passages from the evidence and letters of Dr. Doyle, to corroborate his opinion."

The Catholic Bill, after a prolonged debate, passed the Commons, with a majority for the third reading of twenty-one. In the Lords it was warmly opposed, on the 17th May, by Lord Colchester, who passed *all* Dr. Doyle's writings in elaborate review before him, and enriched Hansard's report of his speech with a number of foot-notes and references thereto. "The boldest and most prominent of their churchmen," he said, "whose learning, talents, and views, are all equally remarkable—I mean the titular Bishop of Kildare—expressly denies the justice of those laws by which the Established Church of Ireland holds its property—opinions which he has again maintained in his evidence on oath." The Marquis of Lansdowne and Lord Carberry vindicated Dr.

Doyle's evidence, and supported the Catholic Relief Bill. Dr. Bloomfield, the late Bishop of London, assisted by Dr. Van Mildert, Bishop of Llandaff, subjected not only the evidence but the letters of J. K. L. to a minute examination; and the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, made repeated allusions to the Bishop. The Earl of Darnley declared that if Dr. Doyle had had the good fortune to have been bred in the faith which their Lordships professed, he would not, from his piety and learning, disgrace the Right Reverend Bench, which he (Lord Darnley) saw before him.

The Catholic Relief Bill, having been hotly opposed by the Dukes of York and Wellington, Lord Anglesey, and others, it was at length thrown out of the Lords by a majority of forty-eight. The two Peers last named subsequently advocated the measure.

We have already adverted to "the wings" with which the parliamentary friends of the Catholic Claims provided the bill of Emancipation, in order to facilitate its progress through the atmosphere of prejudice which pervaded the majorities in both Houses. The first clause went to disfranchise the forty-shilling freeholders; and the second, to pay the Catholic Clergy of Ireland by means of a *Regium Donum*. The latter project originated with Lord F. L. Gower, subsequently Earl of Ellesmere. It had been for some time spoken of, but his motion on the subject and detail of the plan were not submitted to Parliament until the 24th April, 1825.

The late Right Hon. A. R. Blake, the confidential friend and law adviser of the Marquis Wellesley, having been in London at this time, on the subject of the Catholic Relief Bill, sought an interview with Dr. Doyle, for the purpose of eliciting his views in regard to the contemplated provision for the Priesthood. Mr. Blake found him exceedingly adverse to the project, though most eager for Emancipation; but the Bishop, having applied all the energies of his mind to the consideration of it, at length devised a plan by which a provision could be made for the Priesthood, unconnected with, and totally independent of court favour. The ingenuity of this plan struck Mr. Blake so forcibly that he requested Dr. Doyle to commit it to paper, for the perusal of Lord Francis Leveson Gower and other members of the Government, with a view to the modification of the proposed scheme. The letter has been kindly placed at our disposal, with several others, by Mr. Blake's nephew and executor, Peter Blake, Esq., J. P.:

"Cheltenham, 7th April, 1825.

"MY DEAR SIR—With respect to the provision itself, it is perhaps superfluous to repeat, that let it be of whatever kind or amount it may, I would accept of it with great reluctance—so much

so, that I would certainly reject it if Emancipation could be obtained on any other terms. It seems also to be agreed on all hands that the canonical right of the Bishop, whether in correcting, punishing, or rewarding his clergy, as well as his power of increasing or diminishing their number, of uniting or creating parishes, or dissolving existing unions, as times and circumstances might require, should remain untouched; and that if, by the exercise of such right, additional claims on the state provision should happen to be created, that a power to satisfy such claims in the same manner as those which now exist should be established by law. I confess that had I an opportunity of communicating my ideas on the subject to Government, I should never think of suggesting that plan which now seems to be under consideration; my objections to it are so strong, that no consideration but a fear of retarding the settlement of the country could prevent me from enforcing them with the public. But though this plan be so objectionable to my mind, that my wish to arrest its progress is only overruled by my anxiety for Emancipation, yet I do not blame any one for wishing to attach, by means of a state provision, our order more strongly to the Crown—though the very idea seems to imply either a wish to make tools of us, or what is not less offensive—namely, that we have not been as loyal and as well affected as we ought. But I do not complain on this account of any one, as all men in these matters may justly abound in their own sense, and there are few, indeed, who are acquainted with the diligence and unwearied zeal with which we have laboured in recent, as well as in more remote times, for the good of the State, as well as for the interests of our own people. Undoubtedly, whatever plan the Government might adopt for carrying their intentions into effect would not be the less wise or salutary, if it were adopted after hearing the opinions of those who were to be immediately affected by it. I have made this reflection in order to record, at least with you, that the mode of providing for the Catholic Clergy in Ireland, which I have seen detailed on paper, was not devised by us, and though it may be submitted to, will never be approved of by me. In the event of a provision being made, it should proceed on the principle of connecting the Catholic Clergy, not with the Crown, but with the State, and of preserving inviolate the mutual dependence and connexion of the Priesthood and the people with and upon each other. For this purpose an Act of Parliament might provide that the parishes now existing, or to exist hereafter in each diocess, should be classed by the Bishop, and that a vestry of each parish, composed of *Catholic freeholders*, should be enabled to vote, and levy by assessment from off the parish an annual sum, not exceeding £——, for the maintenance of a Parish

Priest of the first-class, and so on, in proportion, for those of the other classes; and another annual sum of £—— for house-rent; the vestry to be enabled in like manner to levy the sum of £—— for the curate, or each of the curates, whilst assisting, by order of the Bishop, in the discharge of duty within the parish. The stipend of the curate should be fixed and uniform for many reasons, with which it is useless to trouble you; whilst that of the Parish Priest should be so varied as to enable the parishioners to increase, *to a certain extent*, the income of a zealous, diligent, charitable Pastor, or to diminish it in case of neglect, avarice, or worldly affections prevailing over him. Thus the necessary independence of the Parish Priest would be provided for, the law making it imperative that his income should not be less than a certain sum, whilst his attention to the wants of his parishioners would be stimulated, if not secured, by their having a power to increase somewhat such income in proportion to his deserts. The Bishop might be provided for by a per-centage, to be paid by the Parish Priests out of the sums voted by the vestry for their maintenance respectively; but this provision should be fixed and invariable in its amount, so as not to be liable to diminution or increase by the union or dissolution of unions of parishes.

"An objection to this plan is, that it would impose an additional burden on the occupiers of houses and lands—a class of persons already subject to too many charges; but this objection could arise in the minds only of those who do not consider that what is now given throughout Ireland, in the shape of voluntary contributions, by only a portion of this class of persons, is perhaps nearly equal to what would then be levied by a legal assessment from the entire community; nor should it be forgotten that the amount of these benevolences depends at present on various and often unsettled usages, or on such regulations as a Bishop may adopt within his diocess. But the objection could be removed, and a substantial relief afforded to the farmers and peasantry of Ireland, by freeing the land from county charges, or at least from such proportion of them as would equal the assessment for the support of the Catholic Clergy, and placing these charges on the Consolidated Fund.

[Dr. Doyle stated objections against the principle of paying the Priesthood out of the Treasury, and added: "The Catholic Clergy should be paid by those amongst whom their duties are performed."]

"It might appear desirable that the Protestant as well as the Catholic freeholders, or householders paying land-tax or town charges, should compose the intended vestry, as the burden would fall alike on all; but to this there would be an objection, arising not only from the indelicacy of their interference with the merits

or demerits of a pastor not of their communion, but chiefly from the predominant influence which Protestant proprietors, if present, might exercise, either to injure the Priest, were he not acceptable to them, or to compliment him, should he happen to be a favourite, at the expense of the people; nor would the exclusion of the Protestant voters be a reasonable subject of complaint, whereas the amount of the sum to be levied, with the exception of a few pounds, would be fixed by law—not as it is now with respect to the building or repairing of churches, &c., where the sums to be levied are indefinite, and from the levying or assessing of which Catholics are excluded. There may be an objection to this plan, . . . but the inconvenience would be productive of countervailing advantages; and even our present mode of support, which I prefer to any other, is liable to many and very serious objections, so difficult is it even to approach to perfection in human affairs."

Seventeen days subsequently, Lord F. L. Gower's motion, that "it is expedient to make a provision towards the maintenance of the secular Clergy of Ireland," was made for the first time. His Lordship said: "It had been insinuated that its object was to undermine the Catholic faith. That he, or any man, could entertain the chimerical project of changing the religion of the Irish people, it was worse than idle to suppose. His object was to promote a community of interest between the clergy of both religions, with a view to their own and to the general welfare; and when, in pursuance of that object, he disclaimed any idea of undue interference upon the part of the Government, he did not mean to rest his argument on theory, but would proceed to precedent and practice." Mr. Leslie, afterwards Baron Foster, objected to the measure, on the ground that it would increase the power of the Catholic Church, without making it more dependent on the Government than at present.

We are enabled to state, on the authority of the late Bishop of Ossory, that the foregoing idea of Dr. Doyle's was adopted by the Government. Such being the case, it is no wonder that O'Connell should have published the following declaration in *The Evening Post* of 15th December, 1825: "I owe it to the Administration to declare, as I do most solemnly, that in framing this wing there was not the least desire exhibited—neither could it exist without being shown—of obtaining any patronage or control in or over the Catholic Church in Ireland. . . . . It was a fixed and defined provision, to be secured by law as a legal right." O'Connell argued that a provision of this sort, instead of making the Clergy objects of charity to others, would enable them to dispense large charity amongst the poor. Dr. Doyle regarded the progress of the

Relief Bill with great anxiety. On the 20th of April, he is announced by the newspapers as having been under the gallery during the debate.

Meanwhile he did not neglect the duties of the Priest. He officiated at High Mass in the Catholic church of Stratford, assisted by the Primate, Dr. Curtis. The journals of the day contrast the youthful appearance of the one with the patriarchal aspect of the other. After Mass, Dr. Doyle preached an able and impressive exhortation.

Dr. Doyle and his Metropolitan, Dr. Murray, during their sojourn in London at this period, seem to have had to contend with certain diplomatic attempts to draw them into concessions more or less hostile to the independence of the Catholic Church. The advances to which we allude were influentially, ingeniously, and almost irresistibly urged. The Prelates, however, temperately but steadily parried them, until their insincere advisers at last abandoned the attempt as vain. "We saw," said Dr. Doyle on his return to Carlow—"we saw that a pit had been dug for us, and our duty was to get beyond it without falling into it."

The intensity of Dr. Doyle's faith in the justice of God was only equalled by his distrust of the lip-sincerity of man; and he felt that if full faith is necessary to save man in the next life, want of faith is absolutely essential to save man in this.

Sheil and O'Connell were also examined by the Parliamentary Committees. Sheil, describing his visit to England in 1825, confesses that an occasional visit of that character "operates as a complete sedative to the ardour of the political passions. It should be prescribed as a part of the anti-philogistic regimen." Of O'Connell we are told, that "his deputation to England produced an almost immediate effect upon him. He seemed half English at Shrewsbury, and was nearly Saxonized when we entered the murky magnificence of Warwickshire." Dr. Doyle's manly, patriotic, and determined tone during the period of his sojourn in London, may, after these admissions, be duly appreciated.

The following letter to Mr., now Lord Brougham, explains itself:

"Blake's Hotel, Jermyn-street, 12th May.

"SIR—As in the newspaper reports of the debates in the House of Commons on the third reading of the Catholic Relief Bill, a speech is attributed to you, wherein you allude to the inconsistency supposed, by some members of that honourable house, to exist between certain published writing of mine and the evidence given by me before the Committees of both Houses of Parliament, I take the liberty of troubling you with the following very brief observations, in the hope that you will be so kind as to

mention at least the substance of them in your place in Parliament:

"There is not a passage in the writings of J. K. L., or in those attributed to me, which, if not mutilated, or distorted from its true and obvious meaning, can be proved either to be opposed to, or inconsistent with the evidence given by me before both or either Houses of Parliament.

I have laboured by writing, by word, and by example, to inculcate, at all times and under all circumstances, upon the people committed to my spiritual guidance, the duties of perfect allegiance to their Sovereign, and of a willing obedience to the law; and I have not, in any shape or at any time, insinuated that their rights ought to be sought for, or their grievances removed by other than legal and constitutional means.

"Whilst the writer under the signature of 'J. K. L.' discards the pretensions of all Churches to temporal possessions by any other title than that derived from human law, he has fully and unequivocally recognized the right arising from that law to exist in the Established Church, and declared it to be extinct in his own. He has not, more than I have in my evidence, confounded the Church or its clergy with their tithes and land, or even thought himself, or induced others to think that one establishment should be diminished or altered to make room for another. Still less did he imagine or wish to see a great corporate property new-modelled by any other means or for any other end, than such as the constitution sanctions or Parliament might approve.

"As to the tone or manner of my evidence being different from that which prevades many parts of the writings of J. K. L., I should hope that no rational or candid man would suppose, that such mode of expression would or could be used in giving testimony before the most dignified bodies in the empire—employed, moreover, upon an inquiry with a view to redress the manifold grievances of Ireland.

"I gladly avail myself of this opportunity of expressing my admiration of your great talents, and of offering to you my most heartfelt thanks for the inestimable services rendered by you to the cause of truth and justice, by your able advocacy of our claims."

Dr. Doyle's return to Ireland was celebrated by a blaze of triumph and jubilee. The towns in his diocess were illuminated, and congratulatory addresses emanated from every quarter. The New Ross address thus concluded: "May your Lordship long live the ornament of your religion and country, and may posterity appreciate the good you have done, in the same degree as your name and your fame are now so universally applauded."

The Bishop replied: "Your partiality for one born and educated amongst you, has induced you to estimate so highly as you do the services which I have endeavoured to render to our common interests. When called on by both Houses of Parliament to give evidence on the state of Ireland, I had only to mention what I had touched and seen, and when interrogated on the doctrines and discipline of our holy Church, which, like the character of an honest individual, are best defended by inquiry, my duty and my only object were, to unfold to the view of others those divine truths and that salutary practice which are known to Catholics of almost every description.

"Our country continues afflicted, our religion if not persecuted is grievously oppressed in the persons of those who profess it. The union of Irishmen of all classes can alone rescue us from this thraldom, and make us all equal before the laws.

"Gentlemen, whilst I may continue in this life, I hope to have no views before me but 'God and my country.' No interest, fear, or hope can, with the Divine aid, ever prevent me from discharging the duties which I owe to both; and I shall always deem it a high honour, as well as a great reward, to possess the esteem and deserve the approbation of any portion of the inhabitants of this virtuous and high-spirited county."

A somewhat less dignified congratulation and reply on the same subject also found expression. Dr. Doyle attended a conference of the clergy shortly after his examination by the Peers. "My Lord," said the Master of Conference, "did you not feel a little nervous before all those bigwigs?" and, alluding to Dr. Doyle's rigid examination of ecclesiastical students, he added, "You often made a poor fellow yourself sweat in the pulpit, and some of us might not be disposed to pity you in a similar position." "I confess," replied the Bishop, "that when the name, 'James Doyle, Titular Bishop of Kildare,' was sonorously called out in the House, I did feel a tendency to what you have said—especially when the large, cold, grey eyes of Lord Chancellor Eldon, rising from a string of notes, at last rested upon me searchingly. My embarrassment however wore off, and ere the examination had been five minutes going on, I felt that I was all their daddies." The latter was a familiar college expression.

In passing the night at Waterford, on his way to Tramore, a huge bonfire was enkindled opposite the house where he stopped. An immense sea of faces, bronzed by the red glare, surged on every side around. The greatest enthusiasm and curiosity prevailed to catch a glimpse of J. K. L. Next morning a deputation waited on the Bishop, and invited him to a public dinner, to be presided over by twelve Protestant magistrates, but Dr. Doyle courteously declined the honour.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Triumphs and defeats—Illiberal speech of the heir to the Throne—Letter from the Duke of Wellington—Jubilee in honour of Dr. Doyle's return to Ireland—Visit to Catharine—Her death and ghost!—Letters—Substantial tribute of gratitude and affection presented by the Priests of Kildare and Leighlin to their Bishop—The address and reply—Striking effect of Dr. Doyle's sermons—One person swoons and another commits suicide from the effects of his reproaches—Prophetic power of Dr. Doyle—Coolness between him and O'Connell on the subject of "the wings"—The Commission of Education Inquiry—Dr. Doyle's evidence—How he answered Leslie Foster—Dr. Doyle's MS. notes—Correspondence with Mr. Blake—Extracts from an unpublished work by J. K. L.

"SHALL we ever forget our joy," observes Monsignor Meagher, in an unpublished MS. before us, "when Dr. Doyle stood, a giant of intellect and eloquence, before the councils of the nation, and spoke for his country and his creed, undaunted by all the chiefs of the land? Shall we ever forget how every enemy of that country quailed, and every reviler of his faith shrunk away silenced and abashed—how stern opponents were converted by his voice into enthusiastic and permanent friends? Events astounding and glorious followed that magnificent defence of conscience and country. The joy of the nation was unbounded, for it saw that its cause had triumphed long before the struggle had closed. The energies of the people were redoubled; the soul of the nation was awake; her noble genius was developed; talents of the highest order burst forth where it never was suspected they could exist; the public vices, which centuries of misrule had fostered, were purged away; dissension—Ireland's oldest curse—was forgotten; the liberal of every creed, the virtuous of every rank and profession hurried to unite themselves with the fortunes of their country; and, amid the music of eloquence and the benedictions of religion, one loud and holy cry for liberty was lifted to the skies. It penetrated to the remotest parts of the civilized earth—it crossed the Atlantic wave, and was re-echoed back by emancipated millions in cheers of hearty encouragement. The eyes of the civilized world were turned once more to the sacred Isle of the West, and the cause of Ireland became the cause of man."

This desirable consummation, however, did not take place immediately. On the 21st April, 1825, the Catholic Relief Bill passed the Commons with a majority of twenty-seven: but the Duke of York, then heir presumptive to the throne, having made, in the Lords, a furious speech against Emancipation, adding that he would adhere to those principles—so help him God!—a considerable sensation ensued, and the second reading of the Relief Bill was lost, in the upper House, by a majority of forty-eight. The

following letter from the Duke of Wellington, now printed for the first time, is curious, as contrasted with the Duke's advocacy of Catholic Emancipation four years later:

"London, 25th May, 1825.

"My dear Sir—I have received your letter of the 20th inst., and I sincerely regret that I had not the pleasure of seeing more of you when you was lately in London. But my health has not been in a very good state lately, and my time is much occupied.

"I will not obtrude upon you any observations upon what has occurred here lately. I never doubted that it would happen as it has occurred, and those are much to blame who excited hopes which they must have known could not be gratified, in the existing state of men's minds.—Believe me, dear Sir, &c.,

"Wellington."

Mr. Lenihan, editor of *The Limerick Reporter*, in a letter to the author writes: "I well remember 1825, when Dr. Doyle returned from his examination in the Houses of Parliament. We illuminated Carlow College in his honour; and at the annual academic exhibition in that year, I happened to be selected, by the late lamented Dr. Kinsella, to write the congratulatory Latin ode, in honour and welcome of Dr. Doyle on his victory in the Lords, and the admirable exposition he made on that memorable occasion. The study-hall was crowded to excess; many now numbered with the dead were there in the exuberance of joy inspired by the occasion. Dr. Doyle occupied a rich throne in the academy hall. As the boys of the lay-college, a fine group of eighty, proceeded up the room and approached, his countenance was lighted up with extreme pleasure; and how well I remember the noble expression which beamed from his eyes, glistening with the light of genius and radiant with good humour, as I went on to discharge the honourable and gratifying duty I was chosen from my compeers to perform." The newspapers of the day records that Dr. Doyle, on the same occasion, subjected the students to an elaborate examination in law.

The triumph with which Dr. Doyle's return was celebrated did not, even momentarily, divert his attention from the many corporal works of mercy which had characterized his previous life. Amongst others, he visited his fair convert friend, Catharine, who, after numerous miraculous rallies, was at last prostrated by an attack of violent agony, to which, at the early age of twenty-five, she fell a willing victim. Dr. Doyle frequently declared that he had never known any woman who possessed an intellect of equal depth and vigour. The following extract and letter finish this little episode in the Bishop's life. The dying girl to her

sister, a few days prior to her dissolution, writes: "In all human probability the fabric must soon fall, and the spirit return to Him who gave it—at least my present debility makes me think so; but you are too well instructed—your mind too well stored with the truths of religion to need any comments from me as to the necessity of entire resignation to the Divine will; and as to regret me, it would be only afflicting yourself at my relief—for, indeed, my sufferings are of that acute nature, and my weakness so great, that only God's peculiar mercy or special providence could support me under the present accumulation. As my frame weakens, strange to say, my mind grows strong, and in moments of anguish, the sense of God's mercy becomes stronger than the sense of pain; so that I have the consolation of being always able to unite my little sufferings to those of my beloved Saviour, whose merits will, I trust, plead for me before the throne of mercy. I am not in a hurry to die, nor desirous to live; I only wish to accomplish God's will. I care not to be released from suffering if it can satisfy the justice of God, even in a degree; 'tis right and just that the body should suffer, and I adore His justice that afflicts, as I hope in His mercy to save my poor soul. If I live, it seems I should suffer, and through my own weakness I sin always. How preferable, then, that I should die, even though removed to a place of suffering for a time, where the power of the devil will be at an end, and where I will be released from myself—the greatest of all evils. Let these considerations console you should I be called away. I had a visit from a ministering angel last night—our dear friend, Dr. Doyle, who arrived only a few hours previous from England. The spirit of God must have been with him to make him pass such an ordeal. His contempt for this world is doubly increased; but the change of air did not benefit his health."

The fair writer was soon after released from her sufferings.

The following anecdote has been graphically communicated to us by a near relation of Dr. Doyle's, and we give it on the authority of the narrator. The night was one of loud wind and dense darkness, which vivid flashes of lightning, now and then for a moment, relieved. The clock of Carlow Church had just pealed the witching hour "when churchyards yawn, and graves yield up their dead." Rain fell in torrents and rushed wildly against the windows of Old Derrig, as if imploring shelter from the bitter wind which pursued it. One speck of light only flickered from the sombre walls of the episcopal mansion—it was Dr. Doyle's night lamp, and his pen sped rapidly by its feeble glare. The Bishop's old housekeeper could not sleep; supernatural fears oppressed her, and having heard a strange noise, thrice repeated at

her door, she hastily assumed her dress and sought Dr. Doyle. The Bishop's *tout-ensemble*, as he sat before his dressing table, was an aspect almost sufficient in itself to give a shock to nerves not of the stoutest. Wrapped in a loose gown, his austere brow surmounted by a tall and almost perpendicular night-cap, and, as has been asserted, a human skull resting before him, he suggested rather the idea of Michael Scott penning some infernal incantation, than of a Prelate engaged upon a politico-religious tract. The housekeeper tremulously announced her fears. "I myself heard the noise of which you speak," replied Dr. Doyle, "and I am induced to believe that Catharine F—— has just departed;" and with this consolatory assurance the Bishop dismissed the servant, and resumed his writing.

Dr. Doyle wrote a few words of consolation to the surviving sister: "The departure of our lamented Catharine, though not unexpected, excited in me the liveliest feelings, not of sorrow, but of affection for her, and of esteem for those eminent virtues with which she had been blessed by God, and which He matured in her in a few years, and has now, I trust, transferred to heaven. A singular providence seemed to have watched over her from her infancy. I was always not only gratified but surprised, when I conversed seriously with her, at the extraordinary qualities of her mind; and her virtues were such as left a strong impression of her being a special favourite of Almighty God. She was unfit to remain here longer. She had attained all the ends for which life is given, and we have reason to rejoice that the will of God, 'which is our sanctification,' was so soon and so perfectly accomplished in her. We should not, therefore, indulge a senseless sorrow at her removal to Him who created her for himself, and whom alone she desired to love and possess for ever. We should rather rejoice that we partook more than others of the advantage of her example, and were sharers in her affection and esteem. Should she be in bliss, as I believe she is, we will experience the effects of her intercession, and we may one day participate in the rewards which are given to those who prevail over the enemies of God, and who do not divide their affections between Him and what is vain and transitory. Your feelings, your strong sensibility must have been greatly tried; but I am confident you are able to regulate them—to suppress them is not desirable, to restrain them is necessary, and it is most useful to turn them, when excited, to the adoration of God."

We have repeatedly heard it alleged, that "Dr. Doyle, from having ruled his clergy with a rod of iron, was exceedingly unpopular among them." The reverse is the fact, although there can be no doubt that his imposing presence and prestige often

inspired a feeling of awe, and kept troublesome persons at a distance. His stern fixity of purpose and expression, and his rigid sense of discipline commanded respect and admiration; and it was well known, that beneath a rough exterior he possessed a thoroughly humane and amiable heart. Within the rough rind the feelings were preserved sweet, robust, and healthy. The letters we have published furnish no isolated instance of the struggles between duty and inclination which frequently distressed him. Few are aware of the painful effort it often cost him to assume a stern and unbending demeanour. And how often have his Clergy found, that if he put on the terrors of an angry judge on one day, he would relax into the playfulness of a fond companion the next. The following address from the Priests of his diocess will probably be esteemed a sufficient refutation of the groundless remark to which we have referred. And the act consisted not in empty words, but was backed by a substantial attestation of their sincerity. The Clergy had, at this period, a personal experience of Dr. Doyle's episcopal administration for nearly six years. This period embraced the sterner portion of his rule. It will be remembered that in the Bishop's letter to the Very Rev. J. Dunne, immediately after his consecration, he alluded to several uncanonical customs of long standing, amounting to abuse, which required prompt and energetic correction; and the consternation produced by the Bishop's resolve is more than alluded to in that letter to his Vicar. The commencement of Dr. Doyle's episcopal rule was characterized by greater rigour than the later portion of it, inasmuch as, to effect sudden and important changes a strong hand is required. In the following address we shall see with what feelings the Clergy of Dr. Doyle's diocess regarded him after a thorough experience of his rule:

"My Lord—It is now more than six years since the Clergy of Kildare and Leighlin gave the strongest proof of their admiration of your talents, and their reverence for your many virtues, by selecting you as their Bishop; and since that time the intercourse which they have had with your Lordship has powerfully contributed to increase their respect and to strengthen their attachment. The unwearied zeal which you have exhibited in the work of the ministry—the powerful talent and extensive learning which have distinguished you as a preacher and writer, and the apostolic disinterestedness and contempt for the things of this world, which have uniformly marked your conduct, have all combined to render your character beloved and revered by all who know you, but particularly by the Clergy and people of these diocesses. The perfect spirit of a Christian Pastor, which has caused you

to resign everything in this world in order to devote your whole existence to the glory of God and the service of religion amongst us, has long since filled the hearts of your Clergy with sentiments of veneration and affection, to the expression of which no words could do justice. . . . . A meeting of your Lordship's parochial Clergy was held on this day, and it was unanimously resolved: 'That, anxious to signify to our revered Prelate the sincerity of our attachment and gratitude, we do forthwith institute a subscription in order to procure for him such a residence as will fix the attention of posterity on the period and on the Prelate.' . . . . We trust our resolution will be acceptable to your Lordship, and that you will receive it as a testimony of our profound respect and unalterable attachment. We earnestly pray that the same bountiful Providence which has placed you over us, will preserve and prolong that valuable life which is so necessary for the improvement and happiness of your Lordship's children in Christ." This address was signed on behalf of the meeting by the Rev. Dr. Prendergast, V.G., chairman.

Dr. Doyle, filled with emotion, replied as follows:

"VERY REV. AND DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN—Your presence and your address, unexpected at the close of our religious exercises, have greatly affected me. You have brought to my recollection the period when your partiality contributed to impose upon me a burden to be dreaded, as the Spirit of Truth declares in the S. Council of Trent, even by an angel. That zeal for the house of God, that eminent piety and disinterestedness, which then prompted you to select for recommendation to the Holy See the person whom you considered most worthy to preside in these ancient and venerable churches, caused you to prefer to clergymen distinguished for every virtue a stranger who had been but a few years resident amongst you, and whose faults and infirmities, on account of the seclusion in which he had lived, were hidden from you.

"Your wishes, beloved brethren, were fulfilled, and I submitted to a yoke, which if I rejected, I feared might oppose the will of heaven. In seeking to discharge the duties imposed upon me, I have not, through the grace of God, yielded to flesh and blood; nor have I made my life more precious than my soul, provided I could finish my course and the ministry of the word, which, through the Successor of Peter, I have received from the Lord Jesus. In feeding the flock of Christ confided to me, your faith, your patience, your labours, your example, have excited me to do so, not by constraint, but willingly—not for filthy lucre's sake, but voluntarily—not as lording it over God's in-

heritance, but seeking, through His aid, to be a pattern to the flock from his heart.

"The intention you have expressed, dear and very reverend brethren, of providing a suitable residence for me and my successors, is worthy of you and of these diocesses, so dear to my heart. Were I the sole object of the generous offering you propose to make, I should undoubtedly decline accepting of it, for my soul abhors gifts, and I desire not to have here a lasting abode; I rather look in hope for one that is to come. But I shall view with pleasure such a record of your zeal for religion, and of your attachment to your Bishop, that the world may know that we are the disciples of Him whose last and best commandment was, that we should love one another—that we should be *one* in mind and in affection, as He and his Father are one in nature and in substance.

"You desire for me, beloved brethren, length of days. Length of days is not computed by the number of our years; we may in a short time fill up many of them by holiness of life. It is this you pray for, and in your prayer I earnestly concur. But whether the days of my pilgrimage be shortened or prolonged, they shall, through the grace of our Redeemer, continue to be devoted to the advancement of God's glory, of the interests of religion, and in seeking to promote your spiritual welfare, your honour, and your peace, as well as the happiness and welfare of that numerous people whom the Holy Ghost has committed to our common care."

The residence which had been selected as a fitting testimonial to the worth and talent of Dr. Doyle, was the princely mansion of Braganza, erected by the late Sir Dudley Hill, and since successively occupied by Bishops Nolan, Haly, and Walsh. Approached by a curving avenue, it stands in an elevated situation, within half-a-mile of Carlow, and commands a luxuriant and extensive prospect. The vista from the back windows is especially fine and romantic. Among other objects of picturesque attraction, the graceful Barrow winds through umbrageous parterres and pleasure grounds. The drawing-room of the mansion is nearly fifty feet long. It received the name of Braganza from Sir Dudley Hill, Governor of St. Lucie, who had reaped ducats and laurels in the service of the royal family of Portugal. An erroneous story has it, that Dr. Doyle adopted the designation in compliment to the house of Braganza, around which some of his fondest and earliest associations were entwined. The purchase-money amounted to £2,500. Dr. Doyle, however, continued to reside at Old Derrig until 1826.

He preached much this year in the pulpit, on the way-side, at home, and throughout the remoter portions of his diocess.

According as the Whitefeet and Ribbon confederacies would knit, he broke them vigorously asunder. "You must be aware," writes the Parish Priest of Ballinakill, "that Dr. Doyle visited many parishes of his diocess with the sole view of addressing these misguided men. I myself, by special invitation, have been present at some of those scenes, which were truly exciting, and would now be regarded as incredible and partaking of the romantic." Dr. Doyle's ordinary exhortations from the pulpit were, in the highest degree, impressive. Thoroughly *extempore*, they never smelt of the midnight oil, but were always redolent of the fragrance of morning. He captivated the will, and made many a hardened conscience heave with contrition. Every sentence carried an additional weight of conviction with it. Mr. Lenihan, editor of *The Limerick Reporter*, adverting to Dr. Doyle as he remembered him in 1825, writes: "We always regarded him with the utmost veneration, and the qualities which shone conspicuous in his character were looked upon by us as belonging only to himself. On Sundays it was my custom to go into the parish chapel, from the College grounds, to hear him preach. What a preacher was he! How stately—how solemn—how impressive—how grand! The form of the apostle and the patriot now, after the lapse of thirty years, is strongly impressed upon my mind, reminding one of the Chrysostoms, the Cyrils, or the Ambroses of the early ages of the Church. No one ever heard him on the altar of Carlow Chapel that would not wish to hear him again; and no one ever listened to his wonderful exhortations, or more elaborate sermons without profit—without being impressed by the majesty and power of his eloquence."

The Very Rev. Dr. Taylor, in an unpublished poem, writes:

"Oft at that altar I saw him stand,
To his looks there was grandeur given;
When, with radiant eye and uplifted hand,
He proclaimed the commands of Heaven.

"*Then* would he speak with words of fire,
That enkindled the hearts assembled;
Then told he the woes of eternal ire,
While the guilty conscience trembled."

It is interesting to trace the indelible depth of the impression and the enthusiasm, which even a transient acquaintance with Dr. Doyle never failed to create. The Very Rev. Mr. Vaughan, writing to the author, observes: "I have a vivid recollection of his commanding mien, strikingly expressive of dignity and loftiness. Had the Almighty left him to us, he would have swayed the destinies of his country like Mazarin or Ximines. Possessing the grandeur and energy of both, without their faults, this great

man, like a brilliant constellation, would stand up in luminous grandeur between Ireland and her tyrants, to inspire the one with combination and hope, and awe the others into reluctant justice. During the disastrous period of the famine, when our poor broken-hearted countrymen were breathing the odour of the grave, and falling to the earth like autumn leaves, I often bitterly regretted his absence. What thunders he would have grasped, and with what giant force he would have hurled them on the heads of the heartless rulers of Ireland, and the destroyers of our blood and kindred! If anything more than another (in the present prostration of nationality) is calculated to give the country a dignified conception of herself, or inspire her with public virtue, it is in placing before her the portraiture of one of her purest and greatest public men; the more vividly will it flash on the popular intellect, when the disinterested saintly portrait is viewed in contrast with the mean degeneracy of other men."

The writer of the foregoing was a student in Carlow College at the period to which he alludes. In such awe was the great Prelate held there, that a student has been known to swoon away while undergoing reproof from Dr. Doyle. We are also acquainted with the details of a suicide, which has been popularly attributed to some expressions of reproach uttered by Dr. Doyle. The name of the unhappy man was Ryan, but we will be readily excused from entering into the particulars of that very painful incident.

Mr. Vaughan, in the letter we have quoted, deplores that Ireland had not the inestimable advantage of possessing J. K. L. when ravaged, in 1847, by famine and pestilence. Mr. Poulett Scrope, M.P., has expressed himself to the same effect. It may not be irrelevant to observe, that Dr. Doyle, in his Fifth Letter on the "State of Ireland," would seem to have foretold not only the famine and pestilence of '47, but the Coercion Bill, the exhausting tide of emigration, and the subsequent insurrection. "But if the policy of governing by division be pursued longer," he thundered, "then the people will perish by famine, or emigrate to Britain, or be cut off by the sword. If strong measures be resorted to, and some of the Irish gentry and absentees proceed as they have been doing, these results or some one of them will be accelerated. Captain Rock will resume his sway, the poor will instinctively confederate, the Insurrection Act will be in constant operation, and if a foreign war should occur and circumstances favour it, there may be a general rebellion. What the result would be, God only knows. I know that my office as a minister of religion, and my duty as a loyal subject, require that I should state my opinions at a time when effectual remedies may be safely applied; and I

do so totally regardless of the slave and the bigot—nay, though I were doomed, like the prophetess mentioned by the poet, never to be believed. Or, let it be supposed that the law by the agency of the musket, the transport, or the gibbet may still sustain the uneasy tranquillity of the country, and that the population should be pressed on as heretofore, then they will congregate in towns and villages, finding no habitation or employment in the country; and should a dearth of provision occur, *famine and pestilence will set in together, and rid us probably of a million.* Happily we have missionaries in abundance to attend the dying; but if there be 'a chosen curse—some hidden thunder in the stores of heaven,' it must be reserved to blast those men who shall have brought such ruin on their country."

O'Connell, in his patriotic anxiety for Emancipation, was led to propose, as a compromise, the pensioning of the Clergy, and the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders; and on his return to Ireland from London, in June, 1825, he found his popularity seriously damaged in consequence. On the 11th of July, a meeting of the parishioners of St. Audeon's was held, to denounce those measures which had already received the derisive epithet of "wings." O'Connell spoke long and eloquently, and in self-defence charged their adoption on Dr. Doyle and Dr. Murray. "I saw," he said, "that there was a prospect of achieving the liberty of Ireland by means at which, under other circumstances, and if acting only upon my own judgment, I should have shuddered with horror. But I did not rest on my own authority; I was in communication with two Prelates, who are the ornaments of Ireland—Dr. Doyle and Dr. Murray. Can I offer a better plea than when I say that I did nothing, said nothing, which had not their entire concurrence and sanction." He added, that the Prelates had been duped by the Government.

James Edward Devereux, the Catholic delegate, has stated on the authority of Dr. Doyle's intimate friend, Dr. Kinsella, that the Bishop wept like a child when his attention was called to O'Connell's speech. He was too much distressed himself to contradict the misstatement with that fullness of conclusive evidence, which he always brought to the support of every allegation he advanced, and accordingly commissioned Dr. Kinsella to discharge this duty for him.

At the meeting in Bridge-street, the main question at issue was, the propriety of O'Connell's conduct in approving of the bill for increasing the qualifications of electors, and of the proposed plan for pensioning the Catholic Clergy.

In his reputed vindication, he threw the onus on Dr. Doyle, as though he had been acting throughout under that Prelate's

directions. This impression may have sprung from a misapprehension, but the assertion was not, on that account, the less irksome to Dr. Doyle's feelings. By his desire, the late Rev. Dr. Kinsella published a long letter which satisfactorily disproved the charge. It appeared that O'Connell, in his examination before Parliament, had especially approved of the wings, and no previous communication whatever had taken place between the Prelate and O'Connell on the subject. In the "Letters on the State of Ireland," by J.K.L., published during the previous February, both the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders and the pensioning of the Clergy had been reprobated by Dr. Doyle. Dr. Kinsella discharged his task as delicately as possible. "While," he wrote, "I endeavoured to correct in his speech what appears to me to be an error, I still feel in his regard the same sentiments of admiration and gratitude, which every honest man who loves his country must feel for one of her best and most powerful friends."

The reader may remember, that after Dr. Doyle had given his parliamentary evidence, there were some influential persons found in both Houses to accuse him of a want of consistency; and there can be no doubt that the exultation of many would have been great were they able to convict him of insincerity on such high authority as that of O'Connell. Some *eclaircissement* was therefore necessary, on more grounds than one.

The Dublin Evening Post of the 26th of July, 1825, contains a reply from O'Connell. "I have been," he wrote, twenty-three years engaged in the Catholic cause. Many things have occurred calculated to mortify, and some to disgust me. But either the natural elasticity of my animal spirits, or some other cause, prevented me from being affected by any of the attacks, whether open or insidious, made upon me. I must, however, acknowledge that my period of apathy has terminated. I have at length felt with sensitivenes all the bitterness of reproach; and in the spirit perhaps of humiliated pride and mortified vanity, I sit down to reply to a strange and, I will add, most unnecessary public assault." O'Connell went on to say, that there was not a human being among the reading classes unaware of the gross inaccuracy with which speeches are reported in the public papers. "How is it possible," he asked, "for a writer to follow the rapid progress of speech, or to seize with minuteness the arrow flight of another person's ideas? Where there is any subject of a delicate nature, nobody should fasten the terms of a reported speech on the speaker without inquiry. Would not courtesy have required that an enemy should be asked whether he really was guilty before his guilt was pronounced certain?" That passage in his speech, where the Bishops were alleged to have been duped by the Government,

O'Connell admitted to be accurate. But the allusion, he said, was not to the Prelates then living, but to those who, in 1799, were trepanned into an approval of the Veto. O'Connell declared, that although he referred to the pensioning of the Clergy, he never once alluded to the freehold wing. He well knew that Dr. Doyle differed from him on the expediency of that measure.

Dr. Kinsella was promptly in the field again, blowing hot and cold. "As to the general inaccuracy of reporters," he said, "I was not so well acquainted with it as Mr. O'Connell seems to be. I, however, employed the only means in my power of procuring a correct report by consulting four different newspapers."

In 1825, George IV., yielding to the prayer of a memorial which had been presented to him from Parliament, was pleased to issue a Commission under his great seal, for inquiring into the nature and extent of the instruction afforded by the several institutions in Ireland established for the purpose of education, and maintained either wholly or in part from the public funds. The Commission was also charged to inquire into the state of diocesan and district seminaries; to ascertain whether any and what regulations might be fit to be established with respect to parochial schools; and to report on the best measures for extending generally, to all classes of the people, the benefits of education. This step in the right direction, though it proved far from being a steady and satisfactory move, was chiefly due to the writings of Dr. Doyle. The first Report of the Commissioners, with its Appendix, lies before us, and extends to 881 folio pages. Although some curious matter came to light, the volume would be an exceedingly dull one were it not for the luminous evidence of Dr. Doyle. This, which he delivered on oath, exhibits his usual eloquence, originality, and intellectual strength. Some of the most out-of-the-way questions were put, and Dr. Doyle replied to them with the utmost unreserve and independence of tone.

We subjoin an extract:

"*Q.* You are aware of that portion of Scripture which the Protestants represent as their tenth commandment? *A.* I am.

"*Q.* Is it not, in point of fact, divided into two, in the Roman Catholic Catechism? *A.* And very justly.

"*Q.* Have the goodness to state the reason of that? *A.* We have the seventh commandment; this seventh says, "Thou shalt not steal;' and the sixth says, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery.' Here God makes a distinction between that which is a man's property and a man's wife. A man's wife—which is not to be compared with any other substance that he possesses on the earth—being so much more valuable, and so much dearer to him, the ninth and tenth with us go to eradicate from the heart those

vicious propensities which the sixth and seventh seek to restrain in action; therefore, the same distinction which is observed between the goods and the wife in the sixth and seventh, is preserved between desiring the *goods* and desiring the *wife*, in the ninth and tenth." . . . . .

"*Q.* Have the goodness to state the nature of your objections to those books? *A.* In both of those, but particularly in the second, I found extracts from the Scriptures, one of which I consider as mutilated; I found copious extracts from the Psalms, and there can be scarcely any extracts from the Psalms, from the authorised version, to which I would not object; but what I objected to chiefly was the canon of the sacred Scripture, which was there given with the list of the apocryphal books; as there are some books put among the apocryphal which I believe to be canonical, that, I consider to be a very material error. I also found in one of them the Lord's Prayer as it is used in the Established Church, and with an addition, which I conceive not to have been annexed to it by our Lord; and in a form of prayer which I appreciate so highly, I should not like that a single word were added or taken away; therefore, I would object to any book which had that prayer in that form. Those are the objections which occur to me at this moment." . .

The late Mr. Leslie, afterwards Baron Foster, was the leading Commissioner of Inquiry. He was a learned, important, and solemn personage, whose countenance Lord Guillamore compared to that of an owl. A song of the day makes his name rhyme with "the Duke of Gloucester," a not less dignified character in the poet's estimation. Leslie Foster examined Dr. Doyle and Father Kenny for eight hours, and it was considered that Mr. Foster came off the worst. "Foster," writes Sheil, "was baffled by every response, and amidst the jeers of his brother Commissioners—with Mr. Blake compassionating him on one side, and Mr. Glascot nudging him at the other, while Frankland Lewis trod upon his toes—was at length persuaded to give up his desperate undertaking." A friend complimented Dr. Doyle on the ability of his replies to Mr. Leslie Foster. "I would gladly," he replied, with a toss of the head, "have gone through a further examination of three times eight hours at Mr. Foster's hands."

The Commission consisted of five Protestants and one Catholic, and the peculiar bias of the majority is but two fatally observable throughout this ponderous blue-book. All the great and self-interested advocates for Biblical education, were examined at considerable length by the Commissioners, and a marked attention to their evidence may be easily traced. The Report at last appeared, pervaded by a tone which grievously disappointed many

sincere well-wishers to Ireland. Statements of interested and illiberal persons, hostile to the Catholic Clergy, were given as facts, while the next page revealed that the whole was a mere hearsay. The work contained a singular mixture of accusation and acquittal, as well as further tacit proofs of conflict between the Commissioners. "The writer," observes a contemporary critic, "laboured to criminate the Priests, while some superintending authority cautioned him to be just."

Dr. Doyle's copy of the Report lies before us, with a prominent autograph presentation, "From T. Spring Rice." It bears evidence of having been very carefully studied by the Bishop, and marginal notes in manuscript abound. Dr. Doyle seems to have been heartily disgusted with this Report, from the vehement character of his notes. At p. 7, we find "*A deliberate lie,*" and "*the abuses of the Charter Schools, shocking to humanity, yet continued and fostered by the Gov. to this hour.*" At p. 8, honourable mention is made of the Earl of Ranelagh, who established Protestant schools in Roscommon, the effect of which J. K. L. spoils by adding, "*the Murderer and Robber of the Byrnes.*" At p. 34, we have, "*Masters to be prepared by this Society, yet we are not to teach even our religious instructors! proh pudor.*" "*What a humbug?*" "*Inconsistency.*" "*Wherefore trouble the public with this history?*" and, "*Justification of all our allegations against the Kildare-place Society,*" accompany other paragraphs. At p. 58, we find, "*Admirable illustrations that the master is always of the religion of the patron;*" and at p. 60, "*Subversion of our religion aimed at!*" "*Shuffling and contradiction!*" There is a large amount of data at p. 65. *et seq.*, regarding the "Hibernian Society," on which Dr. Doyle writes, "*Proselytism avowed,*" &c. A resolution of the Society was quoted that the "Old and New Testament" should be read in their schools. Dr. Doyle adds, "*Disavow here the fundamental principle of their own constitution—Father of Lies, who are thy children?* At p. 70 occurs, "*The most disgusting fanaticism and self-love—a very Pharisee.*" At p. 80, "*The most valuable agents are apostates;*" and at p. 83, "*Excessively absurd—cant, lies, and hypocrisy.*" At p. 91 of the Report, Dr. Doyle writes, "*The Commissioners* SERIOUSLY APPREHEND *that we will succeed in removing the children—excellent!*" At p. 93, he complains, "*Why not insert here or elsewhere, the practice and doctrine of the C. Church?*" At p. 95, "*An intentional omission of our doctrine.*" At p. 98, we find, "*Censors of our books, and judges of the necessity of the Scriptures being used in schools.*" "*Oh, what contradiction!*"

On the back of a letter, which we find among the leaves of the

Report, Dr. Doyle has made the following memorandum: "The assistant to be appointed by us. This no remedy. For how can we approve for that important office one not instructed by us? Yet not only are we not to have the appointment, but not even the preparation. Then can we remove them? No, unless by complaint—and to whom, and against whom? In the result of a failure—then our only remedy to withdraw the children—but where? We have given up all our schools, they are the property of the Crown. These assistants, not one in each school, but only '*where wanted.*' Seldom wanted. In my rule they were to be a constant guard on the children. Here twice a-week, like a Swaddling preacher, to give lectures on spirituals. These men look for promotion. To whom? Is it to us? No, but to those who appoint Prot. masters. See what a bonus for conversion. I am sure no man ever, from a Cat., became a Prot. from conviction.' It is quite impossible—but gain and passion have allured thousands; and how more easily than a shallow presumptuous man, such as these would be. Such as are the conv-readers spoken of in this Report."

Dr. Doyle would seem to have got off some of his chagrin in the following letter to the Catholic Commissioner, Mr. Blake:

DEAR SIR—I have, for some days past, been looking through the Report. It is indeed exceedingly laboured; and when the Appendix, of which we have the index, shall have been furnished, the entire will be well calculated to excite our surprise. On more than one occasion, whilst reading it, I could not suppress a feeling of regret that your name was affixed to it. I had rather that it were the work, exclusively, of persons who had been bred up in the old No-Popery system, and amongst whom no gentleman of honour or integrity had had a place. . . . . .

"I looked in vain through the Report for evidence of the policy, which you and your colleagues knew to have governed the Commissioners of the Lord Lieutenant's fund, for evidence, however brief, to rebut the utterly unfounded allegations respecting the apostacy of Catholic children. I sought in vain for evidence, ever so short or pithy, of the violence done to parents and children, in order to compel, by a persecution the most cruel, because domestic, the latter to attend at schools of proselytism. If I placed in evidence the reply of the Kildare-place Society to a paper read by Lord Cloncurry, I surely would not omit placing before it the paper so read by his Lordship. If I compared the books published by them with 'these in use in four counties of Ireland,' I should consider it a duty to observe that the former were purchased by a rude and wretched peasantry, while the latter were provided by profuse grants of public money. It may be that the

Catholic Archbishops, who do not appear to have been consulted on the subject, will be gratified with having masters provided for the children of their flocks by the Kildare-place Society, and appointed by Royal Commissioners (against which project, even now, I earnestly protest); but if they be, I am much deceived if their joy be not turned into sadness, unless more candour, truth, and impartiality be found amongst the new Commissioners than ever yet resided in any body of men appointed by the Crown in this country, to transact business connected with the religion of the Irish people. Indeed, I anticipate that as our Archbishops are highest in rank, so they would be foremost in their opposition to such an arrangement."

A long correspondence succeeded between the Bishop and Mr. Blake, but only some fragments of it have been preserved. Mr. Blake writes:

"Stephen's-green, 23rd February, 1826.

"My dear Lord—A letter of mine to you must have miscarried. I sent it to the Castle to be franked. When I wrote, I hoped we should have been enabled to act immediately in execution of the plan of education recommended, so far as relates to the establishment of schools supported by private patrons, as the Lord Lieutenant had placed funds at our disposal for that purpose. Difficulties have since arisen in the construction of a work on the plan of the Evangelical Life of Christ, which we recommended to be used in schools of general instruction, and we have thus been prevented from acting upon the reference made to us up to the present time. We are to meet next week in London; but what will be the result of our deliberation, I cannot now attempt to surmise. We have made no grant to any school."

There is preserved among Dr. Doyle's papers the manuscript of an unpublished pamphlet on the Commission of Educational Inquiry. He proceeds with a rapid but steady pen to dissect the component parts of the board. He exposes its weakness, and proves it to be undeserving of popular confidence. He then examines the instruments proposed to be employed by the board. "From this pious and disinterested body this teacher of the Sacred Scriptures is to bring what, in the language adopted by the Commissioners, is to be called his 'diploma,' for expounding the Word of God to the little ones, and commencing his hitherto unheard-of calling in the Catholic Church—an office compounded partly of assistant schoolmaster, and partly of Swaddling preacher." Of the often ignorant and fanatical Scripture-readers, Dr. Doyle remarks: "Whilst under the care of Mr. Vivors at Kildare-place, they will spend their evenings most devoutly perusing the

Sacred Scriptures in order to fit themselves for their new vocation. During these holy intervals of repose they will discuss most acutely and profoundly all the depths and difficulties of Holy Writ; they will exercise their talents in deducing from its allegories and parables the most pious conclusions, and fitting them out in the drapery of Kildare-street diction, for the open mouths and memories of their future flocks; they will descend with Paul into the abyss of God's decrees; contend with Job against the wiles of Satan, or the perverseness of a wife who became his auxiliary; smite the Amalekites with the Judge of Israel; sing soft anathemas with Solomon; or soar with Isaias to the very throne of God! When they are thus prepared to receive a commission from 'the New Board,' they will return to the country, exhibit their diploma to the patron or parson, and proceed to be inducted by some Daly or Griffith to the intended living and to the practice of the cure of souls. Was there anything ever more silly conceived, except by such a man as Mr. Leslie Foster, who, as our country people say of many of their hedge-schoolmasters, seems to be 'cracked with learning?' Was there anything ever conceived—I won't say by a grave body of men, or even by Irish public functionaries—but by any set of fools and drivellers, so anomalous, so absurd, so irreligious, and so impotent, as to vest the religious instruction of the youth of an entire nation in such a class of fanatics as this project would create?"

From the following racy extract we glean an autobiographical fact:

"What a gang of young, ignorant, presumptuous boys, taken from the plough or the hovel, trained by Mr. Vivors for some months in the study of the Bible, and sent through the country with a legal commission to read this Bible, and interpret all its mysteries and dogmas to the entire of the rising generation. When I take a young clergyman, who has passed through years of probation in a rigid discipline, who is tried and exercised in piety and learning, and commission him to read and expound the holy Scriptures to the faithful, I experience the same solicitude about his conduct, and the manner in which he will execute this all-important office, as a father does when he commits his whole property in a worldly speculation, or his son to a journey in some distant and unhospitable land. I do not cease to observe the young clergyman's conduct and progress; I place him near some trusty and experienced guardian, who would check his ardour, correct his youthful sallies, give to him the lessons of his own experience on the vanities, and fickleness, and dangers of the world, and teach him to walk cautiously and humbly before God and men. Not satisfied with these precautions, I call him to

me from time to time, and, speaking to him with the confidence and affection of a father, I hear from him an account of whatever he had said or done; I advise, or praise, or admonish him, as his interest and my duty may require; I renew to him the instructions and admonitions which he had before received, and again commit him and his labours to the care and favour of Almighty God. But if all this solicitude and precaution be required with regard to a young clergyman of such character, habits, and acquirements as I have described, should not some similar instruction, some such previous discipline, and paternal guardianship, be required by a person who is to teach to children the rudiments of faith, to train them up in the knowledge of the divine law, to inspire with a due sense of the nature and obligations of prayer, obedience, truth, justice, and decorum—in a word, of all the duties which they owe to their parents, their country, their neighbour, and their God? But are the perambulating alguazils—the spiritual bailiffs or caitiffs of the Kildare-place Society and the New Board, fitted for these functions? Such a question merits no reply. These are boys or men, empty of all real knowledge, vain and presumptuous in proportion to their ignorance, to the lowliness of their state, and to the real, as well as fancied importance of their new calling. They may possibly be assisted by the clergymen who are bound or permitted to aid in the instruction of the children. That they can be assisted by the Protestant Clergymen—unless fox-hunting, wife-hunting, tithe-collecting, farming, nursing, the detection of conspiracies, the distribution of justice, or some such occupation interfere—is quite obvious; and if the parson be a Wesleyan Methodist, a child of free grace, or a canting fool or knave, he will without doubt attend; he will most fervently assist, not only in the instruction or seduction of the children, but also in running a race of texts with the new evangelist—*O quam par nobile!* and contending with him about the quantity and quality of light and truth which each may have extracted from the Sacred Text. But the Parish Priest, whose flock consists of several thousands—who has to administer to the spiritual wants of each of them, and not once, but often in the year—who has to compose the differences, settle the disputes, allay the animosities which occasionally arise amongst a rude and enslaved people—who has to visit the sick, to attend the dying, and often by his industry to obtain from a patch of dear-bought earth the necessaries of life—such a man, so occupied, can have but little leisure to attend to schools regularly, or to share in the spiritual diversions of the parson and the catechist."

We may be permitted to make a few more citations, as the

original, from which we cull them, has never been published. The following extracts further exhibit the wonderful vigilance and foresight of Dr. Doyle:

"This Priest, however, may perchance discover some mystical aberrations of the nondescript assistant; he may discover that this youthful teacher of godliness has not been the most temperate, the most moral, the most exemplary of youths; possibly he may be informed that too much learning had made him mad, and that, not satisfied with the humble but important office of catechist, he had, like one of that order whose fanatical evidence is given in the Commissioners' Report, discarded all catechisms, and substituted his own dreams, and visions, and comments, for the old, and true, and venerable doctrine of the Catholic Church. The priest may discover this—and when he has, can he call this young functionary to an account? Yes; but whom does he meet? A young man of education—a young teacher with a diploma from Kildare-street—a young man holding his situation under the authority of the Crown, emanating from the Board—a young man appointed by his Majesty's Commissioners, who has his rights, and knows how to defend them—a young man, in short, who, if he be ill-conducted, or who, if he have fixed his eye upon the superior station of schoolmaster, has already secured the friendship and protection of the parson, and made arrangements with him for his conversion. Such is the man with whom the poor Priest—the old Romish bigot, the unenlightened and uninformed enemy of the Bible, and of all true knowledge—has to contend. He must resign the youth of his parish, the children of his spiritual care, to the depraved influence of this youth's example and doctrine, or appeal for his removal to the 'New Board.' He must learn the circumlocutory forms and modes of proceeding; he will be obliged to arraign the itinerant dealer in texts before the patrons who appointed him. The accused is informed of the charge preferred against him; and now commences a parochial contest between the power of ascendancy and the Popish Priest, to be decided by a board constituted and appointed by Lord Eldon, Mr. Peel, and Mr. Goulbourne. The assistant and the parson prepare the defence; the schoolmaster testifies its truth; almost every gentleman in the parish, through a desire of protecting an innocent and unoffending man, write to the Commissioners in his favour. A dozen, or if necessary two dozen, of affidavits accompany the other documents; and what becomes of the Priest? If the curate be concerned, an application will be made by some member of the Board to his Bishop, to have him removed from the parish as an indiscreet person, extremely bigoted, and extremely obnoxious to the gentry in that neighbour-

hood. If it be the Parish Priest, he will be admonished, with suitable gravity and all the form of official circumstance, that the Commissioners of Education, appointed by his Majesty, pursuant to an Act of Parliament in that case made and provided, have taken the complaint preferred by him against A. B., itinerant lecturer in the district C. D., into their serious consideration; and having examined into all the circumstances of the case, had decreed that the Parish Priest should be informed that the complaint preferred against A. B., the itinerant lecturer, was unfounded, if not malicious, and that it would contribute much to secure public harmony, advance education, and fulfil the views of the Commissioners appointed by his Majesty's paternal Government, if in future reports not deserving of attention were not credited by him, and that he would afford the benefit of his countenance and protection to the aggrieved itinerant.

"The parson, and the catechist, and three or four of the gentlemen who had so kindly interested themselves, receive by the same post an account of the decision of the board, with some pointed reflections on the folly and simplicity of the old Priest—of the firmness and immutability of the old spirit of corruption and ascendancy; and a little jubilee is celebrated in the county by the Orangemen and fanatics on the new discomfiture of Popery. The old Priest is silenced for the remainder of his life, or, if a young one, he is banished, for the laudable purpose of promoting peace. The neighbouring Clergy, hearing what happened to their brother, will shrug their shoulders and say, '*Felix quem fecerunt aliene pericula cautum.* I will take care not to contend with *my* youthful evangelist; let the Bishops who sanction such a system account to God for the destruction of the flock; I am unable to struggle against law and power.'

"But the triumph of the evangelist is complete; he has defied and defeated the Priest; he is protected by the parson, the landlord, and the magistrate; he is as secure as an apostle in his ministry of the Word; he knows as many texts as the most pious old maid in the village, and can interpret them as eloquently and correctly as Wesley or Carlisle; he blazons forth his victory to his pupils, his friends, and the neighbourhood—in fact, he is so elevated, so important, so proud, as to be a most fit subject for conversion to a religion of godliness and love.

"The parson, who has achieved an important victory over the Priest and Popery, pushes his advantage. He represents to the young man how barbarously he had been treated by the Priest, how much he had been befriended by the Protestants, how carefully his interests were protected by the board, and that there was little doubt, if he could only see the errors of his own Church, and

the excellence and beauty of Protestantism, he could not fail of being advanced in life. For his part, he would be most anxious to serve him; indeed he had just heard from a friend in Antrim or Tyrone, that a very fine situation of schoolmaster was then vacant—to fill the office, however, he should be a Protestant. But why detail the process? The itinerant is actually converted, and departs for his new living, leaving his former place vacant for some new diplomatist, who, in addition to the other stimulants to become a renegade, has before him the example of his predecessor."

CHAPTER XIX.

Dr. Doyle's inhibition to his Priests against engaging in controversy—Evangelical exultation—The Professor of Theology at Carlow resigns his office, and challenges to public disputation six Biblical divines—Letter from the present Protestant Bishop of Cashel—Curious scene in Kevin's churchyard—Letter to Rev. Dr. Donovan—Dr. Doyle consecrates the first Catholic Cemetery since the Reformation—Amusing anecdote of Dr. Doyle and Dr. Murray—Letter to Dr. Murray—Dr. Doyle's sermon at the consecration of Marlborough-street Church—His speech at the banquet—Letter to Mariana—Scene at Carlow between Dr. Doyle and O'Connell—Anecdote—Remarkable letter from O'Connell—The steadfast character of Dr. Doyle's friendships—A cornucopia of anecdotes, furnishing food for thought and food for laughter—Traits and strokes of character—Correspondence with Lord Donoughmore, Sydney Smith, and others.

In August, 1825, the evangelical missionaries, who had engaged the Priests of Carlow in controversial disputation during the previous year, seemingly not quite satisfied with the result of that encounter, published a renewed challenge. Dr. Doyle was on his visitation at Edenderry when he read this angry manifesto in the newspapers, and he lost no time in prohibiting his Clergy from taking up the gauntlet. His aversion to polemical warfare had been already placed on record in his "Vindication," addressed to the Marquis Wellesley; and his renewed expression of opinion on the subject ought not to have taken his opponents by surprise. He now enumerated in detail the reasons which led him to disapprove of controversy, and cited the high authority of Tertullian and Benedict XIV. Amongst many other reasons adduced by Dr. Doyle were, "because the character of the Christian religion is peace; and the end of it, to establish peace and good-will upon earth as the means of fitting men for heaven. This end of our calling was announced by the angels at Bethlehem, when the humanity and benignity of our Saviour-God first appeared; and it was repeated by himself when he was about to leave us and return to his Father:

'My peace I leave you; my peace I give you.' To the establishment or preservation of this peace the disputation mentioned would, in itself and in its effects, be directly opposed. . . . .

"Fifthly," he went on to say, "you are to avoid these disputes, because by entering into them you appear to call in question those truths which are already defined by the Holy Ghost and by us, Bishops—the successors of the Apostles. You agree, as it were, to impanel a jury—of I know not what description of persons,—to try the question whether Christ is with us teaching all days, even to the end of the world; whether the Holy Ghost has or has not taught our fathers all truth; whether we be placed by him to rule the Church of God; whether this Church be or be not the pillar and ground of truth; whether these whom we leave bound on earth be bound in heaven; or whether the gates of hell have prevailed, or can prevail against the Church; whether, again, this Church has been buried in idolatry for eight hundred years; whether, in fine, those who refuse to hear her, and who thereby despise Christ and the Father who sent him, are or are not as heathens and publicans before God?"

The Rev. Dr. M'Sweeny, who succeeded to the chair of theology vacated by Dr. Doyle's elevation to the see of Kildare, having, in the previous controversial discussion at Carlow, propounded a few logical questions which do not seem to have been satisfactorily answered, gained a good stock of confidence, and avowed himself ready to encounter, at any moment, alone and unaided "six non-commissioned apostles." Dr. Doyle's letter of inhibition was received by the Rev. Mr. Daly and his colleagues with strong expressions of derision and exultation. The Professor of Theology could not brook their boasting, and absolutely resigned the office which he held, in order that he might, with more respect to Dr. Doyle, follow up his daring intention. Dr. M'Sweeny's challenge having been extensively published and circulated, his opponents proposed a sort of qualified acceptation, but, on second thoughts, retired.

It continued, for some time, to be a favourite point with the evangelical divines to declare, that Dr. Doyle secretly directed the Carlow discussion of the previous year, but now, from motives of moral cowardice, condemned controversy. Dr. Kinsella, afterwards Bishop of Ossory, in *The Evening Post* of the 20th of September, 1825, upsets this calumny. "In speaking of the Bible meeting," observes Dr. Kinsella, "which was held in August, 1824, he repeatedly asserts that Dr. Doyle was the manager of everything; he occupies a large proportion of his letter in describing how this venerable Prelate directed every part of the proceedings. Now, Sir, what is the fact? During the entire

period Dr. Doyle was fifty miles distant from Carlow; and while this veracious divine asserts that he was so busily occupied in this town, the truth is, that he was sojourning in Tramore for the recovery of his health. There was no communication with him on this subject; the Catholic Clergy were guided solely by their own judgment; Dr. Doyle knew nothing of our proceedings, until he read them in the newspapers after all had been concluded."

Dr. Doyle had to bear with many stupid taunts and discourtesies. How theological asperity should so completely warp the mind of a really accomplished scholar and gentleman, as to make him address a Catholic Prelate with a salutation which could not well be applied to the humblest curate, seems strange. The writer is the present Bishop of Cashel:

"SIR—After waiting for some time for a reply from the R. C. Clergy of Carlow to the challenge sent them, I am led to suppose that you, like an able general, have thrown yourself between my friends and them, to sound and cover their retreat. It is well-known in military tactics, that nothing more marks the skill of a general than a good retreat; but however creditable it may prove to the commander, it stamps upon the army and the cause the indelible character of a defeat. With whatever skill you have extricated them from their unequal contest, the Roman Catholic Clergy are a defeated body. They have fled from the field which they first deliberately occupied themselves. . . .

"Though you now, for the first time, come forward openly in this contest, the public well know that you were behind the scenes, and the principal actor in the discussions of 1824, as you were in the miracles of 1823. You and your party have been beaten out of the field of both,—you have volunteered to advance, and in both cases been forced to retreat, not for want of numbers to bring into the field, nor of skill and dexterity in your instruments, but because you had not truth on your side, and you could not by argument and reason make the worse appear the better cause. . . .

"May this book, which we would circulate, reach, in all the power and demonstration of the spirit, to you and to your people, and be 'a light unto your feet and a lamp unto your paths.' I entertain towards you no worse wish than this, and I cannot desire for you or myself a greater blessing.—I remain, Sir, &c.

"ROBERT DALY."

Calumnies on Dr. Doyle and the religion he professed were more than usually rife this year, and insults rapidly followed injuries. The minor labourers in the vineyard of Protestantism took their tone and shaped their course from Archbishop Magee, whose illiberality would seem to have grown in proportion as elapsing years brought him closer to eternity.

About this time a series of insults, which for many months had been systematically offered to the Catholic dead, reached its climax, by the rude interruption to Archdeacon Blake in Kevin's churchyard, when in the act of uttering a short prayer over the grave of Mr. D'Arcy, an opulent brewer of Dublin. Dr. Blake, afterwards Bishop of Dromore, writes: "I did nothing which any layman might not lawfully do—nothing which has not been done by Catholic clergymen and Catholic laymen under the administration of the most bigoted Prelates, and during the most persecuting periods of former times. Yielding to the request of a near and venerable relative of the deceased, I took off my hat to assuage, by a short condoling prayer, the sorrows of the living—to implore perpetual rest and peace for the departed soul; and at this moment, and without any other provocation, the order of Dr. Magee was wrung in my ear—that I must not offer any prayer over that grave! Gracious heavens! is there a country in the universe so degraded as Ireland?" The interruption was the more extraordinary as Dr. Blake appeared in no official costume, but simply in his walking dress, and refrained from reading the service which is prescribed in the Catholic ritual for such occasions.

The illiberality of Dr. Magee, about this period, compelled Dr. Doyle to consecrate the first Catholic burial-ground since the Reformation. This, which took place near Naas, was then regarded as a daring act; and the Rev. Gerald Doyle, the Parish Priest, describes the ceremonial as singularly impressive.

Dr. Magee's eloquent evidence on the state of Ireland, delivered in 1825, remains a melancholy record of the extent to which a consecrated follower of Him, who preached peace and good will to all men, could vituperate the religion and character of six millions of his countrymen. Dr. Doyle was urged by the Rev. Sydney Smith and others to analyze and refute this evidence of Dr. Magee, which, having been carefully revised by the archiepiscopal pen, was soon reprinted and most industriously distributed through Ireland. "Those," wrote Dr. Doyle, "who expect that I should write essays do not consider how a Catholic Bishop is circumstanced in this country. He has not, because he cannot, have a secretary or registrar; he is obliged to visit, in each year, all or the greater part of his diocess, to catechise and confirm several thousand children, to preach to multitudes almost every day for several successive weeks, to examine into the state of religion, the lives and conduct of the Clergy and people, and to decide on numberless cases of conscience which are referred to him; he has to preside in person at the conferences of the Clergy, held in each month during the summer and autumn; when at home, he has to write as many letters as a clerk in a counting-house, to preach on

every Sunday, and, during the week, to attend to numerous applications of his people, as well as to discharge often the missionary duties in the same manner as the most humble of his curates. When he has done all this, what time, think you, remains to write essays?" In one point, Dr. Magee was as orthodox as Dr. Doyle could desire—he considered it necessary to regulate Scripture-reading by Church authority. To this Dr. Doyle alludes in a letter to the Rev. Dr. Donovan, on the 24th of September, 1825:

"Poor M'Sweeny is ill at Cheltenham, and I am very sorry for it. I want him to write letters against the Biblicals, as he does it best. In the interim (as I have not time even to read what they write—and I assure you this is the case), might you not draw back public attention by a letter to the state of the question—the accordance between Drs. Murray, Doyle, Primate Stewart, Archbishops Magee, Laurence, Bishops Jebb, Marsh, &c., as to the necessity of regulating Scripture-reading by Church authority; the opposition of the Biblicals to the Thirty-nine Articles; to the King's declaration prefixed; the editions of the Scripture by us; the present stereotype edition by Dr. Murray; and then beg some solution from them of the texts noticed or adduced in my late letter in support of the Church, as also a satisfactory explanation of the frauds alleged, in Mr. O'Connell's late speech at Carlow, to be practised by them; of the evils stated by Mr. Maher to result from their principle; and of how they are to guard against Latitudinarianism; or if they admitted any such thing as heresy; and if so, what constituted it?"

The Superioress of an Irish conventual establishment, in a letter to the author, records an impression which has extended itself to more minds than one. "I observed," she writes, "when Dr. Murray accompanied J.K.L., who came to Loretto in 1825 to visit me, that there seemed a *je ne suis quoi* of absence of cordiality between those great men; and I attributed it to the odious comparisons which third parties were then daily making, as the more than Junius flashes would come from the sparkling pen of J.K.L."

In point of fact, however, no two men loved each other more warmly. Irrespective of the evidence furnished by Dr. Doyle's private correspondence with his Metropolitan, numerous anecdotes might be cited to prove this. One being of an amusing character we subjoin. The late Mr. T. O'Mara invited Dr. Doyle to dine with him on a certain November evening. The company had partly assembled as the Bishop arrived, and by the indistinct light of a genial fire, courtesies were cordially interchanged. In the midst of them the form of a venerable looking man entered the room, and Mr. O'Mara, starting up, exclaimed, "Here is Dr.

Murray." Dr. Doyle moved forward and affectionately embraced him. It proved to be, however, not the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, but Dr., afterwards Sir James Murray, M.D., with whom Dr. Doyle had little or no acquaintance. Much laughter was excited by the equivoque, in which no one participated with more heartiness than the Bishop himself.

In 1803, the mansion of Lord Annesley, in Marlborough-street, Dublin, was purchased at an expense of £5,100 as the site for a projected Catholic Cathedral. But until 1815 the committee had not sufficient funds to begin building, and during the interval Lord Annesley's house was set to the Government for a barrack. At length, the first stone having been blessed and deposited, the operations sped, and in 1825 the new Church was ready for consecration. Archbishop Murray wrote to Dr. Doyle, soliciting his aid as preacher on the occasion, and the favour of his company at a banquet subsequently. Dr. Doyle replied:

"Carlow, 2nd November, 1825.

"MY DEAR LORD—As this is a season when works of supererogation are usefully applied, I may be allowed to perform one by writing to your Grace and thanking you for the many kindnesses conveyed to me in your Grace's letter of yesterday. I expect to place myself at your Grace's disposal during the days mentioned in your letter, and though I would much rather not be in a crowd, at least during dinner on the 14th, yet if it must be so, I will put it down as one of the unavoidable inconveniences which attend travelling, and patiently submit to it. I sent a bundle of letters to your Grace on the evening before last; I fear, from no mention of them being made in your letter, that they may have been delayed or miscarried."

Men still living in 1825, remembered those gloomy days when Mass had too often to be celebrated in dripping caves or mountain fastnesses, and when the rain of heaven descended on the withered hands by which the chalice was raised. The consecration of the splendid Cathedral of the Conception was regarded by the Catholic party with very natural feelings of jubilee and exultation. This imposing ceremony was performed with great pomp on the 14th November, 1825, the festival of St. Laurence O'Toole. The edifice was the only one then existing in Ireland of the Doric order, and the architect, in designing it, took for his model the Temple of Minerva at Athens.

Dr. Murray, as the celebrant of High Mass, entered in full pontificals followed by nearly all the Catholic Prelates of Ireland; and it is significant of the estimation in which Dr. Doyle was held

by that venerable body that, although the youngest, he entered second in the order of precedence. The congregation numbered 3,000 persons.

As soon as the first Gospel had been read, Dr. Doyle ascended the pulpit and preached an eloquent discourse, taking as his text, from the first book of the Machabees: "And they arose before morning, and they sacrificed on their new altar, and the people fell down upon their faces and worshipped," &c. This text, he remarked, showed what had been done by the Jews in remembrance of the covenant which had been effected between their people and Jehovah; and he adverted to the customs of virtuous men who offered to God the best of their possessions, whether fruits of the earth, the produce of the land, or the beasts of the field. In those times a secluded vale served as a temple, and some rough stone, on which oil had been poured, was consecrated as an altar. But at length a tabernacle was, at the command of God, ordered to be made for the preservation of the books of His law. It was adorned by the most ingenious and valuable decoration, covered with rich silks, and protected from injury by every precaution. This tabernacle, having been conveyed for forty years through the desert by the Jews, and brought to the land promised by their Almighty Deliverer, was at last placed on Mount Sion that the blessings of the Lord, which ever accompanied it, might remain with the people. David was prevented from erecting a temple, because his hands had been stained with blood in battle—but it was reserved to the mild and pacific Solomon to erect a temple to the God of peace.

Dr. Doyle then referred to the early ages of the Church of Christ which, as had been foretold to St. Paul, had much affliction and humiliation to pass through ere its glory should be made manifest. He quoted the account of Justin the Martyr, where the Christians are described assembling for worship beneath some remote mountain which protected them from the potency of the storm, and the still more destructive blasts of persecution. This digression, Dr. Doyle said, he made unintentionally; but who could not feel affected at the recollection of these times, even if they bore no resemblance to our own? At length better times arose. The Emperors became Christians, and the Lateran Palace was changed by Constantine into a Christian Church. The trophies of Augustus, the riches of Tiberius, and the splendour of Vespasian were made to embellish a holy church. The learning of Greece, and the taste of Italy alike contributed to the adornment of temples erected to the true God. The lofty arch, the fluted column, and the curved capital, which had been formed to the honour of idols, now added to the beauty of the Christian

temple. The statuarist did not cease his labour, but he discontinued the formation of false deities; and the pencil and chisel, which had been formerly employed in depicting either cruelties or obscenities, were now engaged in decorating the Christian churches with incentives to piety and virtue, by exhibiting to the illiterate eye the history and truths of religion. It was thus that the Church shed a benediction on the arts. The spirit of erecting and embellishing churches always continued. Even the Goths and Vandals had left many memorials of their piety. The reason why few remains of ancient temples existed in Ireland (once the model of civilization and sanctity) was that the Irish usually built their churches of timber, which, like men, soon withered and decayed away. The buildings, which had been erected by the English settlers were destroyed by the Puritans. But he would ask all who heard him whether it was within such walls that God principally dwelt? No; His chief place of abode was the heart of man. "And," added Dr. Doyle, "may the charity of the Gospel render yours a fitting altar, from which your prayers may rise, like grateful incense, to heaven."

As a note to the foregoing mere sketch of the Bishop of Kildare's sermon, it may be observed, from its local appositeness, that Kildare derives its name from *Kill-dara*, or the Church of the Oaks, being the first Christian temple erected in that county. St. Bridget, patron saint, having received the veil from the hands of St. Patrick, founded a monastery and cathedral, the ruins of which still adjoin the Church of the Oaks.

In the evening, three hundred gentlemen, lay and cleric, celebrated the event of the day, by doing justice to a banquet at Morrison's Hotel. The president, Sir Thomas Esmonde, having proposed the health of Dr. Doyle, "whose eloquence cast so much splendour on the solemnity of this day," his Lordship replied:

"To say that I am grateful for the manner in which my name has been introduced by you all, would not be as much as I should wish to express; and yet I can find no other language better adapted to convey my feelings to an Irish audience, than simply to say I am grateful, and you will know by this simple expression, that every good disposition of human nature is brought into play."

Dr. Doyle gave full vent to his feelings, and thus concluded: "In Ireland religion has always flourished since it was first deposited in her bosom. It is the only country wherein the Christian faith was planted which did not involve the necessity of sowing the gospel-seed amid blood—a proof that Irishmen were naturally fitted for the exercise of all the virtues of Christianity, and of every moral and social obligation which binds man in community. We have another great and glorious consolation: when

infidelity approached our shores, Ireland shook the viper from her bosom and cast it into the depths of the sea (cheers). Yes! it were as easy to strip our fields of their verdure, as to deprive Irishmen of the fair religion of Christ. Our country, though she has lived for ages, is still in her infancy; but she is growing and she will grow strong, and as our national resources increase, so will our religious feeling and fervour. It was an observation of Montesquieu, that the natural dispositions of a people, as well as their social institutions, fit them to the reception of Christianity, or dispose them to its rejection. We may account our country particularly blessed, when the Almighty Maker made us peculiarly disposed for the practise of religion and piety. But as much has been given to us—so, much is expected from us; it is necessary that we do good works in a double ratio." Dr. Doyle eloquently concluded by exhorting his hearers to exhibit in their conduct Christian charity and good will, as the lower classes naturally look up to the higher for counsel and example. "We should embrace each other with that cordial affection which ought to characterize the people of one country. We should be firmly united here in one interest, as we hope to be in a better world to come. This good policy will proceed, like the inundations of the Nile, to fertilize Ireland, by contributing to its peace and prosperity, and Irishmen will become, under its benign influence, one people, in heart and hand labouring for the promotion of Gospel truth, and the freedom and happiness of their common country."

Richard Lalor Sheil delivered one of his most eloquent orations on this festive occasion. Pointing earnestly at Dr. Doyle, he exclaimed: "Is it not a matter of pride to look upon the eloquent and ardent man, upon whose head a tongue of fire seems to have descended—who has combined, with the loftiest zeal for the religion, the most enthusiastic love of the liberty of his country?"

The following note to Mariana is interesting, as showing the Bishop in those occasional playful and domestic moods, when politics were for a time laid aside, and the cares of office packed away with mitre and crozier:

"Old Derrig, 22nd November, 1825.

"My dear Friend—I find by your last letter that though encompassed by a thick, black veil, and your sight not good, you are yet enabled to look out upon us worldings, and contemplate with a compassionate regard those whom you formerly could favour with your friendly affection. I was flattering myself with the hope that when, on the 29th of September, you wished so ardently to be dead to the world, and to live only for God, that your proecting angel, Michael—whose province it is to present

the spirits of this sublunary planet before the throne of their Creator for judgment—had taken you up almost body and soul, and placed you in that little recess in heaven, where the —— hold their council upon the affairs of the ——, to which I was going to say you now belong. But it appears you were too earthly to be yet removed, and you will have many an opportunity afforded you of chastening your spirit, and rubbing off from it all that dross which has been cast around it. I will, please God, visit you from time to time, and see what progress is making in your improvement. When I next go I may perhaps chide you, and give to —— all the information I can collect of the worldly-mindedness, as the Methodists say, of her *elevè*. I will also induce J. K. L., whom you so profanely recollect, to write an essay on the discipline of young nuns, which he will send to you on some Michaelmas or birth-day for your mortification. So from all this you will infer, no doubt, that I am but little disposed to forget you.

"Mrs. M—— is greatly altered in health since you saw her, but her mind and affections are unchanged. She has lost one eye, and the other is often so tender that she cannot write—this may account for her silence. Dr. Marum, like myself, is endeavouring to drag on an existence of which we have many reasons to be weary. He was in Dublin with me, but how could either of us think of entering the hallowed walls of your retreat, unless after as many ablutions and purifications as a Jew uses when he approaches his imaginary high priest? We are getting a house for the Bishop of Kildare, but not a palace—for in good truth it is as hard to remove from a palace to heaven, as to drive a coach-and-four there; and the Bishops of Kildare must be arrant blockheads if they give up all hope of a comfortable place in that city whose foundations are eternal, for a life-interest in a house at Carlow. The present expectant spends his mornings coughing, or laughing, or scolding, and leaves his health to Providence, a much better nurse than mothers . . . . . or . . . . I intended to have visited your good mother, but my memory betrayed me till I had left town. I am quite gratified at what you tell me of Sarah: do you know, I wish very much she were disposed to be a *religieuse?* Don't tell her so, but when writing remember me to her. Mr. O'Connell has put off the accomplishment of Pastorini's prophecies for three years—not a very long period, 'tis true, to bring about the conversion of the world."

It will be remembered that O'Connell, in 1825, made use of some ambiguous expressions regarding Dr. Doyle's views on the subject of a *Regium Donum* for the Catholic Clergy, and the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, which led to a

correspondence between the great Tribune and the Rev. Dr. Kinsella. O'Connell's explanation, and his repudiation of the newspaper reports which contained the obnoxious passages, were, Dr. Kinsella declared, perfectly satisfactory; and it naturally excited some surprise when, at a meeting in Carlow some months after, O'Connell again threw upon the Bishops the onus of having sanctioned the objectionable "wings." The Rev. Martin Doyle had no sooner heard the allegation made than he repaired to the College adjacent, and requested Dr. Doyle to come forward and deny it. "I have already done so," said the Bishop. The Priest returned to the meeting. O'Connell was still speaking, and giving, as it would appear, implicit credence to some incorrect information which had reached him, he declared, that as the Prelates did not disapprove of the "wings," the laity might well subscribe to them. A resolution was proposed in favour of the "wings," and a portion of the meeting, hungry for Emancipation, seemed anxious to adopt them. The Priest again sought his Bishop, and imploringly impressed upon him the necessity of setting at rest for ever a report alike damaging to the episcopal character, and to Catholic interests. Dr. Doyle closed the Breviary which he had been reading, and, with a lofty severity of deportment almost ominous in its expression, unexpectedly entered the room. O'Connell abruptly ceased speaking as the Bishop approached, and seemed to experience some symptoms of embarrassment. "As I was informed," observed Dr. Doyle, "before I entered this room, that frequent mention had been made of my name, and of the assent which I was supposed to have given to the measure now under your consideration, I feel myself called upon to give such explanation with regard to that measure as may serve to remove from the minds of the gentlemen present any misconception under which they may labour, or into which they might be led. I do so with great reluctance, on account of my aversion to appear in the tumult of popular meetings; but I feel myself bound in duty to vindicate my own character, and that of the Prelates with whom I co-operated." The Bishop then proceeded to embody, in a speech of much force, the substance of the letter to which we have already adverted. Regarding the *Regium Donum* which Government had, at first, in view for the Catholic Priesthood and Hierarchy, Dr. Doyle said: "What my opinion was I declared in London to my right reverend brethren; I repeated it since in Dublin; I may have sometimes mentioned it in private conversation; and it was this—that if the Prelates were led to approve of a provision emanating from the Treasury—if the ministers of Christ were to be paid by the minister of State for dispensing the mysteries of God—then, in that case, I would not create dissension amongst them; but sooner

than that my hand should be soiled by it, I would lay down my office at the feet of him who conferred it, for if my hand were to be stained with Government money, it should never grasp a crozier, or a mitre ever afterwards be fitted to my brow. This was and is my fixed determination." But the principle of a legal provision, he added, being totally independent of Court favour, might perhaps, with proper safeguards, be sanctioned under certain peculiar circumstances. After an elaborate statement, in which he vindicated the Prelates from the inconsistency of privately approving what they publicly condemned, Dr. Doyle thus concluded: "I hope I have satisfied this Committee of the purity of my intentions, and that I have sustained that character which I have always been anxious to maintain—the character of an upright and honest man. As to the resolution which has been read, I know there is a division of sentiment about its adoption or rejection. I shall not throw the weight of my opinion, whatever it may be, into either scale: it is my duty rather to withdraw, and beseech the God of peace to banish all dissensions from amongst you." O'Connell atoned for the mistake into which he had been led by a respectful apology, while Dr. Doyle made his exit amid peals of applause. The resolution in favour of the clerical wing fell to the ground.

When the proceedings had concluded, the Rev. Dr. Fitzgerald, President of Carlow College, entertained at dinner the gentlemen of the Committee and others. O'Connell had promptly recovered his self-possession, and during dinner he was the delight of all around him. In helping to chicken James Edward Devereux, the uncompromising opponent of the "wings," O'Connell archly placed upon his plate the two pinions of the fowl, and while the *quondam* delegate swallowed them with infinite gusto, the merriment of the company knew no bounds. The health of Dr. Doyle having been proposed, in the course of the evening, by Lord Killeen, our Prelate acknowledged the compliment in a speech which fervently recorded his determination to preserve the independence of the Irish Church undefiled and inviolate. Of a *Regium Donum* for the Catholic Church, which found many advocates even in the ranks of Catholicism, Dr. Doyle said: "Our hands shall never be stained by the acceptance of a paltry bribe. In the present state of affairs, the Catholic Church could never, in case of such a compromise, be secure or pure. Never shall the shackles of my country be transferred upon my faith."

The following remarkable letter, dated Merrion-square, 18th December, 1825, was addressed by O'Connell to a Clergyman who had enjoyed from his youth the friendship and confidence of Dr. Doyle. The sentiments recorded in this letter do O'Connell great credit, but it will not fail to excite some surprise that so clear-

sighted a man should have been unable to conjecture the reason why Dr. Doyle felt piqued against him:

"My respected Friend—You will attribute to the proper cause—extreme hurry—my not answering letters. If I had time, yours would certainly be one of the first.

"I know you are intimate with Dr. Doyle, and in a kind of despair I write to you, in strict confidence, about him. His mind is full of something towards me that indeed I do not understand. In truth, he is *so high* in my opinion—I respect and admire his talents and qualifications so much—I know and feel his incalculable value—I estimate the magnitude of his utility so justly—that I can scarcely conceal the anguish his hostility to me produces. I am, of course, convinced that such hostility arises from conscientious conviction in his mind. I have said or done something that he judges to be wrong, and his conduct to me is certainly regulated by that conviction. The *attack* of Mr. Kinsella—the omitting to anticipate the provincial meeting at Carlow—the speech at the College dinner—the interference the next day, under the supposition that *I had accused the Prelates of inconsistency*—the total absence of a recognition of an error *in fact* on that subject, even after I had explained—the personal salute which I was obliged literally to extort from him—all these circumstances convince me that I have said or done something to make Dr. Doyle displeased with me. Could you, my respected friend, find out what it was? Believe me, most sincerely, that I would not ask you to find it out if I were not resolved to repair it when discovered. It is indeed painful to me, that a man whom I so unfeignedly respect and reverence should entertain towards me sentiments of an adverse nature. Perhaps it is ambition which makes me desire his co-operation instead of his opposition; but if it be, I deceive myself. I think that it is a sincere desire to serve Catholicity and Ireland which regulates my anxiety to have his countenance and protection. Do not, I beg of you, let him know I have written to you on this subject. I write merely to throw off a burden from my heart and feelings, and with the simple wish of procuring such information as may enable me to avoid in future that which has created present displeasure to him.

"I have written unconnectedly, but that is because I feel more on this subject than I can express.—Believe me always, &c.

"Daniel O'Connell."

It is hardly necessary to add, that Dr. Doyle was too true a Christian to keep up the pique of which O'Connell complained. When the events of the year 1828 are described, the reader will find a beautiful letter from Dr. Doyle to O'Connell, concluding

with—"Farewell, my dear friend! May the God of truth and justice protect and prosper you!"

On the 16th of December, 1825, the present Bishop of Saldes had occasion to remit Dr. Doyle a small amount of money. The acknowledgment is amusing: "Money, even from an enemy, is acceptable to a man whether he be rich, poor, prodigal, or avaricious. I, from time to time, partake of each of these characters; but even if I were a prudent man, not suffering want or overabounding, I would be glad to get money in a letter so acceptable as yours. It is not likely that I will visit Cork for the object you mention; but if there at any time or for any purpose, I will not fail to trespass on the old and tried hospitality of your convent."

Dr. Doyle never forgot a friendship, or missed an opportunity to serve a friend. An old college acquaintance was canvassing at this time for the office of President of the Irish College in Paris, then, as now, in the gift of the Bishops of Ireland. The Rev. Dr. Ryan had for many years efficiently discharged his duties as Principal, and now expressed a wish to retire.

Dr. Doyle confidentially writes:

"As far as I can collect Dr. Ryan's views from his own conversation, and mode of acting, he hopes to slip to the office he now holds some one of his own choice, leaving to us a *post facto* approbation of his work. . . . . But what can Dr. Murray or I do, should the worthy Dean's views not concur with ours? The latter is to be with me in Carlow, and I shall seek to gain him over, if it be possible. I can only repeat my assurances to you, that I shall at every time do all in my power to advance your views, as I am certain they will always correspond with my own, nor shall I spare any labour or exertion to serve you."

As a further illustration of Dr. Doyle's ardour, and steadiness of friendship, we quote the following, addressed to Rev. Austin M'Dermott, O.S.A., his old schoolfellow at Coimbra:

"I have just received your most acceptable letter, and though you do not desire an immediate reply, yet as I happen to have a leisure moment, which seldom happens, I avail myself of it to write to you. I don't know of anything which gives me so much consolation, excepting the service of God, as the affection I feel for my friends, and the cordial return I meet with from them; and I need not say how warm and sincere my affection for you and my dear Clayton has always been. It is a portion, I hope, of that charity which descends from above, and, if we be faithful, will continue and improve until it is absorbed in the immensity from which it flows. Your kindness and the anxiety you express to see me will be a strong inducement to me to visit Galway. To fix a time for going would be impossible; the middle of

August would be the period most likely to suit me; but I shall not, if I go, take you by surprise." Again, referring to Clayton, his fellow-student at Coimbra, Dr. Doyle adds: "Give all my love to Nicholas."

The number of Priests were limited on whom Dr. Doyle bestowed many marks of friendship or affection. But no man ever loved another with stronger or more lasting esteem, when once he formed a friendship, either in college, the convents of his Order, or during his subsequent episcopal career. But these intimacies were few and far between; and as he uniformly preserved a grand and rather distant demeanour in his intercourse with the general Priesthood of the diocess, he was, by many of them, more respected than beloved. At the formal banquets in Clongowes College, or at visitation dinners, he generally maintained this deportment. His reserve extended, with irresistible contagion, to those around, and few ventured to speak above their breath. But at social dinner-parties, to which he occasionally lent his presence, he was often as joyous and playful as a child, abounding in anecdote and witty repartee.

Dr. Doyle's frequent *noli-me-tangere* of manner, which had been a speciality with him even before he became a Bishop (p. 64, *ante*), was not without its advantages. "Perhaps," observes a learned critic in *Blackwood's Magazine*, "the finest, richest, and most generous species of character, is that which presents to the *dainty* the most repulsive surface. Within the rough rind the feelings are preserved robust and healthy. The *noli-me-tangere* outside keeps off that insidious swarm of artificial sentimentalities which taint, and adulterate, and finally expel all natural and vigorous emotions within us. The idea of a perfect man has always been figured forth in our minds, by the emblem of the lion coming out of the lamb, and the lamb coming out of the lion."

Dr. Doyle was aware of the restraint which his presence occasioned among those who knew him but slightly; and when present at visitation dinners, he would often retire almost immediately after the removal of the cloth, observing to some friend, "As long as I remain, these gentlemen won't enjoy themselves."

While on a visitation in the county Kildare, Dr. Doyle was invited to dine with a Parish Priest, who delayed dinner much beyond the appointed hour. The Bishop's constitution was not strong, and he waxed impatient for the "flesh-pots." Several clerical guests had yet to arrive; but rather than delay his Lordship, the host ordered dinner. The Priests dropped in one by one, and, guessing how matters stood, sat at the lower end of the table, leaving a wide berth to the Bishop. No one had courage

to sit near his Lordship, until the late Parish Priest of Arles (the Father Prout of the diocess) marched boldly in, and, undismayed by the frigid manner of the Prelate, took his seat so close as to touch him. There was no recognition, or word of greeting. The Bishop slowly moved his knife and fork, while Father H——, with the utmost *nonchalance*, kept calling loudly for every viand upon the table. At length, he accosted Dr. Doyle: "What news, my Lord?" "None, Sir," replied the Bishop, awfully. "Who preached to-day, my Lord?" continued Father H——, not a bit abashed. "I preached myself," was the reply. "That's more than St. Paul did, my Lord," rejoined the loquacious Priest; "he preached Christ crucified, but you have preached yourself." His Lordship did not deign to smile, so the laughter, ready to burst forth if the Bishop led the way, was checked. More knocks at the hall-door announced new arrivals, and the Bishop asked sonorously, "Who comes so late?" Father H—— ran to the window, pulled aside the blind, and returning to his seat, said, "My Lord, it's the *Prosperous* Parish Priest and the *Clane* Curate." It was impossible to resist such perpetual good humour. Dr. Doyle descended from the lofty pedestal of his dignity, and a sociable evening, we are told, was passed. As a key to this anecdote we may observe, that Prosperous and Clane are two parishes adjacent to each other in the county Kildare. Clane was originally spelled *Cluaine*, signifying a sanctuary or sacred retreat.

He did not always maintain a frigid reserve on such occasions. At a conference of the Clergy a sermon was preached, and at dinner criticised. One Priest pronounced it mediocre; another took an opposite view, and extolled it as most admirable. Dr. Doyle was appealed to for his opinion. "It was, doubtless, a sermon of great excellence," he replied; "the man that wrote it never wrote a bad one," adding after a short pause, "May the Lord have mercy on his soul!" The preachers' friends, delighted at the decision, were beginning to crow over the captiously disposed critic, until the awkward fact became elicited that the sermon was filched, word for word, from the late Rev. William Gahan, a distinguished luminary of the Augustinian Order.

Although Dr. Doyle earned the name of a stern disciplinarian, he was in reality more indulgently disposed than he got the credit of being. On one occasion, during his absence from Carlow, his curates got a pack of cards, and passed a few hours each evening at whist. The housekeeper, seeking to ingratiate herself in the great man's favour, sought him, observing, "Oh, my Lord, when the cat's away, the mice may play. The clergy had no less than card-playing." "Woman," he replied, "my young curates must amuse themselves. Let me hear no more of this."

"Well, to tell you the truth," was a favourite phrase of the same dame. Her loquacity annoyed Dr. Doyle. "Woman," he would say, "what else should you tell, if not the truth? Avoid this silly phrase."

Dr. Doyle's surviving curates assure us, that a kinder friend they never knew. He completely acted upon the spirit of St. Francis Xavier's letter to the Prefect of Goa, wherein the Saint directed that the monks should not be made irksome by acts of mortification. With such indulgence did Dr. Doyle treat his curates, that some of them were not afraid to play all sorts of innocent tricks upon him. A peasant once entered the Catholic Church at Carlow with a case reserved for episcopal absolution. Having met a portly-looking curate at the door, he jumped at the conclusion that he must be the Bishop. "My Lord," he began, "I have got a resarved——." "Very well," interrupted the Priest, humouring the joke; "that young man yonder is my curate, and if you go to him he will do what's right." "I'm obleeged to your Lordship, but I was tould no one, barrin yerself, would do." "When I send you to him, it is enough." The man accordingly went over to Dr. Doyle, and said, "Plaze yer Reverence, the Bishop over there sent me to you." "Sir, I am the Bishop!" "Oh, not *all out*, yer Reverence." "I declare, on my honour, I am the Bishop, and that gentleman yonder is shaking his sides laughing, that both you and I should be made fools of."

The curate to whom we allude, although a learned and accomplished divine, greatly disliked the labour of preaching; and Dr. Doyle often relieved him of the duty by good-naturedly preaching in his stead. The Bishop at last determined, however, to be more exacting. One day as the curate was sitting in the sacristy, endeavouring to shape the outline of a sermon, to be preached within the next half-hour, Dr. Doyle unexpectedly entered. "Oh, there you are, my Lord," exclaimed the Priest; "now you're caught, and I'm off." "I tell you I'm not there," the Bishop replied, retreating majestically. "Oh, but you are though; and call me a Dutchman if I'll preach to-day." Coaxed in this manner Dr. Doyle, on more than one occasion, relented.

We merely quote these trifling anecdotes as illustrations of that good-natured disposition which the Bishop so often too successfully laboured to conceal. Plutarch, the prince of ancient biographers, tells us, that "very often an action of small note, a short saying, or a jest, shall distinguish a person's real character more than the greatest sieges or the most important battles." And Rousseau, speaking of the value of small anecdotes and slight touchings in biography, observes: "*Voila le veritable art*

de peindre. La physiognomie ne se montre pas dans les grandes actions: c'est dans les bagatelles que le naturel si découvre." So here are a few more *bagatelles:*

Dr. Doyle was so amiable a man in his own house and its vicinity, that the servants and others often held him in but little awe, and have absolutely been known to rebuke him! He was one day addressing a man very sonorously in the hall at Carlow Convent, when the old servant, interrupting, said: "Don't be talking so loud, Sir—the nuns are on retreat." The Bishop took the rebuke in good part, and ceased his homily.

Many other curious instances of his humility might be cited. "Knowledge," says St. Paul, "puffeth up." The Bishop frequently repeated this remark, and uniformly endeavoured to correct the tendency to pride which great prestige, learning, and genius were liable to create. Often has he been seen walking from Braganza to Carlow Convent to say the morning Mass, for which the humble chaplain received a pittance, and carrying the bag which contained his vestments, cope, and rochet. Some Priest would generally offer to relieve him of the burden, but he as invariably declined the offer. He also dispensed with the aid of an attendant when celebrating Mass at the Convent, and supplied with his own hand the wine and water usually presented by an acolyte. After Mass, he often spent some hours hearing the confessions of the little children at the Convent.

"When young like you," he once said to a person with whom he was extremely intimate, "I was vain and proud of the talents which God has given me, and I regarded with disdain some of my less-favoured schoolfellows. I found this feeling getting stronger within me, and I suffered much in trying to suppress it. One day when we were all walking together on the public road, the temptation smote me strong. I struggled to keep down my pride, and be affectionate to my companions—but it was in vain. A violent remedy, thought I, is necessary, and as a sweep happened to be passing at the moment, I folded his loathsome person in my arms. I felt my pride gone. What think you, dear J——, of purging it with the same physic?"

We have obtained access to a remarkable letter, written several years previous to the present date of our narrative, and containing a passage which forms an interesting companion to the above.

The daily growth of Dr. Doyle's high and commanding genius had created a corresponding tendency to increased loftiness of mien. It was as difficult to check the one as to suppress the other. His mind as well as station elevated him above those among whom he moved. It is impossible not to feel strong admiration for the great and good man, who resolutely essayed

to crush all outward symptoms of increasing superiority. But he did more. Imitating St. Augustin, and if possible surpassing the model, we find him displaying the rare humility of confessing the peculiar struggle which so often tore his breast. Why should we suppress the details, when the illustrious dead thought fit to avow and record them? The letter to which we allude is addressed to the late Very Rev. Austin M'Dermott, his old fellow-student at Coimbra:

"We have all, my dear Austin, temptations to pride and ambition; but I hope, through God's mercy, that experience and reflection have served to enable us to see the folly and impiety of glorying in what God has entrusted to us for His honour, *not* for our own ruin. I still retain much of that haughty manner you often noticed in me; but I labour to break it down, and I am sincerely anxious to retire from the occasions which excite this feeling. *You* talk of secularizing yourself—and I would give all that this world could bestow to become a monk in some retired place, so heartily tired am I of secularization; but you and I will, I believe, please God best by remaining, at least for some time, to fight His battles where we are—'*Le Dieu de paix est aussi le Dieu des batailles*,' says the great Francis de Sales."

The Rev. James Maher, who in his capacity of curate resided four years under the same roof with Dr. Doyle, assures us that in all his life he never knew a man of more striking and consistent humility. He never alluded to the distinguished men with whom he was in constant correspondence. He hated to hear or to see himself praised; and Father Maher informs us that whenever he brought the public journals to the Bishop, saying, "My Lord, the papers to-day are full of your praises," Dr. Doyle would sedulously avoid reading them.

In a young Priest who came to Carlow, about this period, to discharge a Professor's duties, Dr. Doyle discerned talents of no ordinary character. He took a strong liking to the young and handsome Professor, and showed him frequent marks of special favour. This Priest, who is now one of the most prominent public men of the day, refers, in a letter before us, to his episcopal patron and friend:

"You have made me somewhere about thirty years younger, by bringing before my memory events which occurred prior to Emancipation, and carrying me back to the table, and presence, and conversation, and sublime look and shape of Dr. Doyle. I do think I knew him better than any other man now living. He was as wise as Solomon, and innocent as a child. He could put on the terrors of an angry judge, and then relax into the playfulness of a fond companion. In fact he was ten or twenty great men made

into one very great man. And there was such a variety in him. If I could be allowed the comparison, he was like the Continent of America—everything on a large scale—large rivers, large forests, large mountains, large cataracts, large smiling prairies—and so, at every turn of his disposition you beheld some new, large, and bold feature of character which surprised and astonished, rather than pleased the general observer; and hence he was more admired than loved. If he were a smaller individual, and could be made to fit in a drawing-room, he would have been more beloved by the world; but he was too big to be made a toy of, or to be viewed at a tea-party; he could only be seen by going out very far from him. I could speak of him for ever, as I believe he did love mē more than any other man of my age and standing."

On another young Priest, named Cullen, who had been his pupil at Carlow, Dr. Doyle bestowed many marks of kindly attention. The cheerfulness and simplicity of his manners, the innocence of his heart, the fast developing genius of high virtue, united to natural talents of no mean order, had not failed to attract the penetrating eye of Dr. Doyle; and the reader will find these views recorded (p. 68, *ante*).

One of the reformatory regulations which Dr. Doyle, on succeeding to his see, recommended was, that every Priest should confine himself strictly to one glass of whiskey punch after dinner. Mr. Cullen, having, in the interim, been ordained Priest, was invited with others to meet Dr. Doyle at a visitation dinner. When the cloth had been removed, Dr. Doyle mixed a glass of wine and water, while the Priests proceeded to use the materials for punch. Conversation commenced and continued in an under tone, and the glasses of all were soon empty. Several of the Priests looked as blank as their "tumblers." Mr. Cullen significantly nodded across the table to mix another glass, and send the decanter round. The Clergymen stared astounded. "I usually take only one glass," said Mr. Cullen, "but in honour of his Lordship, I intend to take two. When the dazzling mitre of J. K. L. is in the midst of us, we should be more cheerful. Planets revolve more luminous in their orbits when they have the sun in the centre." "Oh! Father Cullen," exclaimed the Priest before whom the materials rested, "*you* are a splendid luminary; *we* are but opaque bodies." "But even opaque bodies reflect light," was the rejoinder, "and they should especially do so when the source of light is so near them." The Bishop could not help smiling. "Do, Mr. Cullen," he said; "mix your second glass, and perhaps those who now seem so displeased with you would do the same themselves if I were not here."

Dr. Doyle considered that the Priests who indulged in spiri-

tous drinks deliberately lowered the character, status, and influence of the body to which they belonged. Such cases were exceptional, but as hard drinking was the fashion of the day he considered that the danger could not be too cautiously fenced against. The practice of holding "stations" at farmers' houses, and the attendant refreshments which the hospitality of the people provided when the day's labour was done, Dr. Doyle wished to see utterly abolished. When the Rev. Mr. M—— was appointed to a parish he persevered in the discontinuance of "stations," by compelling the people to walk a little farther and approach the Sacraments in the house of God—which elicited the following expression from Dr. Doyle, "I wish you had been for two years in each parish in my diocess."

The young Professor, to whom we have already referred as having attracted the friendly attention and regard of Dr. Doyle, was invited with some other Priests to dine with his Lordship. "I hear," whispered one of the guests, as he entered the episcopal mansion, "that Dr. Doyle has got doubly strict about the quantum of punch." "Nevertheless," replied the Professor, "I hereby wager a guinea with you, that I will take a second tumbler on this day by the express command of Dr. Doyle." "Done!" said his companion. The Professor sat next the Bishop at dinner, and while in the act of helping himself to salt, he spilt a considerable portion on his plate, which he attributed to an accidental push from Dr. Doyle's arm. As soon as he had finished the first glass, the Professor would ever and anon raise the empty goblet to his lips, draining it to the uttermost, with a loud smack. At last this proceeding attracted Dr. Doyle's eye. "Eh!" he exclaimed, "are you about to eat the glass?" "I pray your Lordship's forgiveness," replied the Professor, "but I really did not feel what I was doing." "Your involuntary movement," said the Bishop, "indicates your thirst—I dont forget the accident of the salt-cellar. Mix another glass." The ingenious Professor thus won the wager.

But enough of the cap and bells. The solemn responsibilities, meanwhile, of his spiritual office continued at times to press upon the Bishop heavily, awakening many a bitter pang, and casting many a blight over the peaceful relaxation which he sometimes vainly sought from his labours. "Ah!" he would exclaim, "how awful to be made responsible for the eternal destinies of even one soul. What then, as the great Chrysostom says, to be held answerable, not for one, but for the whole population of an entire diocess? *Quid de illis, sacerdotibus, decendum a quibus sunt omnium anima requirendæ.* Reflect on the value of even one immortal soul; weigh its value in the balances of reason and religion; then let the scales be produced; let earth

and ocean bring forth all their treasures; let all the splendour of material creation be weighed on the one hand; let the value of a single soul be balanced against it; and tell me which is of more importance—that which is one day to perish, or that which is to survive the wreck of worlds, and live, like God, immortal? Or if you hesitate, cast the blood of Calvary into the scales, and then let men and angels decide which is of greater value—the collected splendours of ten thousand worlds, or the immortal spirit stamped with the image of the Father, and ransomed by the blood of an incarnate God! And if such be the value of one soul, what the value of thousands? and, oh! what the responsibility of him who has to answer, not for one, but for multitudes—perhaps ultimately for millions? How can he reasonably hope to enter heaven, unless with his dying breath he can repeat with truth, in the language of the Redeemer, 'Father, of those whom thou hast confided to my care, not one has perished through my fault.' How awful and astonishing is the place which he occupies in the designs of Providence. His destinies are interwoven with the destinies of thousands, and on him depends immeasurable depths of eternal happiness or torment!"

Often when borne down with care and anxiety, the Bishop was unjustly regarded by the vain and narrow-minded as cruelly seeking by an affected solemnity to freeze the hearts of his subjects.

Previous to visiting the various parishes of his diocess, Dr. Doyle distributed copies of a schedule to be filled up by the Priests and returned to him. This paper contains five large blanks, for a statement of the titles on which the chapels and glebe-houses are held, the name of the lessee, the term of years and rent, the name of the person with whom the lease is deposited, the Saint to whom the church is dedicated, the number of chalices, ciboriums, or other plate, vestments, albs, copes, altar-linen, missals, and of volumes in the parochial library; the number of confraternities of the Christian doctrine, and of the Blessed Sacrament, the number of monthly communicants and adults, and the names of the most obstinate absentees from their Easter communion; of public sinners in the parish, with some account of their crimes; of public abuses, such as illegal combinations, drunkenness, quarrelling, violation of the Lord's Day, night-wakes, or public dances, the number of schools, the names of the masters and mistresses, and the average number of scholars who attend each; the number of Masses on each Sunday, and if a special compensation be made for any; the hour at which Catechism is taught, and if vespers be celebrated.

Thus briefed, it may well be supposed that the Bishop was at no loss for subjects on which to touch in his energetic visitation sermons.

Ireland lost a true friend in Richard, Earl of Donoughmore, who died at this period. His character and views can be best estimated by an excellent letter of condolence addressed by Dr. Doyle to the patriot Peer's surviving brother:

"My Lord—. . . . The only alleviation of such a grief as yours—a grief which has its source in the womb where men are formed—is to be found in that religion which, creating us anew, desires that when death separates us we 'be not sad like others who have not hope,' knowing that He who died and rose again for us will re-assemble us in a better life, where pain and sorrow will be no more.

"The good works of your Lordship's only brother were not confined to individuals, to a city, or to a shire; they extended to all men; they were concentrated upon us—the Catholics of Ireland. We were the inheritance, and he was the hereditary advocate of a poor and an oppressed people. He knew the unmerited wrongs we suffered; he communed with us in all our disappointments and trials, he ate with us the bread of affliction, and made all our grievances his own.

"During the few years of my acquaintance with your late noble brother, I had opportunities for discerning not only the exertions of his acute and able mind in our favour, but also the deep conviction entertained by him of the purity of our views, of the innate justice of our claims, as well as of the comprehensive utility of embodying our strength, our interests, and our affections, with the strength, the interests, and the affections of our fellow-subjects. I saw how he disdained all petty traffic about 'securities,' which bespoke distrust, and tended, if consummated, to impair public liberty, and create a dangerous influence. I witnessed the mind of your noble brother elated with hope, when, upon the King's visit to Ireland, a prospect opened to him of our trials abating, and of those who are estranged in affection from the land of their birth returning to a better sense. But I saw him in other circumstances. I saw him on his return from Lord Liverpool, a few days previous to the last rejection of our prayer in the House of Lords. I met him alone. He was unwell. Hope had fled from him. Disappointment, anguish, despair, hung about him. The emotions of his mind and heart were visible—his frame was already weakened by disease, and all his wonted fortitude could scarcely sustain him. The Premier had resolved that the cause to which Lord Donoughmore's life and fame were wedded should be stricken to the earth; and even then it was apparent that however your noble relation might struggle, he could not long survive what to him was a domestic calamity, as well as an irretrievable public loss. The image of his figure is still before me; his lan-

guage and gesture are deeply impressed upon my memory, and the troubled emotion with which he spoke produced a corresponding feeling in my own breast.

"Your Lordship will, I hope, excuse the overflowings of an Irish Catholic's mind, when occupied with the recollection of all he owes to the virtues and services of him who, for so many years, had been his firm, faithful, and uncompromising advocate and friend."

Lord Donoughmore's reply is before us: "This testimony," he wrote, "conveyed in terms and upon principles most just and impressive, is grateful to my feelings. No man felt more sincerely than my late brother did the wrongs of Ireland, nor acted with more zeal and consistency in endeavouring to treat those animosities which unhappily prevailed. He had been early taught to know that the misfortunes of this country arose from her political dissensions—from that fatal system of laws in which nothing can be traced but national calamity. He saw the absolute necessity for its repeal, and, impressed with this conviction, took his station early, and acted upon this great question, to the latest hour of his parliamentary life, with that uncompromising and manly firmness which so peculiarly marked his character."

In December, 1825, a letter from Dr. Doyle, enclosing £5, was read at the Catholic Association. He commended the labours of Father L'Estrange's Education Committee, and declared that nothing but the most unremitting exertion would suffice, to preserve the Catholic people from being transferred from the care of their natural instructors to the grasp of those who aimed to undermine their religion.

O'Connell, referring to Dr. Doyle, eloquently said, that "His approval of their proceedings, and his co-operation in their efforts was one of the highest gratifications and honours they could receive. It would require talents equal to Dr. Doyle's own to describe him as he deserved. He possessed the brightest virtues that adorned the episcopal character in the purest ages of Christianity, combined with all the brilliant qualifications that could excite the respect and admiration of mankind. He that would sketch a likeness of that venerable man should represent in the back-ground indigence relieved, ignorance instructed, the enemies of charity exposed and confounded, and the lightning of a celestial intellect beaming around, and consuming all that refuses to be illuminated!"

In the same month we find the zealous and energetic Bishop convening a meeting at Maryborough, to pray for the repeal of the Penal Laws. Meanwhile his correspondence with the influential friends of the Catholic cause continued without interruption.

"Foston, York, 17th December, 1825.

"My dear Lord—Your statement is perfectly clear; but how could you for a moment suppose that I could think you deficient in candour? Mammon has stepped in to part the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who were clawing each other all over Yorkshire. The question now is not concerning faith, but banks and bankers. I am less shocked by the misfortunes of mankind than incensed by their gross stupidity. One anti-Catholic meeting provokes me more than the dissolution of six banks grieves me.

"I remain, my dear Lord, most truly yours,

"Sydney Smith."

Dr. Doyle had enjoyed by this time quite a European celebrity and influence. We find Major Warburton, in December, 1825, apprizing the Bishop that as he is going to travel through the south of France and to pass the Pyrenees, "a letter from such a distinguished person as you might be of the greatest service to me, my journey being entirely for the purpose of seeing everything that is worthy of being seen. If you will have the goodness to give me a letter of that description, please to enclose it to the Earl of Rosse." The Major expresses his fears that "the measures the R. Catholics are pursuing are ill calculated to conciliate the people of England—by threats and abuse it will be no easy matter to eradicate prejudices, however unjust, that have been long cherished. It is easy to lead John Bull, but almost impossible to drive him." This apothegm, though often uttered, is not always true. The Duke of Wellington, in reluctantly conceding Emancipation, confessed that it was not to the justice of the claim he succumbed, but to his fears of civil war.

CHAPTER XX.

A dry rejoinder—The secret organization—Dr. Doyle's visit to the collieries—Striking effect produced—Description of his style of preaching—Dr. Clancy—Dr. Doyle's Pastoral on the Jubilee signed by thirty Prelates—His new work on the Catholic Claims addressed to the Premier—Extracts from that work—The memory of Pitt—Sydney Smith on Dr. Doyle—Correspondence with the Marquis of Lansdowne—What Dr. Doyle said at the Synod—The Declaration signed by every Prelate in Ireland—Correspondence with Sydney Smith and Miss [——]—Dr. Esmonde's recollections of Dr. Doyle—Removal from Old Derrig to Braganza—Address and piece of plate presented to Dr. Doyle.

The condition of the country having led the late Duke of Wellington into a somewhat homiletic address to the "collective wisdom," a spiritual Peer ventured to ask when he would have done preaching. "Whenever I am made a Bishop," was the dry rejoinder. This retort, if applied to Bishops of the J. K. L. stamp,

would lose its sting. With untiring zeal he continued to preach repentance to the wicked, eternal death to the irreclaimable, obedience to the constituted authorities, and hope to the oppressed. To every locality which had exhibited symptoms of secret and illegal organization the Bishop made a special visitation, summoned the people to the parish chapel, and there addressed them in terms of thrilling eloquence and force. If he had reason to believe that any portion of the secret confederacy shrunk from approaching the house of God, and moodily remained in the more congenial recesses of the collieries, Dr. Doyle would visit these localities in person, and pour forth an irresistible torrent of apostolic expostulation and warning. The Parish Priest of Ballinakill, in a letter to the author, observes: "I have often said that Dr. Doyle would be yet living but for his herculean labours to remove what he called the 'plague-spots' of Ireland—drunkenness and illegal societies. Unhappily for him, those emanations from 'the pit,' known as 'Black' and 'Whitefeet,' afforded too large a field for his ardent spirit. In endeavouring to crush them, and to raise his prostrate country to her legitimate position, his health and spirits were at last broken. No one who has not witnessed his toils, and heard his addresses to those infatuated wretches, can form an adequate idea of what he endured. I have listened to him, on several occasions, when hundreds—aye, thousands of those men stood before him, sullen and unmoved as a basalt, fixed in their purpose; and the scathing denunciations, the burning eloquence that flowed from him like a torrent of lava, blasted their resolves, and dissolved them into tears."

Dr. Doyle regarded popular ignorance as the source of almost all their crimes, and he constantly inculcated the necessity of early culture, spiritual and general.

One who knew Dr. Doyle well, the Rev. Dr. Donovan, domestic Prelate to the late Pope, writing to the author from America, says: "As a preacher, his forte lay not in written discourse but in *extempore* exhortation, for which he prepared by short previous reflection, and in which he poured out his own great soul in a flood of, I had almost said, Divine eloquence. In his most elaborate extempore effusions he was never at a loss for a word or an idea; he never 'hemmed' or 'hawed'—was copious, impassioned, intellectual, and imaginative, without redundancy; used very little action of limb or body, notwithstanding which he was most energetic by look and voice, the *verœ voces ab impectore* flowing sometimes like the rapids, sometimes like the falls of the great Niagara, which I have just visited—always powerful, often sublime!"

When we call to mind that Cicero has said that action was not

only the chief ingredient, but almost the exclusive constituent of excellence in his miraculous art, it cannot fail to excite our wonder that Dr. Doyle, who disdainfully eschewed the external graces of eloquence, should have left so transcendantly deep an impression upon all who heard him preach. For illustrations of this fact, the reader is requested to glance back at p. 418.

Dr. Doyle practised what he preached. The late Bishop Clancy, who passed several years of his life under Dr. Doyle in Carlow, has truly remarked: "His history is a glorious and fitting theme for some future biographer; and he who undertakes to write it cannot fail, in seizing upon every point of his character, to exhibit to future ages as perfect a combined model of Christian perfection in private, and genuine patriotism in his public career, as God, in his love to mankind, ever formed for the imitation and admiration of the human race. His boundless charity in this town and neighbourhood is acknowledged by all classes and creeds. He visited the sick, consoled the afflicted, and was truly the Pastor of souls who had no worldly or secondary views in the ministry of the Lord."

Dr. Doyle began the year 1826 well. On the 22nd of January, we find him preaching a most impressive sermon in Dublin, for a female orphan house and school. He immediately afterwards applied his mind to the task of preparing "Pastoral Instructions of the Archbishops and Bishops on the General Jubilee." This pamphlet fills twenty-four pages. It is signed by all the Prelates of Ireland, and bears date, "20th February, 1826." Dr. Doyle in no part of this *brochure* avowed himself the writer, but in the curious trial of R. Coyne against R. Grace, for republishing it without permission, the authorship transpired. Although the fact of the personal property of the copyright from Dr. Doyle to Coyne was deemed perfectly conclusive, yet, owing to the law of penalties against Catholics not being then repealed, Coyne was non-suited with costs. It also transpired on this occasion that Dr. Doyle had written Pastorals in 1823 and 1825 on the Jubilee.

Dr. Doyle commenced by saying, that the Bishops had lately received a bull from Leo XII., extending to the whole Church the benefits of the Jubilee which had just been celebrated in the capital of the Christian world. "We will not describe to you the joy," he wrote, "which filled our hearts on contemplating the approach of this period of mercy and reconciliation with God. . . . . Hastening to give effect to the zeal and solicitude of the Supreme Pastor, we announce to you in his name this gracious dispensation, and by his authority we proclaim the commencement of the general Jubilee, to be continued for six months from the present day."

Dr. Doyle went on to say, that the Jubilee published by Moses to the children of Israel, whereby the chains of the captive were loosed and the lost inheritance restored, was only a shadow in comparison with that which opened the prisons of death, looses the bonds of iniquity, and restores the children of Christ, whom He had redeemed, to the inheritance forfeited by sin. The Jubilee, he explained, signifies the remission of the temporal punishment which remains due by the sinner after the guilt of his sin is forgiven. The Church, to whose chief Pastors Christ confided the power of binding and loosing forgives to the penitent sinner, on certain prescribed conditions, whatever of temporal punishment the Divine justice would exact of him for the perfect expiation of his sin, even after the guilt of such sin had been wiped away. Moses had obtained forgiveness of his incredulity, but yet on account of that sin, though the offence had been pardoned, he was not permitted to enter the promised land. Nathan declared to David that the Lord had taken away his sin, but that for his punishment He would afflict him with grievous calamities.

It had been objected against the Catholic Church, that if Christ by His sufferings and death atoned for our transgressions, any other penalty, if exacted of the sinner after receiving pardon, would derogate from the merit of that atonement—but Dr. Doyle showed that by His death He imposed on us an indispensable obligation of carrying the cross after Him—of sharing in His sufferings if we wished to become partakers of His joys—of chastising our bodies and keeping them in subjection to the spirit, lest, though redeemed, we should be found reprobate. It is of those for whom He died it is written: "If you live according to the flesh, you shall die; but if by the spirit you will mortify the deeds of the flesh, you shall live." (*Rom.* vii. 13.)

A most elaborate exposition of the doctrine of indulgences followed; and it appeared that a clause was specially inserted by the Popes in all such grants—*i.e.* "if any [money] shall be given for gaining the privilege of this indulgence, let it be henceforth null and void." Dr. Doyle said that if abuses should at a remote period have crept into this great dispensation, our reverence for it ought not, on that account, to be diminished. We should remember with Tertullian that it is only what is good that can be abused, and what is sacred profaned. He thus continued: "Let the inveterate sinner, who for years has been immersed in crime, only approach him in the spirit of penance—let the libertine, enslaved to vice and drunk with iniquity, only draw nigh to Him in the same spirit, and they will experience the truth of His word—that 'If their sins were as red as scarlet, He will make them as white as snow—if as red as crimson, they will become as white as wool.' Like the good

thief upon the cross, or Magdalen in the house of the publican, they may, in a moment of mercy, be reconciled. But if, on the other hand, they continue hostile to their own souls—if they reject the graces so liberally proffered to them—if they harden their hearts, and treasure up for themselves wrath against the day of wrath—then let them await the final issue of their impenitence, and experience, how 'terrible it is to fall into the hands of the living God.'"

In February, 1826, was published the first of Dr. Doyle's political writings which avowed the author's name upon the title. It was an "Essay on the Catholic Claims," addressed to the Premier, Lord Liverpool. This title fails to convey an accurate idea of the contents and scope of the work. It was not a pamphlet, but a portly volume, occupying upwards of three hundred pages, and comprising twenty sections, with copious notes and appendices. Each section had its table of contents prefixed; and one is at a loss whether to admire most the vigour with which the Bishop grasps the multifarious range of topics before him, or the perspicuity and artistic skill of their general arrangement.

Dr. Doyle commenced by saying that he addressed Lord Liverpool with a feeling of reluctance arising from many causes. The Premier had manifested a disinclination to a renewed consideration of the Catholic Claims; the author was "incompetent" to treat the subject in a manner worthy of its importance, and would be exposed to censures and rebukes—these and other causes weakened the energies he should otherwise bring to the discussion of great interests. Nevertheless, he deemed it advisable that some individual of the Catholic body should apply himself to the examination and refutal of these arguments, which were still urged with some degree of plausibility against the King's devoted Irish subjects. These arguments were somewhat different from what they used to have been; they partook more then than formerly of a theological character; "and hence," he added, "whoever attempts to reply to them, requires a more extensive acquaintance with ecclesiastical matters, than those who conduct our political interests can be supposed to possess." Dr. Doyle considered Lord Liverpool, besides being the most influential, the most able and apparently the most upright of those who opposed the Catholic Claims. Dr. Doyle reminded the Premier that when the mind is in doubt and the judgment vacillating, human considerations may incline the most virtuous to one side rather than another; that in such a state the ablest men may overlook some arguments which are offered to their former habits of thought, and dwell upon others less weighty and conclusive, but which are more congenial to their interests or feelings.

Previous to attempting this important task, Dr. Doyle carefully examined the pages of the parliamentary debates, and the numerous influential journals which opposed the Catholic Claims; and, having gathered together the most plausible of the various floating calumnies on the adverse side, he proceeded, one by one, to analyze their component parts, and to cast out the poison which had long made them deadly.

Among the many slanders on the Catholic religion which the opponents of its civil and religious liberty loved to breathe, there was none more frequently sounded than the allegation, that if Emancipation were granted, the Pope, forgetting "that his Kingdom was not of this world," would at once exercise a temporal power in this realm, and seriously endanger the stability of the throne! Dr. Doyle argued that the Pope has no power to interfere, directly or indirectly, with the rights of our Sovereign, whether from the Word of God, or from any decrees or canons of Councils which either are or can be rendered obligatory upon Catholics.

The theological hostility of Archbishop Magee was ably refuted by Dr. Doyle. "By such reasoning," he went on to say, "does this Prelate prove that the extermination of heretics and the absolution of subjects from their allegiance, is a tenet of our recorded system of faith. My Lord, it is extremely difficult to reason with a man profoundly ignorant of the subject in debate, and it is still more difficult to convince a man whose judgment is shrouded in passion. It is not for such persons I write, but for your Lordship, who can weigh arguments dispassionately."

In the concluding section of the book he brought the haughty Archbishop once more under merciless review. Divines are supposed to know that a Church censure includes suspension from orders, from jurisdiction, from a benefice, severally or together, as well as excommunication in all its grades and consequences. "Were one of my youngest pupils in theology," writes Dr. Doyle, "to confound a Church censure with an admonition or reprimand, or to tell me that a Clergyman could be stript of his orders, I should deem him unfit to exercise any office or order in the Church. Yet, my Lord, men ignorant of these matters with which their office and duty should make them constantly conversant, are deemed competent to give opinions on the Catholic religion and Church; they are prepared to call obscure what is scarcely unknown to any one, and to cover with reproaches what they dislike, but do not understand. In the sincerity of my heart I assure you, that I do not make these reflections in a spirit of uncharitableness or ill-will, but for the purpose of impressing upon your mind the danger of being imposed upon by misrepresentation, whether proceeding from ignorance or whatsoever cause,

and of inducing you when judging of our doctrine, to obtain information from those who are competent to give it, and on whom your Lordship may with safety rely."

The Bishop devoted a large share of space to the rather humiliating task of refuting in detail the favourite taunt, which accused the Catholic Church of holding certain anti-social doctrines, especially with teaching that engagements entered into with heretics might be disregarded, even though confirmed with an oath. Having quoted the canons and bulls of the Church on this question, Dr. Doyle proceeded: "By this it would appear that no cause, however dear or sacred—not the preservation of one's own life, nor of the life of any other person, nor the good of the Church, nor of the faith—in a word, that no cause or motive whatever can, in the opinion of those who sanctioned that bull, excuse a man for committing perjury or violating his oath. This charge is indeed so heinous, that I never read even an indirect allusion to it without feeling my indignation moved; and when forced to disclaim it, on taking the oath of allegiance prescribed to be taken by Catholics, the blood receded from my heart. To assuage the workings of an honourable mind, thus humbled and almost disgraced, it is necessary to seek support in the promise of the Redeemer—'Blessed are ye when men revile you, and say all manner of evil of you'—for truly, the Christian man who is deemed capable of violating his engagement with his fellow-man, when, moreover, that engagement is sanctioned by an oath—the Christian who is thought capable of supposing that his Church can be served by fraud and perjury, is either worse than the savage who traffics in human blood, or 'he is reviled, and all manner of evil is said of him.'"

In the following remarks, which concluded some references to certain ambiguous and obselete canons, we find that Dr. Doyle diplomatically knew how to engage the attention, and enlist the sympathies of the high statesman who guided the helm of Great Britain: "From this sketch of our doctrinal and legal economy, if I may so style it, two things must be quite obvious to your Lordship—first, that it would be as unreasonable to expect the same simplicity in our laws as might be found in those of a Church of one or two centuries, and confined to some one nation, as it would be to look for the same number of statutes in the new state of Columbia as are to be found in the code of Great Britain; and that it would be equally unwise—a similar proof of presumption and ignorance, for a man to charge the whole system of the British laws and constitution with inconsistency or absurdity, because their nature and meaning were unknown to him, as it would be to pronounce the creed and discipline of the Catholic Church

monstrous, because it happened not to be understood by him. The harmony, the beauty, the excellence of the constitution and laws of England are always appreciated and prized in proportion as they are known and understood, whilst their antiquity contributes to render them venerable and secure; so, my Lord, the order, the harmony, the consistency of our doctrine and of our ecclesiastical government have been, for similar reasons, approved and appreciated at all times by the wise and learned of all sects and countries. To these qualities, so eminently conspicuous in our Church, her continuance and preservation amidst the wreck of states and nations have been attributed by the most learned of her adversaries, whilst *we* assign them to that all-ruling Providence which, in virtue of the Redeemer's promise, watches over her with a peculiar and unceasing care. The second thing which appears from what I have noticed is, that if any one wish to learn our doctrine and discipline, the laws and usages which prevail universally amongst us, or which are confined to any one nation or province, he must have recourse for such information to the authentic records of our faith, and to the code of our existing laws; and should he be unable to satisfy himself by the inspection or perusal of these, he must, as in all analogous cases, apply to men who, by their profession and station in the Church, are competent and even obliged to furnish it. But if he wish to be deceived, if he be inclined to have his former prejudices and prepossessions confirmed, if he be anxious to justify his inveterate and unchangeable hostility to the Catholic religion and to whatever appertains to it, then let him read the productions of her artful, designing, and interested foes; let him collect together the effusions of religious spleen, the ebullitions of heated feeling, the bitter fruits of wounded pride, the researches of reckless apostacy, or the paltry essays of pretended knowledge."

No wonder that Dr. Doyle should have felt disgusted and humiliated when compelled to refute, sentence after sentence, the vile calumnies with which the fair fame of his religion had been beset: "Oh, my Lord!" he exclaimed, "it is infinitely painful to be obliged to vindicate one's character, or the character of their religion, still more dear to them than their own, from the aspersions of ignorance, bigotry, or malice. This is the pain which I feel at the present moment, when my memory traces over the formal folly, the self-conceited ignorance, or the stupid malignity with which a disregard for oaths, and a relaxed morality have been imputed to our Church. These are strong expressions, but indignation, when justly excited, is a virtue much to be prized; it is like that zeal in the Redeemer which caused him to address the Pharisees, saying, 'Ye hypocrites;' and again, 'ye hypocrites;' and

a third time, 'ye hypocrites'—'whitewashed walls and painted charnel-houses, beautiful on the outside, but within filled with rottenness and corruption.' The woman who dallies with the seducer is his accomplice, and proclaims her own guilt: it is so with him who is passive under heinous imputations."

But the Bishop was not yet done. The offensive charge, that Catholics may be freed by some dispensation from lawful engagements even though confirmed with an oath, had still to be disposed of, in reply to Lord Eldon and the Prelates, Bloomfield and Magee. Among many other questions considered by Dr. Doyle was, whether the elevation of Catholics in the scale of society would produce a greater clashing of interests than then existed. "To this speculative opinion," he said, "there is opposed a well-known experiment—one daily made in Ireland, and with which your Lordship, even in England, may not be unacquainted—namely, that in proportion as Catholics and Protestants approach to each other in rank, in property, and in social intercourse, antipathies recede, prejudices are removed, mutual confidence and harmony are established."

Some of his appeals to the minister are fine. "Continue then the Penal Code, preserve a factitious ascendancy, divide the people, inculcate distrust, and you must produce collision—nay, conflicts and violence. But remove the cause of contention; let talents and property take the station which nature assigned to them; let all the people be educated, equally cherished and protected; let mutual intercourse be not forbidden, but promoted—reason herself and experience are both false guides, or you will diminish if not entirely remove all clashing of interests among the Irish." Dr. Doyle reminded Lord Liverpool of the significant fact, that when the Government thought fit, in 1793, to open to Catholics the command of British fleets and armies, all suspicion of infidelity had been ostensibly laid aside. He revived, amid a blaze of light, the memory of William Pitt, who had bestowed upon the question of Emancipation all the powers of his mind, and retained until his last moments the most anxious desire for its accomplishment. "He must have foreseen its bearings," he wrote, upon all the institutions of the country; and he who risked the very existence of those institutions, in order to preserve them unimpaired, would never have determined on a line of policy which did not, of its own nature, perfectly harmonize with every interest existing in the State. To his mind the emancipation of the Catholics appeared, as it did to those of Fox and Grattan, an act of sound and comprehending policy—an act which brought all its securities with itself, because it merged a people in the empire, and obliterated, by its very fulfilment, every trace of disaffection, separation,

and disunion. Mr. Pitt might, as he once did by consulting the Catholic universities, create some tub for the whale of prejudice to knash its teeth against; but he would smile at the narrow-mindedness of the man who could seriously seek security for the good behaviour of a nation at the moment it was rendered free and powerful, and capable of becoming rich and happy. But Pitt left after him little minds which he used for his purposes whilst living, and they who then were not worthy to loose the latchets of his shoes have since laboured to blight his fame, and erase the finest record which he had left of his policy. His reputation, however, lives, and his spirit, walking amidst the British people, accompanied and followed by a train of sages such as no other age or nation but our own can present, will awake their minds to a sense of justice, of public interest, and of virtue; it will teach them that 'it is more blessed to give than to receive,' and that by restoring to us our long-lost inheritance, they will at length fulfil a treaty too long violated; they will renovate the constitution, augment their own power, promote and extend their trade and commerce; but, above all, secure their empire from intestine wars, and render it invulnerable to foreign aggression."

J.K.L. tried every engine of persuasion—even menace—on the British minister. Concluding his remarks on the importance of Catholic Emancipation, he added: "It is impossible that an enlightened statesman would not prefer such a mode of proceeding to the alternative of retaining indefinitely a whole nation in a state of discontent and misery; holding Ireland as a garrison peopled with enemies; always standing, as it were, upon the surface of a mine, wherein the combustible matter is daily accumulating, and which every moment is liable to explode."

Men whose judgments had not become completely warped generally felt, as soon as this important work had attained circulation, that it was morally impossible the Catholics of this empire could remain much longer in the unprofitable attitude of supplication. The Earl of Darnley, in the House of Lords, struck by the force and truthfulness of Dr. Doyle's statements, impassionately called on the noble Lord at the head of the Government to mark, study, and inwardly digest the great facts which J.K.L. had so lucidly laid down.

In the Rev. Sydney Smith Dr. Doyle found an able ally. He reviewed the Bishop's book in *The Edinburgh Review*, and dashingly followed up the favourable impression which it had made. Pope and Popery had long been a mysterious but terrible bugbear to statesmen of the Bathurst and Eldon tribe, and Sydney Smith essayed, in his own quaint style, to show how illusory were their fears. "Let that eminent Protestant," he wrote, "Lord

Bathurst, state any one instance where, for the last century, the Pope has interfered with the temporal concerns of Great Britain. We can mention, and his Lordship will remember innumerable instances where he might have done so, if such were the modern habit and policy of the Court of Rome. We doubt if there is in the treasury of the Pope change for a guinea; we are sure there is not in his armoury one gun that would go off. We believe, if he attempted to bless anybody whom Dr. Doyle cursed, or to curse anybody whom Dr. Doyle blessed, that his blessings and his curses would be as impotent as his artillery. Dr. Doyle is the Pope of Ireland—and the ablest ecclesiastic of that country will always be its Pope; and that Lord Bathurst ought to know!"

Sydney Smith was an intense admirer of all Dr. Doyle's writings; and when we know that as a critic he was most fastidious, this tribute of approbation is to be valued. "Sydney Smith praised my Byron," records Moore in his Diary—"the first book of mine, or indeed of any one else's, I ever heard him give a good word to."

"I chiefly intended my 'Essay on the Catholic Claims,'" said Dr. Doyle, in conversation with a friend, "as a supplement to my 'Evidence in the Houses of Lords and Commons.' In that book will be found a chain of authorities and illustrations in support of the statements advanced in the evidence. I also embodied some good points which I had not leisure or opportunity to offer before the parliamentary Committees."

Dr. Doyle distributed several copies of this valuable essay among his influential friends. The latter part of the following letter from the Marquis of Lansdowne gracefully acknowledges the book, while the remainder helps to show the untiring charity with which Dr. Doyle exerted his influence in high quarters, whenever he considered "the case" one of peculiar distress or injustice:

"Bowood, 8th October, 1826.

". . . . I have received your letter with the memorial enclosed, and assure you that it would give me the greatest pleasure to forward your wishes with respect to the unfortunate man whose case it states. I shall therefore write to the Chairman of the Board of Excise, and express a hope that its merits may be fairly investigated; but it is right I should add, that I have no personal acquaintance with him, or, to the best of my knowledge, with any other member of that board. And you are probably aware, that I do not consider my political position as entitling me to ask favours from any department of the Government.

"I must take this opportunity of returning you my sincere thanks for a copy of the Letter to Lord Liverpool, which I re-

ceived some time since. I had hoped I might have been sufficiently near to you, during a long journey through Ireland this summer, to have offered them to you in person; but I am sure it is unnecessary for me to add how deeply I feel the importance of the subject, and the authority which your name gives to the valuable explanations, which the work affords, of points not sufficiently understood.—I remain, &c.,

"LANSDOWNE."

The Bishop's charitable exertion of influence was not addressed exclusively to the Marquis of Lansdowne. The late Lord Congleton writes: "I enclose a note I received from Lord George Seymour, a Commissioner of Excise, concerning Mr. Duane's memorial." Lord George Seymour says: "You will see by the enclosed that I have not neglected your commission." A long letter from the late A. Campbell, Esq., addressed to Lord George, communicates some favourable intelligence. Thus we see the wheels within wheels which Dr. Doyle had so efficiently set in motion.

In January, 1826, a synodical meeting of the Catholic Bishops was held in Dublin, with a view to deliberate on the subject of education for the people. Dr. Doyle availed himself of the presence of his episcopal brethren on this occasion, to impress upon them the necessity of all unanimously affixing their signatures and seals to some public abjuration of various strange practices and doctrines, which the enemies of the Catholic Church loved to brand it with entertaining. "For," said Dr. Doyle, "whenever I give a contradiction to these calumnies, Dr. Magee and Bloomfield reply, 'This is the opinion of a mere individual Bishop, and far from conveys the views of the R. C. Prelates as a body.' Your Lordships will, therefore, have the goodness to glance over this document which I have drawn up, and no doubt you will, without a dissentient, subscribe to its contents, '*that he who is on the contrary part may be afraid, having no evil to say of us.*'" (*Tit.* ii. 8.)

The Prelates felt the force of Dr. Doyle's remark, and the signatures of thirty Archbishops and Bishops were forthwith affixed to the memorable Declaration of 1826. "At a time," it declared, "when the spirit of calm inquiry is abroad, and men seem anxious to resign those prejudices through which they viewed the doctrines of others, the Archbishops and Bishops of the R. C. Church in Ireland avail themselves with pleasure of this dispassionate tone of the public mind, to exhibit a simple and correct view of those tenets that are most frequently misrepresented. If it pleases the Almighty that the Catholics of Ireland should be doomed to continue in the humbled and degraded condition in which they are

now placed, they will submit with resignation to the Divine will. The Prelates, however, conceive it a duty which they owe to themselves, as well as to their Protestant fellow-subjects, whose good opinion they value, to endeavour to remove the false imputations that have been frequently cast upon the faith and discipline of that Church which is entrusted to their care, that all may be enabled to know, with accuracy, the genuine principles of those men who are proscribed by law from any participation in the honours, dignities, and emoluments of the State."

This important document consisted of fourteen solemn declarations which, happily, the increasing intelligence and liberality of the age render it unnecessary now to reproduce. It may be found in the Appendix to Dr. Doyle's "Essay on the Catholic Claims." Of the thirty Prelates who subscribed the Declaration, three only survive—viz., Drs. MacHale, Ryan, and M'Gettigan.

We find among Dr. Doyle's letters of this period a letter from Sydney Smith, dated Foston, York, 6th March, 1826:

"My dear Lord—I have read your book, having received it from a friend of mine in London in a treasury frank. The copy which you were so good as to say you would send to my brother has not reached its destination. Your book is full of learning, and shows that sense and talent which characterize all you write. My fear is, that it is too long for idle readers, and that it will furnish infinite matter for dispute to our Protestant polemics."

Sydney Smith offered several suggestions or emendations for a future edition of the Declaration of the Catholic Bishops, which had been written with a view to the removal of misconception on points of Catholic doctrine, and thus concluded: "These are my slight criticisms; and now I congratulate you upon the Declaration, as a most valuable and important document; and again and again I conjure you to publish it yearly—and, pray, lay it, in the shape of petition, on the tables of both Houses, and send it to the English Bishops. If you happen to have seen my pamphlet, pray, tell me if I have made any blunders."

The ostensible object, however, of the synodical meeting in January, 1826, was to deliberate on the dangers to which the faith of the Catholic peasantry was exposed by the then prevalent system of education, and to make such regulations as would effectually guard against risk. The Bishops passed a series of resolutions, of which the sixth declared, that "Appointed as they have been by divine Providence to watch over and preserve the deposit of Catholic faith in Ireland, and responsible to God for the souls of their flocks, they will, in their respective diocesses, withhold their concurrence from any system of education which will not fully accord with the principles expressed in the foregoing resolutions."

Meanwhile his strongly spiritual character continued to be displayed in the correspondence which he kept up unceasingly with his fair and favoured friends:

"Old Derrig, 1st May, 1826.

"My Dear Child—I this day had the pleasure of receiving your letter. I feel very much the sentiments of kindness towards myself which you express, and I wish you could see how truly I have done you no service beyond the mere discharge of my ordinary duty, and that you need not by any means consider yourself as indebted to me, nor at all likely to be deprived of any service which in future it may be in my power to render you.

"A letter would not enable me to dwell at length on any one of the subjects which you mention as giving you uneasiness. I can, therefore, only endeavour to give you some short reflection on each, to which you can in future resort, as to a kind of rule for the regulation of your mind.

"With regard to reflections upon your past life, you should turn from them as from something which God had hidden in the abyss of His mercy, and which you are not permitted to explore. Be satisfied to consider that you were a sinner, and that the mercy of God and the glory of Christ will be exalted by the pardon granted to you, for such is the power of God—a power peculiar to Him—that he can bring good out of evil. Be not solicitous about the morrow—to-morrow will be solicitous for itself, and sufficient for the day is the evil thereof. Whenever distraction from abroad or temptation comes, know that grace will come before it, and if you err, as in the case you mention, go and confess it to God before the altar, and He who is your Father will forgive you, not only seven times, but seventy times seven. When you have done this, go and consult the Superioress, and make any reparation or do any penance she may advise; then go to communion, not permitting yourself to think more of it, being assured that the Almighty has removed your sin, according as he says by the prophet Jeremiah, 'Be converted to me, and I will be converted to you.'

"In preparing for prayer, recite attentively the invocation of the Holy Ghost, and in about a minute you can place yourself in the presence of God; make a short act of adoration, and proceed with your meditation, not being anxious about the degree of attention you bring to it, for anxiety distracts; leave all examination for the time allotted to examination. You will do better by conforming to my directions in the examination of your conscience for confession, than by scrutinizing each of your actions. What excites your apprehensions are small faults, which you need not know; but considering them generally, you will do better to in-

dulge feelings of compunction and love of God, than in searching your conduct. God is a much better companion for the soul than her own faults, and a ray of His charity effaces more sin than a thousand examinations. Do not be wishing either to be exempt from or to meet with crosses. Be disposed to live with them or without them as it may please God. Be not proposing anything to yourself to render yourself better, but to be exact and faithful in detachment from all persons and things, to be obedient, chaste, and diligent in all the duties of your rule—these will render you as perfect as God intends you to be; but your own projects would set you astray as on an ocean. Once a fortnight, unless when a great festival intervenes, would be enough for you to receive the sacrament of penance, or even less frequently if your confessor were so inclined.—Believe me, &c., "✠ J. Doyle."

Dr. Doyle had a high opinion of the Very Rev. Dr. Esmonde, S.J., who used frequently to spend a week with him at Old Derrig. Dr. Esmonde informs us that the Bishop "always wrote by night, and continued writing as long as the gas continued burning—*i.e.*, as long as the flame of inspiration blazed. His appearance during this occupation was most unepiscopal. A night-cap, secured to his head by a piece of tape, surmounted the dome of thought; a little tin saucepan of coffee reposed on the hob, from which at intervals he would take refreshing sips. No doubt by sitting up at night, and never paying the slightest regard to his health or comfort at any time, he gradually undermined his constitution. Sometimes, when not in the *cacoethes scribendi*, he would retire to rest at the same time as myself, for an hour previous to which Dr. Doyle, with night-cap on, would walk up and down the room telling his beads, and reciting the Rosary and Litany of the Blessed Virgin. 'I never feel comfortable on retiring to rest,' he often remarked, 'unless I have said my beads.'"

Persons not of Dr. Doyle's Church may wish to know his views regarding the invocation of Saints. During his examination in the House of Commons he was asked, "Do Roman Catholics pray to Saints? *A.* We address ourselves to the Saints, and beg that they would pray to God for us; but we do not pray to them so as to ask of them any favour or grace, because we know they have no power of themselves to grant us such favour or grace; and that there is only one Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus. *Q.* In what sense do Catholics pray to the Virgin Mary? *A.* In the same sense as they pray to other Saints."

In the summer of 1826, Dr. Doyle made preparations for removal from Old Derrig to Braganza House, which had been pur-

chased for their Bishop by the Clergy of the diocess. Equally divided emotions of pleasure and regret marked this change of residence. If mingled feelings of joy and pride filled the Carlow people, an undisguised expression of sorrow pervaded the hearts and faces of those who had long been daily witnesses or recipients of the Bishop's goodness in the neighbourhood of Old Derrig. The sobs and shrieks of the poor were piteous; "the composure of settled distress" among the less clamorous applicants for bounty, affecting. The good Bishop could with difficulty tear himself away from the miserable creatures to whom he had long been a father and a friend; and although Braganza House had been purchased since the summer of 1825, we find that Dr. Doyle did not finally remove to it until Michaelmas in the following year.

To all classes Dr. Doyle had endeared himself thoroughly. Even the young pupils of Everton Academy attested their admiration and respect for the man, by clubbing together their little coffers of pocket-money, and purchasing a splendid silver vase for J. K. L. A deputation of youths, including Mr. Shine Lalor and others, waited on the Bishop, and read an address, of which the following is an extract:

"They beg leave to assure your Lordship, that it is with feelings of sincere sorrow they are about to witness your departure. These feelings, however, are mitigated by the recollection of the cause which deprives them of your society, as they have the consolation to think that it is the affectionate regards of your countrymen that invite you to another and perhaps more suitable residence. Your public conduct, my Lord, has long since endeared you to every well-wisher of Ireland; and while your writings have removed many of the foul calumnies and falsehoods, which prejudice alone could have affixed to our loyalty and religion, your private virtues have emitted their unsullied lustre through the retirement that would fain conceal them."

A few words descriptive of the handsome silver tankard, which the Everton schoolboys presented to Dr. Doyle, may not be out of place. On one side is a Latin inscription, highly eulogistic of J. K. L., while on the other two shields supporting his antlered crest are engraved, one displaying a missal and cross, the other a mitre and lion guardant. The brim is richly carved with a broad border of vine branches, leaves, and grape clusters. The cover, inlaid, like the cup, with gold, is surmounted with a burnished mitre and cross, below which is a circular tissue of oaken boughs. The ornamentation of the edge is amusingly miscellaneous. Among other designs it consists of the imperial crown, Irish harp, rose, thistle, and shamrock, and wreaths of golden laurel.

From Dr. Doyle's graceful reply we cull a few sentences:

"The mention you make of my exertions to protect our religion and character from unmerited obloquy is, my dear young friends, very acceptable to me—not because it expresses or implies praise, for praise to me is vain and useless; but because it shows that, even at this tender age, you are imbued with right notions of what is of primary importance in the life of man. Having myself no inheritance but the Lord, and no kindred but His people, it affords me, not pleasure, but delight to observe, whilst I begin to descend to the grave, a new generation rising up about me, in whom the purest sentiments of piety are united with that love of country which should never be separated from a love of God. May it be your lot, though it has not been mine, to serve that God according to the dictates of your conscience, without thereby incurring reproach or loss, and to see your country enjoy those rights and liberties which your fathers are now struggling to regain. Accept the sincere expression of my esteem and gratitude, and be assured that though time and space may separate you from me, I will always pray to God that He who holds in His hands the hearts of men may govern yours by His grace; that He may enrich you through life with His choicest blessings, and unite us all hereafter in that eternal rest for which He made us—'For we are made for God, and our hearts are restless till they rest in Him.'"

CHAPTER XXI.

Controversy between the present Bishop of Cashel and O'Connell—Dr. Doyle interposes between the combatants—The interview with Dr. Kinsella—Dr. Doyle's Letters under the signature of "B. E."—Remarkable circumstance in connexion with their composition—Dr. Doyle and the blue-stocking—Letter to Eneas M'Donnell—Dr. Doyle on Transubstantiation—Pharisees and Publicans—The effort to identify Rome with Babylon—Points and puns—Letter to his niece—Dr. Doyle goes to Birr with a view to reclaim the Rev. W. Crotty—Letter to Syrenus the Monk—The Bishop's gift to his children—Letter from Sir H. Parnell—Plunket and Blake—Letters to Blake, E. Hay, and the Bishop of Saldes—Another pamphlet from the pen of Dr. Doyle—Letter to a kinswoman—Amusing Letter from Rev. Dr. Wolff and reply—Strange scene between Dr. Doyle and the Primate at a Synod—Self-reliance of Dr. Doyle—Marked contrast between him and the Catholic Bishop of the old school—Dr. Philpotts.

Among the many Biblical controversialists, whose zeal achieved for them considerable notoriety in Ireland thirty years ago, and would seem to have derived additional stimulus from the hope of church preferment, the Rev. Robert Daly, now Lord Bishop of Cashel, occupied a prominent position. In ecclesiastical reading, ortho-

dox and heterodox, he was deeply versed; his language, always fluent, sometimes rose to eloquence; and as a logician, though inferior perhaps to his colleague, Dr. Singer, who now occupies the see of Meath, he had always a supply of ready retorts at hand, which often discomfited, without defeating his adversaries. But although the Rev. Robert Daly constantly professed the utmost love towards those whose religious opinions he perpetually ridiculed, a contrary feeling was painfully evidenced by the language to which, in nearly every paragraph, he gave expression; while as a controversial opponent he was sadly deficient in that courtesy which favorably characterized the Rev. Richard Pope. Of this the reader has already seen an instance in a letter to Dr. Doyle.

Mr. Daly's denunciations of Popery having, in May, 1826, attained a pitch of more than ordinary loudness and exasperation, Mr. O'Connell ably replied to him in a public letter, which was speedily answered by Mr. Daly. As the correspondence lengthened new controversial topics sprung up, with a proportionate increase of acrimony, until at last, on the 16th of May, the solemn subject of Transubstantiation and the Real Presence were impugned, in unmeasured terms, by Mr. Daly. Much curiosity existed to see O'Connell's reply, and a slight feeling of disappointment was felt by the Catholic party, when a letter of merely six lines appeared from O'Connell, stating, that if the Nisi Prius were over by the following Saturday, he would answer his opponent's arguments.

Dr. Doyle, with the newspaper in his hand, came into the College grounds, where he found the Rev. Messrs. Kinsella and Maher. To the former Clergyman, who possessed considerable power as a polemic, the Bishop would sometimes allude as "the heavy artillery." "We must not leave this controversy any longer in the hands of O'Connell," observed Dr. Doyle. "As a constitutional lawyer and advocate he may stand unrivalled, but certainly he is no theologian; and we cannot, without culpability, leave that faith of which we are the guardians to a member of the bar to defend. William," he added, addressing Dr. Kinsella, "you must answer Daly's letter before the next issue of *The Evening Post*." Dr. Kinsella shrugged his shoulders, and protested that he could not possibly accomplish it in the time. "Where there's a will there's a way," said Dr. Doyle; and he suggested to Dr. Kinsella the various ecclesiastical authors in which the main points required would be found. "Daly distortingly misinterprets the text of St. John's Gospel," he added; "but if you open Natalis Alexander and Schœmaker, you will find that nearly all the Fathers of the Church understood the text as referring to the Blessed Eucharist." "Well, my Lord," replied Dr. Kinsella, "now that I see my way, I shall go to work at once, and I trust

I may be ready in time." "Kinsella is lazy," mused the Bishop, as the Professor of Theology went on his way, "and I clearly foresee he will never do it. Although there is a mass of labour on my hands, which I must discharge before I go on my visitation next week, I suppose I must answer Daly myself."

Dr. Doyle had just concluded, in the adjacent chapel, a very long and impassioned exhortation; and no wonder that those who ascertained his intention of applying himself anew to mental labour, instead of seeking repose, should have felt surprised. The Bishop retired to his room, and buried himself among his tomes. At five o'clock, Mr. Maher went up and announced dinner. "I am only now getting into the spirit of the task," said Dr. Doyle, "and I won't go down until I have it finished. Send me up one leg of chicken with a glass of water; but in truth I am little disposed to eat." At eight o'clock Mr. Maher ventured to apprize the Bishop that tea was ready. "I desire to be alone," he replied; "an hour hence you may bring me a cup of whey—nothing more." Late that night the curate reconnoitred Dr. Doyle's room, and found that the Bishop was still employed—

> "Midnight found him at his labour; morning saw his fingers run—
> Toiling ever, weary never of the task he had begun."

It proved more troublesome than had been anticipated. Dr. Doyle's hand or mind never for a moment rested throughout that long night. By six o'clock next morning, he had completed the letter. He shaved and washed, dispatched it by the early post, celebrated seven o'clock Mass, and went through the round of duty for that day, with zeal as unflagging as though he had gone refreshed and buoyant to his work.

It would have been regarded as a great triumph by the Biblicals, had Dr. Doyle avowedly entered the lists with Mr. Daly; but with a due regard to his own dignity, the Bishop appended to the letter a signature with which few would be apt to connect J. K. L. The letter was signed "B. E.," and for some time no one could surmise the meaning of the initials. Dr. Doyle's reply appeared on Saturday, the 20th of May, and the following Sunday and Monday found him pursuing his visitation through the county Kildare. In the course of the journey he stopped to rest for an hour at Firmount, where a respectable family with whom he was intimate resided. As the Bishop entered he found some fair members of the house engaged in criticizing his letter. One declared that the writer must have been the Rev. Bartholomew Esmonde, while another indignantly denied that that distinguished Jesuit could ever have penned it. "On what grounds have you come to that conclusion," inquired

Dr. Doyle. "Because," replied Miss B——, "Father Esmonde would, I am sure, write it a great deal better." The lady, who was rather a *blue*, then proceeded to condemn some portions of the epistle while praising others, and offered to read it aloud for Dr. Doyle, which she did accordingly. The Bishop humoured the joke, and affected to criticize very severely some of the expressions used. At last, however, the truth oozed out. "But, my Lord," said one of the fair critics, "how could you venture to use Father Esmonde's name in a public document—for of course the initials B. E., as a disguise for Bartholomew Esmonde, would be generally regarded as no better than coquetry." "I suppose you know who the patron Saint of Kildare is?" observed Dr. Doyle. "St. Bridget, of course," replied the ladies. "And perhaps you may also be aware," continued the Prelate, "that Episcopus signifies Bishop. The signature is merely J. K. L. in another and less hackneyed form. But even apart from all this, you have no right to jump at the conclusion that 'B. E.' could only indicate my friend, Father Esmonde. The subject of the letter is the Holy Sacrament, and why might not 'B. E.' imply Blessed Eucharist?"

The judgment of the young ladies on the letter of "B. E." was at variance with the views of the best ecclesiastical critics of the day; and it need hardly be added that the objection urged by the former was based on some typographical errors, which, in their eyes, made nonsense of several important paragraphs. To these printers' blunders Dr. Doyle refers, at the close of the following letter to Mr. Eneas M'Donnell, who had just given effective battle, in England, to some Biblical denunciators of Roman Catholicism:

"Carlow, 24th May, 1826.

"My dear Sir—I was honoured with your letter a few days since, when leaving home and exceedingly busy. I placed it in the hands of Mr. Nolan, one of the Professors at Carlow College, quite an adept in the science you are so eminent in yourself (I am perfectly serious), and who will forward, agreeably to your wishes, the necessary directions and references, with a fidelity which cannot fail to secure you against the cavils of your future foes. I admire very much the manner in which you have got through the present campaign, and no person in either country is more anxious than I am for your success in the next.

"There is a letter in *The D. E. Post* of Saturday last on Daly's calumny and blasphemy, which I think you would do well to point out to my friend, Dr. Black [of *The Morning Chronicle*], to whom I beg you will present my best compliments. Should he insert it, pray correct the clerical errors of it, as the writer did not see the proof-sheet, and the printer committed many blunders."

A few extracts from the letter of "B.E." may not prove amiss. It began by saying that Ireland was torn by religious dissension, and when such men as Messrs. O'Connell and Daly engage in controversial warfare, the victory, to whichever side it might incline, must be purchased at the public expense. Both gentlemen agreed in their interpretation of the text, "Blessed are the peacemakers;" and "B.E." hoped that one ambitious of that character might be pardoned, if he endeavoured, by a few reflections, to induce them to desist from war.

Mr. Daly had charged the Catholic Clergy with hostility to the Sacred Scriptures. "B.E." replied, that it was no doubt true they forbade their flocks to read the Protestant Testaments which Mr. Daly and his colleagues so freely distributed; but the exercise of this hostility was in obedience to the discipline or law of the Catholic Church. "It is not just," he added, "in Mr. Daly to taunt Mr. O'Connell or any other Catholic by saying, 'Will you suffer the Priest thus to domineer over you, or to regulate what books you are to read?' It is not the Priest who domineers or regulates, but it is the law of the Church which prescribes what is to be done, and the Priest executes, as far as becomes his office, what the law enjoins; in doing so, whether the law be a good one or not, the Clergyman best observes the golden maxim, too much neglected in other departments—*non dominemur regulis sed regulæ dominentur nobis;* and Mr. O'Connell or any other Catholic, in attending to his admonitions, submits, if submission it be, not to the Priest, but to the law or discipline of his Church."

Mr. Daly was the Rector of Powerscourt at this period. Of his strictures on transubstantiation Dr. Doyle observed, that he thought it not only irreverent, but exceedingly dangerous, to set about investigating the mysteries of the Christian religion, by letters or speeches in a newspaper; that, in the present instance, it was done in a vulgar and virulent manner, and the perpetrator should be made to feel, by men of sense, that in seeking to degrade religion he had degraded himself. Everybody knew, that as many books as would cover Powerscourt glebe had been written by Catholics and Protestants, in support of their respective opinions as to the true meaning of the few words of our Redeemer in instituting the Eucharist. These disputes have produced an abundance of evils, and will never be terminated by books or newspapers; but whenever such disputes are revived, it is quite obvious that they should be conducted with decorum, with a due respect for the peace and order of society, and a becoming deference for the feelings of the very respectable communities whom they interest. "To speak of Catholics shutting up the Divinity in a box," he added, "reducing the Almighty to a state of helplessness, or carrying

Him from place to place—Him in whom all things consist and are—is to pander to the worst passions of an ignorant and bigoted rabble. The man who acts thus is like an intoxicated scold who brawls in the street, and abuses some respectable person who cannot possibly retort. Precisely in this manner the Pagans, in the third and fourth centuries, insulted and reviled the Christians, saying, 'Your God was shut up for nine months in the womb of Mary. Your God fled from Herod, lest He should be killed by him; He was hungry and thirsty; He said He would come to judge us all, but He knew not the day nor the hour. The Romans put Him to death, and you say He lives; you think He can do what He pleases; let Him then save those who believe in Him from the rack, or in the amphitheatre from the beasts.' Was there candour or justice in these taunts—taunts employed to insult the most virtuous, and to gratify the most licentious of men? There was precisely the same candour as in Mr. Daly's reflections about the adoration paid by the Catholics to Christ in the Sacrament."

"B.E." then proceeded to enter upon a learned theological vindication of the doctrine of the real presence. He observed, that to inquire how the body of Christ can be present without being seen or touched, or in many places at the same time, is a question which no person will pretend to answer, unless in the Irish mode—namely, by asking another question—as, how can there be three persons, each perfect God, and yet only one God? or how could the Deity, in whom we live, move, and have our being, be whole and entire in Christ? how could it be in every place, and beyond all space and time, and yet be whole and entire at Bethlehem or at Calvary?

Mr. Daly branded Catholics with idolatry for reverently bending their knees before the blessed Sacrament. Dr. Doyle admitted, that if the Catholics gave true and real adoration to what appears in the Eucharist, they would be idolaters certainly; but they do not, as every person knows. They adore in the Eucharist the same Deity which the Wise Men adored in Bethlehem, which the Apostles adored in Bethania, and which every Christian believing in the divinity of Christ adores in every place. The Lutherans believe the reality of Christ's bodily presence. Mr. Daly, it would appear, did not believe it, "and few would quarrel with him," remarked Dr. Doyle, "if he only allowed to others the liberty which he enjoys himself." Mr. Daly had charged Mr. O'Connell with being an idolater and a hypocrite. "When Mr. Daly administers the Eucharist," wrote "B.E.," "he believes, if he be not a hypocrite, that Christ is truly and really present, or verily and indeed given and received. If, then, Christ be in the sacrament, He may lawfully be adored, and hence the communicant kneels—

for, as St. Augustin says, 'no person should receive Christ in that sacrament without first adoring Him.'"

Mr. Daly's misapplications of Scripture roused the choler of Dr. Doyle, and he warmly declared, that he admired more the discretion manifested by the old Roman grenadiers in casting lots for the cloak of Christ, instead of dividing it and rendering it useless to all, than the zeal of those who tear the Scriptures into patches, with a view to cover their own passions—an act which renders the Holy Writings ineffectual for the purpose which the Almighty, in giving them, intended they should serve.

The offer of mediation made by "B.E." to Messrs. O'Connell and Daly was not attended to, and the strife between them becoming every hour more infuriate and disedifying, Dr. Doyle urged the editor of *The Evening Post* to remove, by a well-known spell, the field on which the combatants were displaying their prowess, "and thus," he added, "have all the merit of ending a fruitless contention, and preventing the further growth of ill-will."

Mr. Daly continued to bear down upon O'Connell with all the resources of his extensive ecclesiastical reading; and as the latter knew much more of Coke and Blackstone than of Den or De La Hogue, it may be supposed that Mr. Daly had occasionally the advantage of his lay opponent. But Dr. Doyle was not slow in detecting what would seem to have been disingenuous misapplications and quotations, and these, in a second Letter, signed "B. E.," he felt it his duty to expose. Besides some liberties which were taken with St. Augustin's name and text, he showed that a startling quotation from St. Jerome, advanced by Mr. Daly, was taken from a spurious treatise, conclusively proved by the Benedictine editors never to have been written by that Father. Mr. Daly had also quoted, from Alberticus, a list of persons who differed from Mr. O'Connell in their interpretation of St. John's Gospel; but Dr. Doyle proved that Alberticus was a notorious falsifier of texts and citations. Mr. Daly continued to upbraid Catholics with idolatry for adoring the Sacrament of the altar. "Mr. Cobbett," wrote "B. E.," "lately took an eminent statesman to school. I wish heartily that some Catholic student, during his summer vacation, took Mr. Daly to school. A few lessons in theology would spare him some shame, and save some trouble to peacemakers as well as to the public. However, as Mr. Daly may now perceive that I may be some perfectly orthodox Romish Priest, and yet, in his opinion, quite exempt from the charge of idolatry, let him, in the name of that charity 'which hopes all, and suffers all, and acts not perversely,' extend a similar exemption from idolatry to all his Catholic fellow-subjects; for I pledge myself there is not one of them who will not say with me, that in the Sacrament of the

Eucharist he adores only Jesus Christ, and not what he sees or touches."

If O'Connell were an idolater in this sense, "B. E." showed that he was at least an idolater in good company; and he advanced for Mr. Daly's behoof an imposing list of references to the writings of the most eminent Fathers of the Church. "To quote the words," he wrote, "in which *these* idolaters and numberless others express their damnable impiety, would fill one of your longest columns; so I shall only give you a specimen of it from Augustin, that rank idolater whom Mr. Daly, if I mistake not, sometimes calls a Saint." The extract, which was a long one, concluded with—"Let not any one eat of that flesh until he will have first adored it, and it will be found how the footstool of the Lord can be adored, and that not only we would not sin by adoring it, but we would sin by not adoring it."

The second letter of "B. E." was an eloquent supplement to his previous essay, in vindication of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The subject is too grand and solemn to be touched with an epitomizing pen.

The ill-disguised acrimony of some of Mr. Daly's remarks contrasted unpleasantly with the pious tone which pervaded others. "Before I supply," wrote "B. E.," "briefly and calmly, a few common answers to the common objections which Mr. Daly's last letter obtrudes upon the public, it may be right to inform Mr. Daly that a sanctimonious air but ill befits him; that those who speak much and loudly of their own zeal have not a zeal according to knowledge; that ejaculations, and long visages, and frequently talking about Jesus and grace, and not doing the works of peace and mercy, forcibly reminds ordinary men of the Jewish Pharisees, who, St. Paul says, went about in his time 'praying long prayers and devouring the houses of widows.' When one looks into the Gospel, or the writings of the most apostolic men, nothing of cant presents itself; there is no yawning about grace and light, nor any of those senseless self-gratulations and uncharitable censures with which modern sanctity abounds. For my part, when I see a man or a woman, in manners or language, depart from Christian modesty or moderation, affecting more than ordinary virtue, and proclaiming by their phrases and attitudes that they are not like other men (like that publican, for example, who laughs and dances), I generally suspect them of hypocrisy, or despise them as fools. A community of Wesleyan Methodists may make wry faces, and fashion the Lord of heaven and earth in forms suited to their own heated fancy; but a man who introduces ascetic language and manners into society, unless he sustain them by apostolic—by extraordinary virtue—is a contemptible nuisance; he

offends against good manners, detracts from the sanctity, the simplicity, and dignity of true religion, and often ends his career by becoming a prey to his own passions."

Mr. Daly sought to identify Rome and the Pope with Babylon and the Scarlet Lady. "It is really lamentable," wrote "B.E.," "to see a man thus bereaved of common sense, as well as unacquainted with the history of theology for the latter centuries, and yet capable of giving, and willing to give offence to a whole people. If this man be a Rector, and have a parish and glebe, why seek to deprive Gideon Ouseley of the little vineyard left to him by his ancestors? Gideon had proved most satisfactorily that the Pope was Antichrist; and a very worthy opponent of his had, with not less ability, demonstrated that London was Babylon, and our gracious Sovereign the very 'man of sin.' Now, Mr. Editor, was it just or honourable for a third person to enter the lists, and snatch the laurel, almost won, from the brow of Gideon? Verily, Mr. Daly, as I once heard Lord Norbury say to a perjured witness, 'you are a very respectable person, but you have done yourself no great credit to-day.'"

Mr. Daly assured Mr. O'Connell that the Catholic Church, cased in her infallibility, cannot reform her errors; whilst the Church of England could with the utmost ease do so, because she is not bound to any creed or rule. "Ah!" exclaimed "B.E.," "how little foresight and sagacity has this Mr. Daly, thus to bare his side for an almost fatal blow."

The Catholic Church, he showed, has unceasingly employed her councils and learned congregations in reforming the morals of her children and her own discipline, expounding matters of faith, and casting out heresy; always continuing the same, because all truth was taught by the Apostles; receiving no increase or undergoing no change; "whilst," he added, "we see the church of Mr. Daly tossed about by various winds of doctrine in successive reigns of princes, and, as Mr. O'Connell would say, always learning and never coming to the knowledge of the truth; delivered up at the same time to the secular arm she has lost all power to reform or alter her own discipline, to interfere authoritatively with the morals of her children, however corrupt they may become, or even to eject from her own bosom the most extravagant sectary or the most impious heretic. Alas! Mr. Editor, whilst there are such men as Mr. Daly, there will be no end to such retorts as these."

This controversy brought the Rev. Robert Daly into considerable notoriety. Although far from popular, he was popularly known as "Bob Daly;" and when, some years later, he became a Bishop, there were ready-witted Irishmen to pronounce the Protestant episcopacy to be the poorest body of men, because they had only one "*bob daily*" amongst them.

Dr. Doyle's second Letter in reply to Dr. Daly was written in hasty snatches while on his visitation. From a note to Mrs. Coney, dated the 12th of June, 1826, in reply to a request that the Bishop would promote the wishes of a cousin of his own, who desired to enter the Church, we gather the extent of ground he travelled over in the discharge of his official duty. "Since I wrote to you in May last, I have been through the county Kilkenny, Queen's County, King's County, and county Kildare, and only returned here on last night. I shall go to Dublin next week, and if I find that I can do anything for ——, I will inform you; but it is not likely, as all our places on the Continent are the property of the diocess, and I am only the administrator of them."

The King's County is not in the diocess of Kildare and Leighlin, and it may be asked, what brought the Bishop there? The Rev. W. Crotty, a young and very self-sufficient Catholic Curate in that county, having been suspended for some irregularity by his Ordinary, opened, in a moment of unbridled pride and pique, a conventicle at Birr, to which he invited many of his quondam flock. Obstinate as a mule, perseveringly vindictive, but naturally quick and talented, he hurled eloquent expressions of defiance against all Church authority; and while the scandal caused by this singularly reckless course was at its height, Dr. Doyle, in compliance with an invitation from the Catholic Bishop of the diocess, came to the charitable determination of visiting Mr. Crotty personally, and by the strength of his reasoning, tearing him, if it were possible, from the views he held.

If pride had inflamed too strongly the refractory Priest at Birr to permit Dr. Doyle's arguments to make much impression upon him, the good Bishop had at least the satisfaction of bringing back to the Church another wayward spirit, who had long set its authority at nought. The following letter to the then Superior of the Monastery at Tullow, is dated

"Carlow, 13th June, 1826.

"My dear Brother Syrenus—This young man is a melancholy example of the ruin produced by pride and error; and I hope, through the mercy of God, that he may be restored to the grace from which he has fallen. I have told him, in a few words, what I think he ought to do, and it is to exercise himself in compunction, prayer, and mortification, but to do so in retirement and silence. If he talk much or dispute, his pride and doubts will revive, and the devil will continue to prevail over him. It is our duty to assist the designs of God, and if, for this purpose, you afford to this prodigal son an asylum in your monastery for a month or two, should he conduct himself as I have recommended to him, I will endeavour to indemnify you for the expense you may incur by his main-

tenance on the fare of the brethren. In the event of your agreeing to his present wishes and mine, the Rev. Mr. Clowry may absolve him from the censures which he has incurred."

Whenever scenes of drunkenness and insubordination prevailed to a more than ordinary extent among the peasantry, and seemed impervious to all pastoral effort to check them, Dr. Doyle devoted himself, with redoubled activity, to the organization of a judicious system of moral instruction for the children of his diocess, well knowing that "as the twig is bent, the tree will incline." The poet Furlong, writing in 1825, observes: "Dr. Doyle was away in another part of the diocess when I left Carlow; but his hand and his care are visible in the schools and other institutions of the place. I visited the chapel during what is called the childrens' Mass, and such a mass of children I have not seen since. In this I do not speak profanely—upwards of a thousand boys and girls attended." The same description would apply to many other parts of the diocess.

Dr. Doyle's incomparable Catechism will probably be read in Ireland as long as the English language lasts. "Dear children," said the Bishop, "we present it to you as a token of our love for you, and of the anxiety with which we watch over your religious instruction. You are the most precious portion of the flock which God has entrusted to our care. We labour daily and hourly, by prayer and watchfulness, to bring you forth from the womb of your holy mother the Church, until Christ be formed in you by your acquiring a knowledge of His holy law, and by keeping and observing it with your whole hearts. Accept then, dearly beloved children, this Catechism from the hand of your Bishop, who watches as if to give God an account of your souls—your Bishop, who loves you with the most tender affection, and whose hope, and comfort, and glory you are. Accept it as the best gift he can offer to you. Be diligent in learning it—at home, in your schools, when resting from your employments, but especially on Sundays, under the eyes of your Clergy, and with the assistance of those virtuous masters and mistresses, who not only teach you by word, but also by example. As you advance, dearly beloved, be careful not only to remember the words you repeat, but strive also, by thinking on those words and by inquiring from others, to understand the meaning of them—for if you should be able to repeat from your memory all the questions and answers of the Catechism, you would still be ignorant of the doctrine they express, unless you understood the meaning of the several words which compose them.

"Above all, beloved children, love the truth which you are taught, keep the Commandments which you learn, pray always to

God, honour and obey your parents, and you will be happy in this life, and happy for ever in heaven; and then you will be truly the crown and the joy of, most dearly beloved children, your affectionate father in Christ."

The Bishop used himself to teach this Catechism to the children. In his celebrated discussion with "Declan," who declared that he had often read, in some Catholic Catechism, a precept requiring the payment of tithes, Dr. Doyle replied: "J. K. L. has catechised more children in a few years than 'Declan' probably will in the course of his life, and he declares that he does not recollect having once met with a Catechism of this alarming edition." Dr. Doyle often made a special mission to a remote parish for the purpose of instructing the children as he alone could do. In endeavouring to fan the flame of their ambition he observed on one occasion, that if the Catechism was studied carefully by half-a-dozen little boys, they would prove more than a match for the itinerant controvertists who periodically visited Carlow and other towns. Dr. Doyle completely endeared himself to the children by many acts of paternal kindness, and it did not require the powers of a prophet to predict that

> "His bones, when they have run their course and sleep in blessings,
> Would have a tomb of orphans' tears wept on them."

His interest in the welfare of the poor children was of the most lively and practical character. If one anxiety more than another seared his heart, it was to see little boys and girls idling in the streets, under the precarious guardianship of the mother of mischief. His appeals to the parents on these occasions were many, earnest, and touching. We find among the Bishop's papers some notes for one of his admirable sermons on this subject, from which we transcribe a very characteristic passage: "These little ones will be the basis of that social edifice in which your own offspring will dwell, and in vain will you provide possessions for the latter if you deposit them in a building ill-constructed or mouldering to decay. The body of society is unquestionably its most important part, and if it be not healthful, the head and other members can enjoy but a disagreeable if not precarious existence. Turn these children away then from evil—turn them from the streets, where their ears would be polluted, where their eyes would be offended, where their hearts would be corrupted. Turn them from those depraved collections of idlers who exercise gambling in your lanes and alleys, with the symbols of money when the money itself has failed them. Turn them from the porter-house, where the very vice which disgusts and sickens invites youth to her embraces—where the cup, as Augustin has it, is

tipped with silver, smoked with gold, and capped with honey, but whose contents are gall, and whose dregs are poison. Turn them from groups of men and women who vend their herbs and trinkets, and call the youth about them with songs of lewdness or yells of blasphemy. Tear these children away from the evils which they would witness in their own family—the evil of discontent, the evil of extreme wretchedness, the evil of strife, of mutual hate and animosity between the parents who gave them existence. Turn them from all the evils with which a corrupt and licentious world must always abound, and teach them that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God which they can learn at their schools."

Parliament was dissolved during this year, and a great struggle raged between the rival parties. The result was, that the Catholics and pro-Catholics lost in England but gained in Ireland. Sir H. Parnell writes:

(*Private.*)

"Emo Park, 7th July, 1826.

"My dear Lord—I congratulate you on the splendid victories which the Catholics have gained in the Irish elections. They cannot fail to produce a great impression in favour of carrying the Catholic Bill next session, for no one who possesses the power of reasoning can doubt, after seeing the spirit that has been displayed, that a contest of a much more serious character must be the result of much longer continuing to injure and offend the feelings of this country.

"The English elections unquestionably prove that a great change has taken place, and that the question is at length beginning to be understood.

"I am exceedingly glad to see the notice given by the Association of the plan of parish petitions. If this is steadily and universally acted upon, so that the petitions shall really be all ready to be presented the day on which Parliament meets, I am confident it will be productive of the best effects. I had several communications with Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Brougham, and other leading friends, and they are quite prepared to bring forward the bill on the earliest possible opportunity.

"I beg to recommend to your notice the article in the eighty-sixth number of *The Edinburgh Review* on the civil affairs of Ireland. There has been no sale whatever of Messrs. Phelan and O'Sullivan's work."

The latter allusion is to a hostile analysis of Dr. Doyle's parliamentary evidence, by the Rev. Dr. O'Sullivan and the Rev. W. Phelan, who under the signature of "Declan" had already assailed J. K. L.

In July, 1826, Anthony Richard Blake, Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer in Ireland, lost his mother, to whom he had long

been attached by the tenderest filial ties. To the sound precepts and instruction which this amiable and accomplished woman had early inculcated, Mr. Blake mainly attributed that prosperity which attended him, in a marked degree, through his subsequent highly distinguished career. So great was the affliction in which the sad bereavement plunged him, that he could neither apply his mind to business, or take the slightest interest in any recreation. Our informant, the late Richard Coyne, having personally witnessed the almost distracted mental state of Mr. Blake, requested that Dr. Doyle would charitably address some words of consolation and advice to his afflicted friend. "The worthy Prelate," said Mr. Coyne, "delighted at the opportunity afforded him of comforting the afflicted, addressed to Mr. Blake a letter, which, by its skilful admixture of philosophy and religion, could not fail to staunch the bleeding wound. This letter," added Coyne, "was enclosed to me. Well knowing that a vast deal depended upon the tact and taste of the person who should read it aloud to Mr. Blake, I ventured to ask Mr., afterwards Lord Plunket, one of Blake's most intimate friends, to perform the kind office." Plunket was a great admirer of Dr. Doyle's character and genius, as we have seen in a former chapter; he cheerfully acceded to Mr. Coyne's proposal, and repaired to the Chief Remembrancer's with Dr. Doyle's letter.

Those who knew the late Lord Plunket will with difficulty recognize him on this mission. But he well knew the persons in whose favour it would not be impolitic to travel a little out of his way. Mr. Blake was a very important personage on the Irish administrative stage of the day. He was daily consulted by the Viceroy upon measures and upon men. "He was known," wrote Sheil, in his "Sketch of the State of Parties in Dublin," "to be a puller of the wires in the political puppet-show; and the marked civilities which were paid him by Mr. Plunket confirmed the general notion of his importance. The obsequious assiduity with which that learned gentleman courted the favourite of Lord Wellesley stood in strong contrast with his habitual coldness and reserve."

"Having briefly explained the object of his visit," observes Mr. Coyne, "Plunket began to read the letter to Mr. Blake, who, with sealed lips and knitted brow, listened attentively. He drank down every word as it flowed through the refining medium of Plunket's lips, and eagerly looked forward to the rest.

"He finished, and Blake was comforted. Plunket was forcibly struck by the letter; and Mr. Blake assured me, that the great orator exclaimed, 'Bossuet *never* penned anything more beautiful or more true.'"

Of the accuracy of this anecdote there can be no doubt. The letter in question has been found among Mr. Blake's papers, en-

dorsed "Dr. Doyle on my mother's death." Mr. Coyne's account of it, however, awakens expectations which subsequent perusal hardly realizes; but although well worthy of the Bishop's pen, we are inclined to think that the marked effect of the letter upon the afflicted Remembrancer was owing, in a great degree, to the proverbially beautiful elocutionary intonations and emphasis of Lord Plunket. The MS. of the letter bears evidence of having been thrown off in great haste by Dr. Doyle:

"Carlow, 31st July, 1826.

"My dear Sir—I heard on yesterday of the loss you have lately sustained, and as grief on such occasions is generally proportioned to filial piety and to the innate goodness of the heart, I am sure yours must be intense. I could not easily assign a reason for sympathizing with you as much and as sincerely as I do. Perhaps it is owing to the high estimate I formed of those fine qualities which you may have inherited from her who is no longer in this world, and which I have so much admired during the short time I have been honoured with your acquaintance. We owe much to ourselves, and to our exertions blessed by Providence; but those inherent dispositions—that aptitude to labour and to virtue which we bring with us from the womb, and are nurtured and almost matured by parental solicitude, are the choicest blessings of the Almighty; nor can we refer them to Him without resting with feelings of gratitude and affection on those who were instruments of His goodness for us.

"That grief is pleasing and salutary which takes back our thoughts to those high considerations, and to indulge it is most becoming a philosophic mind, for in such a mind it cannot grow to excess. But when reason is illuminated by faith, and that we see God reconciling the world to Himself in Christ, and gathering together His elect from among the children of men, and destroying gradually even our last enemy, *Death*, as the Apostle observes, *novissima inimica destructur mors*, we are almost necessarily compelled to adore Him who alone is powerful, wise, and good, and to aspire to Him as to our last end. When influenced by such considerations we are partaking of the choicest gifts of nature and of grace, and making the best return to those of whose faith and dispositions we are the heirs. The grief which produces such fruit is ordained by God, and to use it for such purposes is true wisdom.

"Accept, my dear Sir, the assurance of my sincere condolence, and believe me to remain, &c., "✠ J. Doyle."

Dr. Doyle had soon another letter of condolence to write. The Provincial of the Augustinian Order in Ireland had just died, full

of years and virtues. Dr. Doyle never forgot the Friar in the Bishop, but always yearned towards the lowly fraternity of St. Augustin with the affection of a brother. On the 25th of August, 1826, he writes to the present Bishop of Saldes: "On my arrival here to-day from a remote part of the diocess, where I had been engaged on my visitation, I found amongst my letters yours of the 22nd, informing me of the departure to a better world of our dear and valuable Provincial. I regret not having been able to visit Cork whilst he was yet amongst us, and the more so as my friend Mr. Stuart induced you to expect my arrival. I shall have nearly finished my annual peregrination about this day month, with God's help, and should nothing unforeseen occur to prevent me from leaving home, I will attend at the memory of him who so often gave to me the strongest proofs of his friendship and affection." The fidelity of Dr. Doyle's affection for the lowly Order of religious to which he had been in early life attached was evidenced anew by his making, at this period, a special journey to Ross, in order to effect arrangements for the promotion of Father Browne, a gifted Augustinian, to the episcopal bench. The Provincial, however, though sincerely grateful to Dr. Doyle, declined to part with so valuable a member of the Order, and the matter fell to the ground.

In a letter to the late Edward Hay, dated the 11th of August, 1826, we find another proof that Dr. Doyle never kept up a pique. The reader, on referring to page 179, will perceive that Mr. Hay gave the Bishop some reason to feel annoyed with him. Dr. Doyle addresses Mr. Hay as "My dear Sir," and proceeds: "I am fully sensible of the merits of Mr. Battersby, and when his claim to succeed to the vacant station at Maynooth comes to be considered by the trustees of that College, I shall, if in attendance, recollect the interest you express for him, and will be happy to serve him with my vote, if I find it conducive to the advantage of that establishment. I really have no means of promoting the circulation of any periodical publication. In such things every person chooses for himself; and the country is so inundated with them that it is hard to push the sale of even the most useful, such as I presume *The Irish Sentinel* to be. Wherever or whenever I can serve Mr. Battersby I will seek to do so, for your respect for him assures me of his merit."

One of the most voluminous pastoral addresses which fell from Dr. Doyle's prolific pen appeared on the 4th of September, 1826. The subject was one long near and dear to his heart—the education of the poor. The Bishop's untiring zeal and ever-active vigilance peculiarly marks this Pastoral. "If we be bound to watch," he said, "so as to give to God an account of your souls, you can never be absent from our thoughts; nor can we enjoy

rest whilst you suffer any want which it is in our power to supply. Removed to a distance from many of you, though living in the midst of you, we are enabled to view your situation, as the sentinel surveys the city from the tower or the rampart on which he has been placed for the public good. The dangers and difficulties which threaten a people are often hidden from themselves; nor is it always just or wise for him who is charged to watch for them to announce dangers which are remote, or excite their alarm about difficulties which are scarcely within view. But when danger approaches nearly, when difficulties press closely on a people, then it becomes an imperative duty to apprize all concerned of their entire and exact situation. In such times whoever is charged, as it were, with the public safety should not only expose whatever threatens to impair it, but excite the ardour of his fellow-citizens, draw forth and estimate their resources, and apply them to their proper ends.

"Such, beloved brethren, is the duty which now presses upon us. We have long watched, with an unceasing solicitude, the various wiles and efforts which have been employed for the purpose of making inroads upon your faith. We have sometimes, without disturbing your repose, dissipated those efforts; and whilst nature would incline us to contemn the puny malice or the senseless fanaticism which from time to time assailed the immovable bulwarks of our religion, we have endeavoured to turn towards those in whom such folly dwelt, a heart of pity or a prayer of forgiveness."

We will rapidly sketch the contents of this elaborate document, which would seem to have been simmering in the Bishop's brain since the publication of the Commissioners' Report on Education. Dr. Doyle traced in historical detail, from the days of Primate Boulter, the long and almost perplexing train of systematic attempts which had been made to seduce Catholics from their faith. He showed how sometimes bribes, and frequently intimidation, intrigue, menace, or cajolery, were employed. "For almost three centuries in Ireland our religion had been delivered up to men who judged it unjustly; and its ministers, like sheep before the shearer, were compelled to be dumb. . . . . The spirit which now afflicts us is the same which in past times hunted the instructors of our youth like monsters from the midst of society, and sent the Priest into the wilderness to perish, laden, like the scapegoat, with the sins of the people—a spirit which harassed and tortured the surviving remnant of an almost extirpated race, seeking to pervert them by tearing the son from the arms of the father, and the orphan daughter from the embraces of her widowed mother."

The arts and schemes of the Bible Societies were passed in review. The designs of insidious proselytism Dr. Doyle laid bare; its various attempts at compulsory conversion were indicated. "This policy," he wrote, "has yielded somewhat to the force of time and events; it has assumed a meeker tone, but in deceit, in craft, in injustice, as well as in hostility* to the faith of the 'Island of Saints,' it has undergone no change. A counterfeit benevolence, a specious hypocrisy, has been employed to hide the gangrene which is sought to be inserted in the healthy flesh. If the principle of the Bible Society," he added, "be established in schools, it will be propagated to the fireside; it will produce in the very bosom of our families sects and heresies without name or number; it will render us at first a nation of fanatics, and then lead us, like Germany, where it was first broached, to the abyss of infidelity—yea, to blaspheme the very name of Christ."

Dr. Doyle showed how the people of Ireland have always had an innate thirst for knowledge. "When education was proscribed by law and learning treated as a crime, we defied the impotent attempts of the Legislature, and preserved it amongst us like some sacred fire sent from heaven; but it was confined to a narrow sphere, and the glimmerings of its light scarcely reached the multitude. We all, however, looked towards it, and desired earnestly to be warmed and enlightened by its rays. The societies knew this; they engrafted education on proselytism—and hence the protracted combats we have had to sustain."

Having already adverted to the false promises of the Kildare-place Society, which undertook to "diffuse the blessings of education among all, without interfering with the religious tenets of any," it will not be necessary for us to follow Dr. Doyle through his exposure and condemnation of that now extinct institution. "Are we," he asked "prepared to extinguish amongst us that light of Gospel truth, which has illuminated Ireland for fifteen hundred years, and consign our children to be tossed about by every wind of doctrine—to wrest the Scriptures to their own perdition; until blinding and blinded, they and their guides fall together into the pit? Are we, or are we not, prepared to repudiate the sanctity of our fathers; to stigmatize their toils and sufferings; to betray into the hands of the Boulters and their brethern that rising generation in whom the spirits of our ancestry dwell? Shall Ireland no more be Catholic and orthodox? Yea, brethren, it shall; and rather than desert the faith once delivered to the Saints, let our

* The following extract from the Catechism of the Charter Schools, used until 1811, is curious: "*Q.* Is the Church of Rome a sound and incorrupt Church? *A.* No; it is extremely corrupt in doctrine, practice, and worship. *Q.* What do you think of the frequent crossings upon which the Papists lay so great a stress. *A.* They are vain and superstitious."

right hand be withered, and our flesh given a prey to the beasts of the earth or the fowls of the air."

Dr. Doyle sketched the history of the struggle in which the people had so long been engaged: "I would pass it over altogether," he wrote "but being about to recommend to you measures which will require sacrifices and exertions, I consider it my duty to expose fully the danger and difficulty of our situation, as well as the utter folly or hopelessness of looking abroad for assistance, or placing confidence elsewhere than in ourselves and in those tried friends who, through good report and evil report, have adhered along with us to the cause of truth and justice."

The Bishop then went on to express his anxious desire that the Clergy and faithful of his diocess would use, during the approaching summer and autumn, every possible exertion to build adjacent to each parish chapel a spacious school-house. "Nothing is difficult to the brave," he said. "We are especially gifted with fortitude. Every obstacle is removed by labour; we are inured to toil from our youth. Whatever object a reasonable and zealous man proposes to himself, he attains; let us undertake the building and furnishing of schools, and, with the blessing of Heaven, we will effect it."

Having lucidly traced the history of popular education in Ireland, and made the appeal to which we have referred, Dr. Doyle proceeded to observe: "Before I called upon you to make sacrifices for your own good and the benefit of your children—these dearest pledges of your affection, as they are the dearest objects of mine—my duty towards you required that I should demonstrate to all, not by argument alone but by historical and irrefragable proofs and facts, the nature and extent of that public exigency which now requires our exertions."

Dr. Doyle had triumphantly organized, in the face of much difficulty, a number of convent free-schools, for the instruction of poor female children, in his diocess; and he felt sanguine of maturing his recently unfolded plan of education for boys and young men. To the former Dr. Doyle agreeably refers in the following letter to his step-niece, Mrs. Rossiter, dated 13th September, 1826:

"My dear Kate—I send you herewith the veils I promised to Mary and yourself. They are specimens of the industry of our poor children of the convent free-school; and I am confident you will be gratified to wear them on account of those by whom they have been prepared—for a love of the poor is one of the first and best sentiments you have imbibed on entering into life, and will, I hope, be one of the strongest and the last to attend you on quitting it for that other which knows of no distinction, unless

what may arise from a more or less perfect service of Almighty God. I am very anxious to know that you continue in good health, and to enjoy this life without forgetting the next. To possess within yourself so great a blessing, continue to observe your religious duties, nor suffer either the cares or crosses of this world to fill your mind with useless thoughts, or turn your will from a strict conformity with the will of God. Avoid whatever is vain or sinful; be humble even to the most abject, and affectionate and attentive to those who are kind and obliging to you. Nor do I fear that you will at any time experience a want of affection from those amongst whom you live, still less from him to whom Providence has united you."

Before the month was out, Dr. Doyle proceeded to Dublin in order to confer with his Metropolitan, the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, on some ecclesiastical matters, and to transact other business. On the 22nd September, he accepted an invitation to dinner from Dean Meyler, who assembled a large number of ecclesiastics in honour of his distinguished guest. During that buzzing, but not remarkably spirited series of dialogues which invariably precedes the announcement of dinner at clerical reunions, the door was thrown open, and a servant entered with a letter marked "immediate" for Dr. Doyle. Some of the Clergymen present were exceedingly hungry, and when the servant merely announced a letter, and not dinner, they made no attempt to disguise their chagrin; but this feeling soon gave place to merriment when the Bishop, with a hearty laugh, read aloud the following communication from the Rev. Dr. Joseph Wolff, who, as the Gavazzi of his day, had excited a considerable sensation in Great Britain and Ireland:

"Dublin, 21st September, 1826.

"MOST REV. FATHER—Having heard of your learning, acuteness of mind, and zeal for your Church, I wish to have with you private communications for several weeks in your own house, and to enjoy your company. In case that you grant to me this petition, I am ready to give up my other engagements after the Liverpool meeting, and spend with you several months in your house. I beg you to write to me an answer immediately. I need not tell you that I am a missionary for the conversion of the Jews, and belong to the Protestant Church, or to the Church of Christ at large, and hold communion with Christians of every denomination.

"I have the honour to be, with due reverence and respect, owing to your high character and situation, Most Rev. Father, your humble and obedient servant, "JOSEPH WOLFF,

"*Missionary for Palestine and Persia.*

"P.S.—This request is made for the sole purpose of convers-

ing with you on the grand point of the truth of Christianity—whether it exist in the Protestant or Romish Church. Kissing your episcopal ring, I am Right Rev. Father, yours, &c.—J. W."

"As this false brother of ours," said the Bishop, "craves, in language not discourteous, an immediate reply, I had better answer him briefly and at once;" saying which he sat down before Dean Meyler's inkstand, and wrote as follows:

"Dr. Doyle was favoured this morning with Mr. Wolff's note of yesterday, and having been made acquainted with the causes on account of which the Cardinal Prefect had Mr. Wolff removed from the College *de Propaganda Fide*, Dr. Doyle could not accede to Mr. Wolff's request of residing in his (Dr. Doyle's) house for some months.

"Dr. Doyle when at home, as he expects to be next month, receives every person who may wish to see him; but he cannot receive Mr. Wolff as one in communion with the Catholic Church, still less as a missionary. Should he have to receive Mr. Wolff, he hopes to see him as one 'wearied in walking in ways of difficulty,' and anxious to find repose in the sobriety of true religion.*

"Dublin, 22nd September, 1826."

The Bishop read aloud his reply to Dr. Wolff, and, in a half whisper to Archdeacon Hamilton, pronounced it "admirable!"

He certainly reposed considerable faith in his own power; but had he been a diffident man the world would, probably, never have heard of him. Dr. Doyle knew that those who are constantly afraid of falling do nothing but stumble, and impressed with the truth of the apothegm, he practised as well as preached principles of self-reliance and self-respect.

Even at the synodical meetings of the Prelates, Dr. Doyle, from the first year of his episcopacy, exhibited a demeanour so directly the reverse of diffidence that some of the old Bishops of the old school did not essay to conceal their surprise. The following anecdote, though perhaps belonging to an earlier stage of this narrative, will illustrate our statement. At an important meeting of the Bishops in Dublin, Dr. Doyle, though by far the youngest member of the episcopal bench, was the first to rise and to open the subject. Dr. Curtis, the Catholic Primate of all Ireland, could hardly believe his eyes, and, with an alacrity which

* Poor Dr. Wolff was doomed to meet perpetual rebuffs. Having written an odd letter to Lady Hester Stanhope, "She perused it," writes his biographer, "and desired the man to wait that she might give him a present. She then came out with a whip, kicked the poor fellow behind, and sent him away. He came back lame to Wolff."—*Travels and Adventures of Dr. Joseph Wolff.*

seemed almost imcompatible with his advanced years, started to his feet. "His commanding person and dignified demeanour," observes the obituary of Dr. Curtis, "impressed every observer with a reverence for his station and character; and such was the ascendancy of his manners in support of his office, it has been said of him, that in the synods of the Prelates 'he was Primate of them all.'" Attached for half-a-century to the University of Salamanca, Dr. Curtis had become more Spanish than the Spanish themselves. "He had a restlessness of gesture," wrote Sheil in 1828, "and a flexibility of the physiognomical muscles, which surpass the vivacity of Andalusia; and with one finger laid upon his nose, with his eyes starting from his head, and with the other hand quivering like that of a Chinese juggler, he presents the most singular spectacle of episcopal vivacity, at the age of ninety-one, that I have ever seen."

Dr. Curtis, we have said, started to his feet. "I deem it very improper and irreverent," he said, "for the youngest Bishop to rise first, and to speak in the presence of his seniors; and I would address you (looking at Dr. Doyle) in the words of *Ecclesiasticus* (xxxii. 9 to 13): 'Young man, hear in silence, and for thy reverence good grace shall come to thee. Scarcely speak in thy own cause. If thou be asked twice, let thy answer be short. In many things be as if thou wert ignorant; and hear in silence, and withal seeking. In the company of great men take not upon thee; and when the ancients are present speak not much.'"

Dr. Doyle instantly sat down, and listened to the rebuke in silence. The discussion of the question before the council proceeded. Dr. Curtis unfolded his views copiously. Several of the Bishops spoke in support of the Primate's position, and others tacitly assented. Last of all Dr. Doyle rose, and having summoned the resources of his powerful mind, and brought them to bear on the question in debate, he upset most utterly the Primate's conclusion. "In clearness of judgment, and vigour of intellect," writes our respected informant, "he exhibited a vast superiority over Dr. Curtis. He delivered a splendid discourse, which all the Bishops finally with unanimity adopted."

Dr, Doyle thus pithily concluded. The first Scriptural quotation we may remark is from *Wisdom*, iv. 8, and the second from *Ecclesiastes*, iv. 13: "I should be exceedingly sorry to seem insensible to the respect and reverence due to age. I would wish to be lowlily deferential to old age in its true Scriptural defination. 'For,' in the language of inspiration, 'venerable old age is not that of long time, nor counted by the number of years; but the understanding of a man is grey hairs.' But if old age be estimated merely by the number of years or length of time, I

would say with Solomon, that 'Better is the wisdom of the child than the dotage and reverie of the old man.'"

To acquit Dr. Doyle from the appearance of presumption in rising first at the synod in question, we may observe, that the act was believed by some of the Prelates to have been in obedience to the wishes of Archbishop Murray, who entertained the highest opinion of his sagacity.

"From the moment of Dr. Doyle's consecration to the time of his death," observes one who knew him well, "there subsisted between Dr. Doyle and his Grace Dr. Murray the most intimate connexion, so that it was well known that Dr. Murray would not take any important step as to the regulation of the archdiocess without first availing himself of the advice of Dr. Doyle. And whenever in council with his Suffragans, or even in a more general council or synod, Dr. Murray wished above all to hear what Dr. Doyle had to say on the subject under discussion."

The Prelates frequently assembled in council at Maynooth College. A single dissenting remark from Dr. Doyle was always enough to make the bench of Bishops adjourn the question.

In appearance and bearing Dr. Doyle formed a marked contrast to the Catholic Bishop of the old school. Ireland possessed many Prelates of this latter class at the period of which we write—men whose carriage was bent, and whose spirit seemed broken by the persecutor's scourge and brand. "The Bishop of the people," observes Sheil, "picks his cautious steps as if the way were lined with penal traps, and checks the natural impulse of humanity to appear abroad with the firm air and carriage of a man, lest a passing alderman, or tutored parrot from an Orange window, should salute his ears with some vituperative cant against his politics and creed."

There was sometimes, too, a feeling of self-debasement among the Catholic Prelates of that day, which it is curious now to trace. Archbishop Troy, in enclosing a letter from one of his Priests for the perusal of Mr. Secretary Marsden of Dublin Castle, writes: "You will observe he styles me *Lord*. I do not assume that title, nor do I wish to be addressed under it; but I cannot hinder persons from miscalling me."

Dr. Doyle was a Prelate of an entirely new type. Fear, doubt, or diffidence were feelings utterly unknown to him. With one glance he could make the wielder of an insult wither. "His face," says a celebrated and acute observer, "has a very peculiar expression—intelligence throughout, strength and an honest scorn about the mouth and lips, and in the eyes a mingled character of caution and slyness, produced by their downcast look and the overhanging of thick and shady lashes, as if he made it a point of prudence to screen from hostile observation the light and indignation, and per-

haps, now and then, the triumph that glow within. The remark may be fanciful, but it struck me that I could discover in his controlled and measured gait the same secret consciousness of strength, and the same reluctance to display it." So far Mr. Sheil.

But although full of self-reliance, and albeit that a certain air of haughtiness sometimes marked his deportment, there was not a particle of swagger about Dr. Doyle. At this invariable characteristic of the Irish Protestant Prelacy he often smiled, as Drs. Magee or Elrington would push past, trampling the Irish ground with the familiar superiority of one who feels that an ample portion of its fertile soil is irrevocably dedicated by divine conveyance, collaterally secured by common and statute law, to the uses of his sacred corporation. "See in the streets," exclaimed Sheil, "a prelatical sample of ascendancy, and with what a buoyant and lordly swing, like a vessel laden with worldly wealth, and wafted before a prosperous trade-wind, he rolls along! With what pride, and energy, and deep-seated reliance upon the eternity of tithes, he thrusts out one holy and pampered leg before the other!"

To the timid and faltering Catholic Bishop of the old school Dr. Doyle in truth presented a striking contrast. "I never," said Canon Pope, in a communication to the author, "I never knew a man whose demeanour inspired a wider or stronger feeling of awe and veneration. I have met all the great Cardinals and Princes of the Church at Rome and elsewhere, but not one of them ever impressed me with that singularly intense feeling of respect and admiration which Dr. Doyle's presence never failed to enkindle."

He also made the long prostrate Catholic Church of Ireland raise its head in a manner worthy of its Divine origin, antiquity, dignity, and strength. The present Bishop of Exeter, in his place in Parliament, noticed with sorrow this altered tone and attitude: "Let it be borne in mind," observed his Lordship, "that the feelings of the Roman Catholics were now very different from what they were wont to be. That class of persons exhibited a part unknown amongst them a few years ago. The Roman Catholic *Church* was now spoken of, although no long period had elapsed since its heads were content to describe themselves as 'Prelates of the Roman Catholic communion in Ireland.' Not only was the Roman Catholic religion described as 'the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland,' but Dr. Doyle spoke of it as 'the Church' in Ireland, and of the Protestant Bishops as no Bishops at all, or Bishops merely in name. A work by Dr. Doyle, which was used as a class-book in the study of canon law in the College of Maynooth, was dedicated to 'the Most Rev. Father in God, Patrick Curtis, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland.'"

CHAPTER XXII.

Dr. Doyle disapproves of the policy of political inactivity—His speech on the platform at Carlow—He justifies his policy—England in difficulties—Revolt of the forty-shilling freeholders—Dr. Doyle challenged—His reply—Dr. Wolff—Letters to scrupulous Nuns—A portion of Dr. Doyle's flock proselytized—How he brought them back to the fold—Public penance—Dr. Doyle's reply to the Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns—Letter to Dr. Donovan—Affection for his early friends—Coyne and "the copy"—A contrast—Dr. Doyle casts away his cloak to naked beggars—£1,400 a-year for the Rector and £65 for the Priest of the same parish—Dr. Doyle craves for further toil—A curious contrast—Dr. Kinsella—Domestic cares—A tipsy housekeeper—He guards the entrance to the sanctuary—Letter to his Vicar—Schools among tombs.

"DISCUSSION of the Catholic question," observes Mr. M'Cullagh in his Memoirs of Sheil, "was considered inexpedient during the session of 1826;" but we learn that O'Connell was "unwilling that a whole year should be suffered to elapse without bringing the question under the notice of the Legislature." With Dr. Doyle the policy of inactivity found no favour. He felt that when a popular cause fails to advance, it is in point of fact receding. "Our fetters are too galling," he said, "to permit us to enjoy repose. Shall we be prevented from rattling them in the ears of our keepers?"

On the 5th of October, 1826, an aggregate meeting, to petition for Emancipation, was held in Carlow. Dr. Doyle, according to the newspapers of the day, did not enter the meeting until five o'clock. The public platform had been always to him an irksome position, and his appearances upon it were few and far between. Having taken his seat by the chairman and conversed with him for a short time, he withdrew, but reappeared again to return thanks for a unanimous vote of approbation which had been passed upon his conduct. "I know that an Apostle says," observed the Bishop, "that no one dedicated to the service of the altar should mix himself in secular concerns; but I also know that this same Apostle, when persecuted for justice' sake, and arraigned before the law, appealed to Cæsar from an unrighteous judge; and when I unite myself with you I do more—I appeal to the Legislature of my country (which possesses the same power as Cæsar in the Roman State) from an iniquitous code and the desolating effects of its administration. For doing so I plead no apology. Were I to attend a meeting in your court-house, convened for or against a repeal of the Corn Laws, I should consider myself as departing from the duties of my office, and sullying the robe with which the Church has clothed me. But when I unite with you to seek, by just and legal means, for a repeal of that guilty code

which affronts and oppresses us, I am discharging an obligation due to my country and my religion. That code, Sir, is not civil, nor political, nor municipal, but ecclesiastical and religious—so much so, that the evil genius of Britain seems to have dipped her pen in blood, and to have descended to the region of darkness, there to learn the tissue of flagitious and blasphemous bigotry wherein to write the tests of our exclusion from those rights and privileges which we are now labouring to regain. I come here, Sir, to exhibit our union, in which our strength consists, and to promote by my example, should it have influence with any one, the exercise of the constitutional right of petition and remonstrance. We are indeed devoted to constitution, and loyal as we ought to be. We seek for no mutiny or disorder in the State, for no exclusive privileges or unhallowed ascendancy. We, with those liberal persons of other religious persuasions who co-operate with us, are only endeavouring to obtain the restitution of what is withheld in violation of natural equity, the plighted faith of a nation, and of those principles of policy by which this empire should be governed, and its power and pre-eminence maintained." Having referred to the "parchment Union" between Great Britain and Ireland, Dr. Doyle went on to say: "And why does England keep us oppressed and divided, covering the luxuriancy of our land with wretchedness, and wasting as if with a blighting mildew all the produce of our fields and industry? Is it that by divisions and oppressions she can render Ireland happy and her own empire secure? No; without the repeal of the laws which aggrieve us, Ireland can never be content nor England secure—Ireland cannot be happy whilst her people are enslaved and a faction permitted to riot in her sufferings." Dr. Doyle reminded our rulers of the critical posture of affairs: "We see England incumbered with an enormous debt—her oligarchy standing on the necks of the people and filling even England with poverty and crime. We find her embarrassed with a currency incapable almost of withstanding the first shot of war, whilst the jealousy of nations encompass her on every side, and look to her humiliation with anticipated pleasure. On the other hand, the unmerited persecution endured by seven millions of British subjects are discussed by politicians throughout the entire world. Statesmen calculate upon our grievances, and even to the Divan of Constantinople the Irish Catholic is admitted to an audience. In Spain and Italy, Germany and France, our oppression and discontent are the common topic of conversation. We have arrested the vast mind of the old world, and are favoured with the marked attention and sympathies of the new. Those mighty States which are daily growing stronger beyond the Atlantic are jealous of England on principles of policy, and there is

hardly a capital there, or in Europe, in which the wrongs we endure at her hands have not been published and proclaimed. With such causes of embarrassment at home, and the force of public opinion and the hatred of nations pressing from abroad, can England, I say, be secure?" As may be inferred from Dr. Doyle's speech, considerable distress prevailed among the commercial classes in England during this year, and serious alarm was awakened by the disturbances in Manchester, Birmingham, and elsewhere, consequent on the dearth of food and employment.

Stimulated by Dr. Doyle's voice and pen, the Catholic cause rallied, and made good progress ere the year 1826 was out.

Dr. Doyle's prediction, in February, 1825, of the great importance and destiny of the forty-shilling freeholders, was verified during the following year by the moral courage with which that humble body braved, for their country and religion, the indignation of their landlords, by voting for the Liberal candidates. The representation of several counties was wrested from the huge monopoly and long undisturbed despotism of the great landed proprietors. Waterford had been, almost from time immemorial, in the hands of the Beresford family, whose local influence and power it was considered, even by O'Connell, the height of fatuity to combat. The successful revolt of the forty-shilling freeholders is so memorable and well known that more than a passing allusion is, doubtless, unnecessary here. "I did not think," said Sheil, "that such virtue could exist under rags."

The public were amused, early in October, by the publication of a verbose and defiant challenge to the Catholic episcopal bench in general, and to Dr. Doyle in particular, signed by the Rev. J. Wolff, the subsequently famous Bokara missionary, and by the Rev. R. Pope, who, two years later, achieved considerable distinction by his controversial discussion with Father Maguire. On the 13th October, we find Dr. Wolff reminding Dr. Doyle of the recent challenge:

"My Lord—Having heard that the challenge has not been accepted by the bench of the Catholic Bishops in Ireland, I retired to England for awhile, in order to proclaim the tidings of the Gospel to my brethren, the Jews in England; but in case that the Bishops and Priests in Ireland should still be inclined to accept it, I should be highly obliged to your Lordship to give notice of it in public papers. I always considered your Lordship as the Bellarmine of Ireland, and I should have been, therefore, happy if you had granted to me an audience, as the R. C. Archbishop of Tuam condescendingly granted to do; and with great humility I am, my Lord, your most devout servant,

"Joseph Wolff."

Dr. Doyle did not believe in Mr. Wolff's "great humility," and responded trenchantly as follows:

"Carlow, 17th October, 1826.

"SIR—I have received your letter, written at Knaresborough. I regret that a young person such as you are should continue in the delusion in which you seem to live. It is perhaps my duty to tell you that your 'challenge,' as you call it, excited in this country nought but ridicule, and that you might as justly expect one of the judges in the courts of law to descend from the bench and dispute with you about the code which he administers, as to hope that any Catholic Bishop would attend to your 'challenge.'

"My dear young man, you are either deceived or seeking to deceive others. I did not refuse to see you. I refused to admit you to reside in my family, and for the reasons explained in my note to you on the subject. Did you at any time call upon me to consult with me as to what you should do, or to inquire what you want to know, I would offer to you the best advice or information in my power. I feel for you nought but pity and compassion. You have strayed far from the truth. You are very much occupied with yourself. You err greatly as to your own value or efficiency. You are not capable of rendering service to your brethren, whether Jews or Gentiles, whilst you yourself continue a victim of delusion or an hypocrite, as you must be, if you be not a fanatic.

"Your correspondence with me can serve no good purpose; may I request, therefore, that it cease, and should you at any time call upon me, pray, present yourself without an inclination to dispute, for 'if any one love disputes, we have no such custom,' says an Apostle, 'nor the Church of God.'"

Dr. Doyle might have added an additional Scriptural sting to his rebuke: "If any man come to you," says St. John, "and bring not this doctrine, *receive him not into the house*, nor salute him."

His warm interest, meanwhile, in conventual institutions, underwent no diminution. The following letter is addressed to a nun who, from being a prey to scruples, became an example of peace and happiness to her pious sisters:

"Braganza House, Carlow, 12th November, 1826.

"MY DEAR CHILD—Your exceeding kindness to me has, I regret, caused you much unnecessary pain. When ill I had only one of those periodical colds that generally visit me about this season of the year, and which are removed by a few ordinary remedies and a little patience; the late attack was one of the lightest I have had for some years, and is now, thanks to God, entirely removed, leaving after it only a little languor and debility

which will pass away in a few days. Will you tell the reverend Mother and each of the sisters, who are so dear to me, how much I feel their kindness, and how obliged I am by their good wishes and prayers, for which I hope God will reward them. Tell my friend A—— that she and her Leghorn children are likely to be outdone by ours at Carlow, unless she excite their diligence and improve their art, which I am confident she labours much to do. I wish, my dear friend, that I could compress your imagination within narrower bounds, and cool the ardour of your anxious heart. You would then be content to go to heaven like ordinary people, and not always be taking it by violence. I am, however, delighted to know that your health is so good, and you must lay up a store of it until I see you, without practising any additional penance; and as to the Jubilee, I thought I told you that the duties of it cannot be performed by one person for another. Be content, then, to pray for your friend, and God who is patient, and of much compassion, and easy to forgive evil, will have mercy on him in his own good time. Remember that before God one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. If you recollect my former instructions and advice they will assist to regulate your mind about what you call your sins; but, above all, remember it is not the imagination, nor those impulses of the mind, will, or passions which go before reflection that, in such as you, constitute sin; but those bad acts which are seen by the mind, and dwelt on with pleasure, or desired freely by the will. The ebullition of pride or vanity of which you complain are of the former kind, and so are the other evils which give you uneasiness, and you do well to disregard them and go to communion. Nor would you ever become more exempt from, or more decided in your judgment about them by mentioning these matters to any person. Attend to the one rule given to you above, and you will have as much peace as is good for you. Perhaps I may write for you the examination of conscience you mention, but whether I do or not, believe me, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

Another letter to another nun:

"My dear M. P—— St. Paul says, 'Take heed not to lose your confidence; you are saved by hope.' It is bad to sin, but it is worse not to confide in God, or seek to do out of our own strength the work of grace. Be patient, and the help of God will not delay; but if you are not patient, you will be a scourge to yourself.

"I am always offended at this unsubdued desire of confession which, like a bad leaven, is not to be rooted out of nuns. It is self-seeking—not seeking God. You may make an annual confession at any time you please—but no other, and wait to do so till

the opportunity of an extra confession presents itself. Be sober-minded, and do not, my dear child, be acting and thinking like a child; you ought now to know better. Be satisfied with your rule, and bear with your own defects."

If Dr. Doyle found some ladies too pious, he found others not pious enough. Writing to his niece at this period, he says: "I procured for my young ward, Catharine, a situation as lay-sister in a convent; but on proposing it to her she appeared to have forgotten her former religious vocation, which, if I had not been very simple, I might long before have observed."

In 1826, considerable depression in the trade of Dublin existed, and subscriptions to the amount of £13,000 were raised for the suffering weavers of the Liberty. Indications of approaching famine spread through the land, and the diocess of Kildare was not exempt from the visitation. This state of things opened a wide and favourable field for the exertions of professional proselytizers. Many of the starving peasantry of Kildare joined the ranks of the evangelical missioners. Their flag fluttered grimly but seductively. Food and Bibles were liberally dispensed. Dr. Doyle having heard of this alarming attempt to diminish the number of his flock, proceeded to Staplestown on a certain Sunday, and after Mass addressed the congregation from the altar. Several persons present wore a double mask—they had been in communication with the proselytisers; others, though not personally recusant, had intimate friends and members of their family receiving aid from them; and this Dr. Doyle knew.

"Go!" said he, "go to your new master. No one can serve two. You are, if possible, more contemptible than Judas. He received thirty pieces of silver for his apostacy, but you have bartered your faith for a mess of pottage; like Esau, you have exchanged for present comfort future honour and glory. The temple of the Most High is defiled by your presence. Fly, with my severest censure, to the ranks of the enemy." Dr. Doyle raised his eyes to heaven, and in a voice which struck terror to every heart exclaimed, "I excommunicate you!" A long, deep groan of wildness and despair swept through the chapel. Tears fell thick and fast. Some fled panic-stricken; others fell prostrate before the altar, sobbing and imploring forgiveness of God and of his faithful Vicar. "Pardon them, my Lord," interposed the Parish Priest; "they repent." "No," said Dr. Doyle; "the crime is too great to be immediately forgiven."

The unfortunate peasantry left the chapel moaning bitterly. They hurried in scores to Clongowes Wood College, and having obtained access to the Rev. Dr. Esmonde, piteously besought him

to use his known influence with Dr. Doyle, that the ban which blackened them in the sight of Heaven might be removed. "Receive us back into the Church," they said; "we are truly sorry for our misdeeds, but hunger had driven us almost mad." Dr. Esmonde was moved with pity by their contrition; he promised to intercede in their behalf with the Bishop, and at once left Clongowes on his pious mission. "Well," said Dr. Doyle, after Father Esmonde had zealously pleaded the cause of the repentant people, "I pardon them all, with four exceptions." He named them. "They, as you know, are the ringleaders of this desertion. By their counsel and example they induced others to follow them. Go, and communicate my decision. With the exceptions I have named, they are once more received into the bosom of the Church; but in regard to those *four*, I charge you at your peril not to give them absolution. Their professions of penitence may be merely on their tongue. They will only receive my pardon on condition that they do public penance. For the next three Sundays let them not dare to enter the house of God, but kneel outside the chapel-yard during the sacrifice of the Mass, imploring pardon of those whom they have so grievously disedified. They are unworthy to kneel at Calvary. The pagan place, the highway, is for them. Do not trust to second-hand reports, but see with your own eyes that my mandate is obeyed."

"For three successive Sundays," observes Dr. Esmonde in a communication to the author, "I rode over from Clongowes to Staplestown, to see that the penance enjoined by Dr. Doyle was faithfully performed. Never was repentance more sincere. At the expiration of the three weeks, I received the poor people back into the Church." In performing the penance they wore their coats turned inside out, by command of Dr. Doyle.

Soon after the above occurrence, Dr. Elrington, Lord Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, in his Charge to the Clergy of the diocess, boasted that not far from home a vast array of converts had deserted the Church of Rome for that of England. To this sweeping allegation Dr. Doyle eloquently replied:

"I fear the venerable Bishop," he said, "has been much imposed on, or that my native diocess of Ferns, to which I have been for some years almost a stranger, has, contrary to what her character would warrant us in supposing, greatly relaxed in her piety to God. I am confident that within the diocess of Leighlin, in which I reside, the number of unfortunate creatures who were guilty of a temporary apostacy is extremely small. I am well acquainted with every portion of this diocess. I am in constant communication with the Clergy and people of it. I know them all, and could almost call them by their names; I converse with

them; I make inquiries of them; they speak to me without reserve or dissimulation; I have not been inattentive to the 'progress of the Reformation' among them; and *I solemnly declare that I do not at this moment know of a single individual, having a house, family, or character within the diocess of Leighlin, who had been a Catholic within the last year, and became a Protestant and continued so.** There were several profligate and abandoned characters, chiefly criminals in the different prisons, who were induced, by an unfounded hope of impunity or favour, to render themselves guilty of an hypocritical conformity to Protestantism. Such of these as escaped from danger have, without I believe a single exception, applied for re-admission to the Church. There were also some unhappy individuals who, urged by extreme distress, '*did make their lives more precious than their souls*,' and in despite of the terrors of despair abjured the religion which they loved. I have seen a few of this description—for I believe they have all returned to God and to me, and my very soul was rent within me on viewing the grief, the shame, the agony which agitated them. Oh! I should not, for all this world could bestow, have to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ for being the instrument of such conversions. Conversions did I call them? But then the pious Prelate made his enumeration in *June last*, 1826, when oatmeal was 20*s.* per *cwt.*, when potatoes were 12*s.* per barrel, when there was no spare food with the farmers, no employment for labourers, no prospect but famine for the poor. *In June last*, when the harvest was yet two months distant, though the good Bishop saw the fields white—when disease and death were devouring the miserable *outcasts*, whose vices cried to heaven to draw down the Divine vengeance on the oppressors of the poor. It was in *June last* that the nets of the New Reformation people were filled with all kinds of fishes, and that they called to one another to assist and draw them to the land. Strange fatuity! These men can discern the face of the heavens, but they cannot discern the signs of the times; they have created for themselves meteors, which glare but give no light. They live in Ireland, and are utter strangers to her children; they mistake altogether and entirely the sentiments, the feelings, the wishes of the people. No, Sir; Dr. Elrington may see at a distance '*the fields white for harvest*,' but he must see human nature subverted, memory obliterated, religion eradicated from the hearts of Irishmen, before he will see the establishment among them of either the new or the old Reformation. Their hearts are full—full of indignation which their own holy religion alone can allay! He may see many men arise from an humble sphere of life, and

* Italics in original.

advance by industry to places of honour and of trust; he may see them when thus situated aspire to something better, and lend themselves for its attainment to the overthrow of the most useful and liberal institutions; he may find such a man to become the foe of his countrymen, the abettor and apologist of a bad system, and the minion of some great and gloomy bigot; he may see him elevated to a station high and responsible, and there, impelled by the influence of inveterate habit, of a narrow mind, and selfish feelings, employ all his gain and influence to enrich his family, to advance his friends, and to perpetuate the oppression of those from whom he derives his income and support. He may find such a man weak enough in his latter days to become deluded, or sufficiently wicked to employ the name of Jesus in the work of discord and dissension—he may see all this; but though he may contribute to divide Irishmen one from the other, to throw fuel upon the pile of bigotry always burning and always renewed in the sister country—though he may thereby retard the progress of civilization, the diffusion of knowledge, the establishment of good laws and a virtuous administration—he can never behold the ruin of the faith in Ireland, nor the demolition of that Church which his pride and his apparent interest might prompt him to destroy."

J. K. L., in his Third Letter on the "State of Ireland," mentions that he receives on an average annually two hundred converts from the Protestant Church in the diocess of Kildare and Leighlin.

Dr. Doyle never ceased to think affectionately of those with whom in his college days he had cultivated an intimacy, and though generally overwhelmed with care and labour, he endeavoured to keep the flame of friendship burning, by maintaining with his old friends a constant, cordial correspondence. Nay, more, he felt piqued and jealous if they neglected to write to him of their own accord, or to employ the unreserved language of early intimacy; if "Lordshiped" too frequently and formally, it pained him. This we know on his own assurance. Dr. Doyle having occasion to notice in a public letter some statements advanced by Dr. Elrington, the Bishop to whom we have just referred, his full territorial designation was by some mistake omitted. Dr. Elrington indignantly upbraided Dr. Doyle with the oversight. Dr. Doyle attributed it to the printer, and assured his Lordship that he never omitted to acknowledge the right of Protestant Bishops to the titles legally claimed by them. "For my part," he added, "I never read or heard an appellation which sometimes through courtesy is used in my presence, that I do not feel more or less abashed, and my sense of religious decorum contravened. Yet I do not blame those who take pleasure in titles, and rejoice in the brilliancy of a feather."

Dr. Doyle, in the following letter to his old friend, the Rev. Dr. Donovan, Professor of Rhetoric at Maynooth, tells him to lay aside forms, or to be silent altogether:

"Dublin, December 12th, 1826.

"My dear Reverend Friend—I have long been hoping to hear from you, and especially at the time of the examinations by the Commissioners at your College, which made so much noise abroad, and of which I expected some correct information; but without thinking even that your friendship was lessened, I thought that, like the wise stoic, you had wrapped yourself up in your cloak of collegiate virtue, and resolved to hold no unnecessary communication with the unwise ones of this outer world. I still think that there is a collegiate stiffness and formality growing up about you—even in your communication with me, an old friend—which, useful on some occasions, tends on others to brace up what should be without restraint. I am leaving Dublin to-morrow, and do not hope to see you until February next, when the Board meets, or in March, when you come to preach for St. Patrick in Carlow; nor do I think it right to commit to this sort of repertory the thousand things—some of them regarding yourself—and in which certainly (though I fear without effect) I have used my art and interest as you should expect, and as I know you desire.

"Let me hear from you shortly, and lay aside forms, or be silent altogether.

To the Very Rev. Charles Stewart—with whom the Bishop, when a Friar, had been associated in the Augustinian Convent at Ross—we find Dr. Doyle equally affectionate and communicative: "There are few things in life," he writes, "more consoling than to preserve in ourselves affection for the friends of our youth, and to meet with a similar feeling on their part. In this respect I have been very much favoured by Providence; and among those friends you will always be remembered in my mind, as I hope always to hold a place in yours.

"Coyne will shortly have my reply to Magee. I fear the answer will, *à l'Irlandais*, come before the question."

Although Dr. Doyle made it a particular request that he should not be "Lordshiped" by others, he himself never omitted a profusion of such courtesies when addressing his brethren of the prelacy. Moore, in his Diary of 9th June, 1824, mentions that he had been introduced on that day to the English Bishop, Baines. "Showed me a letter from the famous Dr. Doyle," writes Moore, "in which he 'my Lords' and 'Lordships' his brother Baines in every line."

The Bishop had rarely leisure to write, except in hurried

snatches; and Mr. Richard Coyne, the well-known Catholic printer and publisher, used, whenever the supply of "copy" flagged, to go down personally to Carlow, and remain at the episcopal residence until J.K.L. had thrown off a sufficiency of MS. to keep the printers going. Mr. Coyne never had occasion to wait more than some hours for the *desideratum*, and he generally returned to Dublin by the evening coach.

To describe the herculean exertions of Dr. Doyle to alleviate the terrors of famine, which throughout this year sadly oppressed his poor people, would be merely to repeat the touching details with which a former chapter closed. A few remarks may, by way of supplement, be added.

His continued exertions to alleviate the distress of the poor from his own pinched resources contrasted strangely with the wealth of the Irish Protestant prelacy, and their invariable attitude of listlessness to the claims of the starving people. Richard Lalor Sheil, writing in 1827 of Archbishop Magee, complains that "in the midst of the recent public distress, he closed his hand and shut his heart to the cries and moans of the wretches who were suffering in fever and in famine around him." From parliamentary returns it appeared that one See alone possessed 51,880 acres of arable and pasture land; and *The Edinburgh Review* of November, 1825, declares its cognizance of one renewal fine of £50,000 received by an Irish Bishop for a single lease! Dr. Doyle, in his examination before the Lords, mentioned that the income of the Catholic "Primate of all Ireland" (whose charity was proverbial), never exceeded £500. His own rarely approached it.

There are traits related of Dr. Doyle's generosity to the poor which, had we not heard them from eye-witnesses, would seem incredible. One anecdote describes him retiring within the recess of a gateway in Tullow-street, Carlow, and (in the belief that "his right hand knew not what his left hand gave") casting his cloak to the naked creatures who piteously sought relief. An eye-witness, in the window of an opposite house, was our informant. St. Martin of Tours divided his cloak among naked beggars publicly, but Dr. Doyle dispensed his charity in private. In estimating the extent of his charity we must not forget his small income. The Bishop, in his Fifth Letter on the "State of Ireland," when replying to a stupid calumny, tells us that J. K. L. "is connected with upwards of 200,000 Catholics, rich and poor, and he receives from them all little more than one-third of what a neighbouring parson receives for the tithes of a single parish; yet this pittance he shares freely and affectionately with his children, who are the poor. In doing so he only copies the conduct of his brethren; and he states it not through self-esteem, but in justification of

the order of men to whom he has the honour and happiness to belong."

And on another occasion, Dr. Doyle, in reply to some acrimonious remarks uttered by his old adversary, "Declan," thus effectively contrasted the official incomes of the Protestant prelacy and priesthood with those of the Catholic Church:

"While engaged writing these sheets, J. K. L. has heard of a composition for tithes having been made with the parson of the parish adjoining his residence at the rate of 13 or £1400 a-year; and having examined a registry of returns of the emoluments of the Parish Priest of the same parish in 1820, he found that they amounted to sixty-five pounds! This is the only return of the kind from that parish to which he has access. The writer also has been himself the Catholic incumbent of a parish which has lately offered to the parson £1,200 a-year in lieu of tithes, and he declares, in the presence of the country, that to the best of his judgment and recollection, he never received from that parish £200 in any shape within one year. The Curates of Parish Priests who reside with their principal receive one-fifth of the emoluments, and should they lodge elsewhere they are allowed one-third.

"These facts are the most satisfactory and respectful reply which it is in my power to make to the assertion of 'Declan'—an assertion which it is not permitted me to designate as it deserves. Between both priesthoods, however, religion must be well preserved; and if the flocks perish, the misfortune must proceed rather from being too closely shorn than from want of attendance. In their unparalleled penury and distress, they have also the consolation of suffering 'for the good of their souls,' and of supporting out of their destitution the gorgeous temple of the Establishment, as well as the little Sion in which they themselves occasionally rejoice."

More important differences than that of income might be contrasted between the Prelates of the rival Churches. Robert Southey, a devoted adherent to the Church of England, observes in a letter to a friend: "Our Bishop is a sleeping one, and this place has been shamefully neglected. No confirmation has been held here in the memory of man; and the Bishop never holds one nearer than eighteen miles, and this so seldom that nothing can be more indecent than the crowded assembly, and the manner in which the business is hurried through." The editor of Southey's letters, the Rev. C. W. Warter, thirty years after, expresses a hope that this indecency will be mended, and "that some Bishops who are regularly in London for the season will not forget that there is such a place as the country, and that they have a diocess to attend to!"

As to Dr. Doyle, his energy not only knew no fatigue but craved for further toil. "Often have I implored of him to spare himself," observes the late Bishop Kinsella, "when he would answer—what am I made a Bishop for? Why did I take the office, if not to lay down my life for my flock? Was I not sent to preach 'to the poor, to seek the sheep that was lost? Woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel.' Had he loved himself better and you less, he would be alive to-day; but no—his exertions overpowered him." To properly appreciate his untiring zeal as a Priest and a patriot, we must remember that the chains of lassitude constantly sought to bind his debilitated frame to the couch. But from the moment he became a Bishop, he as invariably snapped them asunder, and plunged into the work before him. In a letter to Bishop O'Connor, Dr. Doyle says that the acme of his enjoyment was to recline upon a lounger with a book; but he rarely knew what it was to taste it. It is very curious to contrast the activity of his episcopal and public life with the occasional indolence which marked the earlier period of his existence. On the 8th of February, 1817, we find him confessing that he cannot muster sufficient resolution to write to his nearest and dearest friends, though perpetually wishing to do so, and thinking of them. On the 19th of March, 1818, he assures his niece that he neither relishes "care or trouble," and that he could not survive more than two years if obliged to discharge the duties of President of Carlow College.

A hundred petty cares daily contributed to plague the good Bishop. In December, 1826, he writes to Mrs. Coney, regarding a deceased member of his family: "My last letter informed you of the distressing circumstances in which I am placed by the proceedings growing out of poor ——'s will. That poor man never brought anything to his family but trouble and loss; this reflection I could bear patiently, but that all my thoughts about him are embittered by the recollection of his death and the state of his soul."

Dr. Doyle found it exceedingly difficult to please himself in a housekeeper. Several were engaged, found wanting, and dismissed. At length a very desirable person apparently, and an old acquaintance of his own, assumed the charge of his keys and caddy. What reason he had to be pleased with this old lady we shall see in the following letter:

"My dear Mary—You may be assured I will do all I can for W——, in whom you are so interested. Providence seems to bless all your concerns; I am confident you will ever be mindful of His goodness, and continue your charities to the poor.—

I am troubled at what you tell me of Mrs. ——, and indeed she gave me great cause to be troubled before she left this. For the last week she spent here I was obliged to live at the College nearly the whole time, being unable almost to meet her, so grievously was I hurt by her conduct. On returning home one evening, when she did not expect me, I found her, after having drank to excess, exhibiting herself in that state to all the servants, and some neighbouring people in the kitchen. I was afflicted and ashamed, and having inquired I found she had been so frequently, so that I had become the object of pity to my neighbours. I felt disgraced and degraded on discovering what had been occurring in my absence. I always left her money, pass-books, wine, and spirits, when I went abroad, and when at home she had free access to them. I had noticed her intemperance two or three times, but up to this hour I never made known her weakness to any person—not even to ——, lest it should reach Mrs. ——, who would rejoice to publish it, in order to taunt her and afflict me. Under these circumstances what could I have done? It was impossible for me to sit at table or meet a person who had degraded herself, not only to the servants who were witnesses and *agents* of her folly, but to the neighbourhood. I therefore endeavoured to get rid of her in peace, and to conceal for ever from her friends the true cause of her return. I cannot send for her bills, for how could I send to a public-house to get a list of measures of whiskey? Let her write to some person whom she knows here to settle for her; but I cannot do it."

Several weeks later Dr. Doyle recurs to the same theme:

"I am glad that M—— sees the very painful circumstances in which I had been placed by the follies of our friend. These follies have ever since then appeared against me in the shape of bills; but I had only to pay them and hold my tongue."

These cares soon gave place to others of a graver character. Addressing his niece some days later he writes:

"I need not say I am rejoiced to hear that your health has improved as well as that your temporal affairs are so prosperous. May the Almighty God continue to you His blessings, and enable you always to use them according to His will. The distresses of our poor have engrossed a great deal of my care and attention. We are sadly oppressed in this town with want of every description. I moved last Michaelmas into my present residence, and have been at much trouble and great expense in seeking to furnish it even moderately, and fit it for myself and three Curates. We have yet much to do before it is comfortable; but in the spring or

summer, if we can get money, we will do all we have in contemplation, by which time I hope you and my step-niece will favour us with a visit."

Dr. Doyle continued to guard well the entrance of the sanctuary, as the best human security for the welfare of the Church of God. Alluding to a youth of some piety, but of meagre talent, who had a notion of entering the Church, Dr. Doyle adds: "I had a letter some time ago from Mrs. ——, though I thought my correspondence with her had closed for ever. Her son has done no good, nor is he, I fear, capable of doing any. Finding that all my efforts to serve the youth were fruitless, I have disengaged myself from him altogether, and recommended his mother to turn him to hedging and ploughing. The mother herself I pity very much, and think I have seldom, if ever, known a more unfortunate poor woman."

It may be objected by hypercritics, that some of the details we have given are not sufficiently important for embodiment in a life of Dr. Doyle. But Dr. Johnson is of opinion that "the incidents which give excellence to a biography are of a volatile and evanescent kind—such as soon escape the memory, and are rarely transmitted by tradition."

"Minute particulars," says Boswell, "are frequently characteristic and always amusing, when they relate to a distinguished man." And again: "I cannot conceive a more perfect mode of writing any man's life than not only relating all the more important events of it in their order, but interweaving what he privately wrote, and said, and thought, by which mankind are enabled to see him live, and to 'live o'er each scene' with him, as he actually advanced through the several stages of his life."

In December, 1826, Dr. Doyle addressed to the principal Parish Priests in his diocess a letter, containing some sound and vigilant suggestions. The following, dated from Portlaw, was written to the late Very Rev. John Dunne:

"VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR—Among the objects for which I write to you at present, the first is, to excite anew your vigilance to the care of your flock, especially the poor and the youth confided to you, and to beg that you may be unceasing in animating their faith to resist the great and systematic efforts which are made to subvert it. To discharge our duty as we are obliged at this time, we must be more than usually attentive and zealous in preaching the Word of God, in visiting the poor, and in relieving, even beyond our means, the sick and the indigent, showing great humility, and meekness, and disinterestedness in all our actions, so as that those who are on the opposite side may have no evil to

say of us. Without strong religious excitement those who are weak in faith, and pressed on one side by poverty, and on the other allured by gifts, may fall from their steadfastness; and if any of them should so fall, their blood will be required at our hands, unless we have done all in our power, particularly by preaching in season and out of season, to animate their faith and zeal.

"During the winter, be mindful to have the children of the several villages assembled at night to learn the Catechism under the superintendence of some grave person, and to have them united on Sunday at the chapel, even for a short time before or after Mass, to account to the members of the Christian Doctrine Society for what they have learned at their respective homes. I mention this, because in some places the custom of assembling the children at catechism on Sundays is interrupted during the winter months.

"As soon as convenient after the receipt of this, visit, either by yourself or by a confidential agent, the school of ——, in your parish, reported by the Kildare-place Society as in connexion with them, and ascertain whether it be so, and also the average number of scholars, distinguishing Protestants from Catholics, who have been in attendance during the last three months. Your report of it to me may hereafter be stated in Parliament, and hence you will perceive the necessity of being accurate. [Here followed a long list of schools.] You will also be pleased to send me a copy of the census of the people of your parish, distinguishing Protestants from Catholics, and church Protestants from Dissenters—also, the number of Protestants who, within the last twelve months, have been converted to the Catholic faith.

"I hope that your exertions to erect the parochial schools according to the plan prescribed by me continue unrelaxed, and that in the spring I shall have the satisfaction of finding them in a state of great forwardness. To this subject my most anxious attention will continue to be directed, until, with God's help, we will have completed the good work we have begun."

A new difficulty sprung up in the face of Dr. Doyle's anxious desire to erect thoroughly Catholic school-houses throughout the diocess. The landlords generally favoured the Kildare-place system of education, and not a few of them refused to grant sites for the purpose avowed by Dr. Doyle. In many instances the Clergy were constrained to use their chapels for instruction, or to erect school-houses in the grave-yards; and for long after, the cheerful ring of childrens' voices might be heard echoing where the funeral *keene* had so often previously been wailed.

The Bishop having ascertained that a fund for educational pur-

poses was placed at the disposal of the Lord Lieutenant, he applied to the Marquis Wellesley for some portion of it. The application was at first declined, but Dr. Doyle argued the point with such cogency and earnestness that the Viceroy at length acceded to his request.

Early in his episcopacy he was heard to declare that if Providence but lent him life to see every parish in the united diocesses of Kildare and Leighlin furnished each with a convenient church, and one well-ordered male and one female school, he would end his course in joy. How refreshing to find, in the centre of a world deluded by the baubles of empty distinction, one great spirit emancipated from the snare, and all the aspirations of its bright ambition bounded by such wishes as these!

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